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A Labor of Love: The Edward IV Roll Digital Mappa Project—Part Three

by Susan Troxell

Introduction: “An Impenetrable Web of Legitimacy”

The transcriptions and translations that follow are from the bottom half of Free Library of Philadelphia Lewis E201.¹ This part of the roll contains a complicated web of bloodlines to support Edward IV’s claims to the English, French and Castilian crowns, and to justify the deposition of Henry VI. The top half of the roll, which covers the Biblical origins of the world and the ancient and legendary origins of the British, Frankish, and Saxon peoples, was described in Parts One and Two of this series. As shown in Part Three, the bottom part of the roll depicts more historical lines of descent which inexorably lead to the accession of Edward IV in 1461.

To understand this complicated web of bloodlines, the compilers of Lewis E201 created a distinctive system of color-coding:

- A green line represents the continuation of the Romano-British line and transforms into the green line of Welsh princes. The Welsh are seen as the “true Britons” of England. At the marriage of Gwladus Ddu to Ralph Mortimer, the green Welsh line joins up with the Mortimer red line, to become a red+green line. The red+green line terminates at the marriage of Edmund Mortimer to Lionel of Antwerp’s only child, Philippa.
- A blue line represents the kings of France, continuing from their ancient Frankish origins. The Capet line ends with Isabella, the last surviving child of Philip IV, and she passes the senior line of the French crown to her husband, Edward II of England. Branching off the senior line is a smaller blue line representing the Valois kings of France, showing that they are collateral to the senior line as they descend from Philip IV’s younger brother, Charles count of Valois
- A red line represents the dukes of Normandy, and is absorbed into the English crown after the Conquest.
- A gold line represents the Heptarchy and, later, the Anglo-Saxon kings beginning with Alfred. William the Conqueror assumes the gold line after his conquest of England.
- A white line represents the ancestry of Elizabeth de Burgh, wife of Lionel of Antwerp, bringing him the patrimonies of de Clare and de Burgh and the earldom of Ulster.
- A dark blue line represents the dukes of Aquitaine and shows how this was absorbed into the English crown with the marriage of Eleanor of Aquitaine to Henry II of England.

¹ Readers can now go to the Penn Libraries website, where they can navigate and interact directly with the Digital Mappa edition of Lewis E201 and find transcriptions, translations, annotations, and introductory comments from the team’s project leader, Dr. Emily Steiner, and the lead annotator, PhD-candidate Eleanor Webb: <https://www.library.upenn.edu/exhibits/chronicle-world>

- A green line represents the counts of Anjou and shows how this was absorbed into the English crown with the marriage of Geoffrey Plantagenet to Empress Matilda.
- A red line represents the crown of Castile & Leon, and shows the House of York as being heirs to its kingdom upon the marriage of Princess Isabella of Castile to Edmund, first duke of York.

Convergence of the colored lines draws the eye to important marriages or events. By far, the most colorful is the union of Edmund Mortimer to



Philippa, where every bloodline presented in Lewis E201 comes together:

Figure 1: All colors converge with Mortimer and Philippa.

This saturation of colors is passed down to the descendants of Mortimer and Philippa, making other bloodlines fade into the background. As shown below (figure 2), the royal lines of France and England (blue, gold) are carried by all Mortimer grandchildren, and converge with the red line of Castile & Leon at the marriage of Anne Mortimer to Richard earl of Cambridge:



Figure 2: English/French (blue/gold) line joins the Castilian (red) line

Richard, third duke of York is distinguished in figure 2 (bottom center) with a vibrant triple-outlined box with all the colors of England, France, and Castile, along with a Yorkist white rose immediately nearby. By contrast, the children of John of Gaunt, and other collateral descendants, appear in boxes with a pale gold outline or no color at all.

Edward IV (figure 3) occupies the largest of all the genealogical entries and is outlined with two interlaced ribbons each with three colors representing all the bloodlines demonstrated above. The crowns of England, France and Castile, as well as the ceremonial cap of maintenance, coronation swords and rods, garters, and badges of Edward himself and as prince of Wales, are illustrated.



Figure 3: Edward IV and his Family (Richard is shown as third eldest son)

Note in the above how all the children of Richard duke of York (top center) are tripled-outlined in the royal colors of three kingdoms, signifying that they stand in the line of succession. The only children listed are George, Richard, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret, and someone has inscribed their ducal titles in their boxes. Most curious is that Margaret is called “Duchess of Burgundy”, a title she received when she married the duke in 1468. Some historians conclude that Lewis E201 must have been prepared around that time, but others suggest that these boxes were originally empty and filled in later. This latter view is supported by the presence of other empty boxes for collateral family bloodlines, and certain words and phrases being struck out or erased in the Castilian bloodline. Edward IV released his claims on that crown in 1466-7 when he entered into a settlement with Castilian king Henry (Enrique) IV. Someone had evidently felt it was important to note these developments in this manuscript.

Another person given special treatment is Henry III (figure 4), whose box is especially large, mounted with Edward the Confessor’s crown, and flanked by an unusual composite illustration combining the cross of Saint George with several Yorkist badges (fetterlock, falcon, rose):



Figure 4: Henry III and his Children.

Henry III, says the text in his box, is “the true, right and undisputed King of England, lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine and Earl of Anjou. Alexander, King of Scots did homage to Lord Henry on Saint Stephen’s day at York. Crowned in the Year of Grace 1216.”² Edward I is identified as the “First-born son and heir of King Henry III, born on the seventeenth of June in the year 1239. Bull, dragon”.³ Henry III’s younger children Margaret, Beatrice, Edmund (often called “the Crouchback”), and Katherine are identified, with a special note about Edmund’s birthdate being “sixteenth of January in the year 1245”. Nowhere else in Lewis E201

² The line of Scottish kings is never represented in Lewis E201, even though English kings claimed to have overlordship of Scotland. There are only three references to Scotland, the first appearing in Henry III’s box. Next to Edward I (figure 4), there is a text fragment that states “John Balliol, King of Scots, did homage to the most reverend King Edward I at Newcastle”. Next to Edward III is written: “Capture of David Bruce, King of Scotland, at Durham, by the archbishop and the clergy. At the same time, the aforementioned most renowned King Edward III began to besiege Calais etc. 1346.” The issue of Scottish independence would not be resolved until 1707, when the parliaments of Scotland and England each passed an Act of Union.

³ The “bull, dragon” and other references to animals and symbols in Lewis E201 were intended to remind the reader of various political prophecies, poems, and popular literature which used metaphors or cryptic words to promote the House of York. Part Two of this series touched briefly on the role of political prophecy in this manuscript. The Isolde Wigram Memorial lecture given to the UK Richard III Society by J.L. Laynesmith in 2023 focused on the use of political prophecy during the Wars of the Roses.

do we see the use of specific birthdates like this; they are undoubtedly intended to refute Henry IV's claim that, through his mother Blanche of Lancaster, he had a senior lineal claim to the English crown over Richard II. This claim arose from the "Crouchback legend" in which it was asserted that Edmund was actually the firstborn son of Henry III, but was set aside because of a mental infirmity or physical deformity (a hunchback) and was replaced with the junior son Edward.⁴ This genealogy thus shows how the scion of the House of Lancaster – who is called "Henry of Derby" and not Henry IV – had perpetuated a falsehood in order to usurp Richard II's crown in 1399.

Just as interesting is who is minimized or left out of Lewis E201 entirely. William the Conqueror's father Robert the Magnificent is not listed in the line of Norman dukes, perhaps because he never married or had legitimate children; his son William was often called "the Bastard". But most odd is the omission of a separate genealogical box for Eleanor of Aquitaine as duchess in her own right, or as queen-consort to Louis VII of France. This is especially odd given that the roll provides a separate box for Empress Matilda, her mother in law. Less surprising is the total omission of John of Gaunt's children by Katherine Swynford, or their Beaufort descendants, as the Yorkists saw them as illegitimate in origin. And while the powerful Nevilles of Raby get no place on this family tree, the roll takes care to mention that Edmund of Langley's daughter Constance was the grandmother of Anne Beauchamp who ultimately married Richard Neville (later called the "Kingmaker"), bringing him the earldom of Warwick. Because the Yorkists based their claim to England's crown on being descended from Philippa, Lionel of Antwerp's daughter, it is not surprising that Lewis E201 goes out of its way to include as many examples of female transmission as possible.

As observed by Eleanor Webb, PhD candidate at Penn who also served as Lead Annotator on this project: "Lewis E201 masterfully integrates classical, biblical, and native histories in order to ground Edward IV's right to rule in a seemingly impenetrable web of legitimacy. Edward is presented as the culmination of a unified and seamless history including the divinely-sanctified lineage of biblical kings, the prestige of Greco-Roman antiquity, and the demonstrative bloodlines of English and European kings".⁵ At the same time, the manuscript masterfully integrates the same material in order to demonstrate the injustice of the Lancastrian regime, taking care to identify past usurpations and their short- and long-term ill effects.

⁴ J. Ashdown-Hill, "The Lancastrian Claim to the Throne", *The Ricardian* vol. 13 (June 2003), pp. 27-38; T.P.J. Edlin, "The Crouchback Legend Revisited", *The Ricardian* vol. 14 (June 2004), pp. 95-105. Both articles are available to the public on , the website of the UK Richard III Society.

⁵ (Annotator's Introduction and Primary Source Guide) (Accessed Nov 20, 2025).

The topics of female transmission and usurpation are both addressed at the very bottom of the roll, with a large quotation from Book Four of the *Revelations of Saint Bridget of Sweden*, appearing in a "scroll within a scroll" (figure 5 below). The quotation from Saint Bridget is introduced with a statement revealing the Yorkist rationale for deposing Henry VI: the election of Henry of Bolingbroke had been "arbitrary" and "carried out through fear and violence" and had ignored the proper heir of Richard II. This injustice has polluted all the Lancastrian kings and brought "affliction and desolation" to England.



Figure 5: Concluding rationale for Edward IV's accession

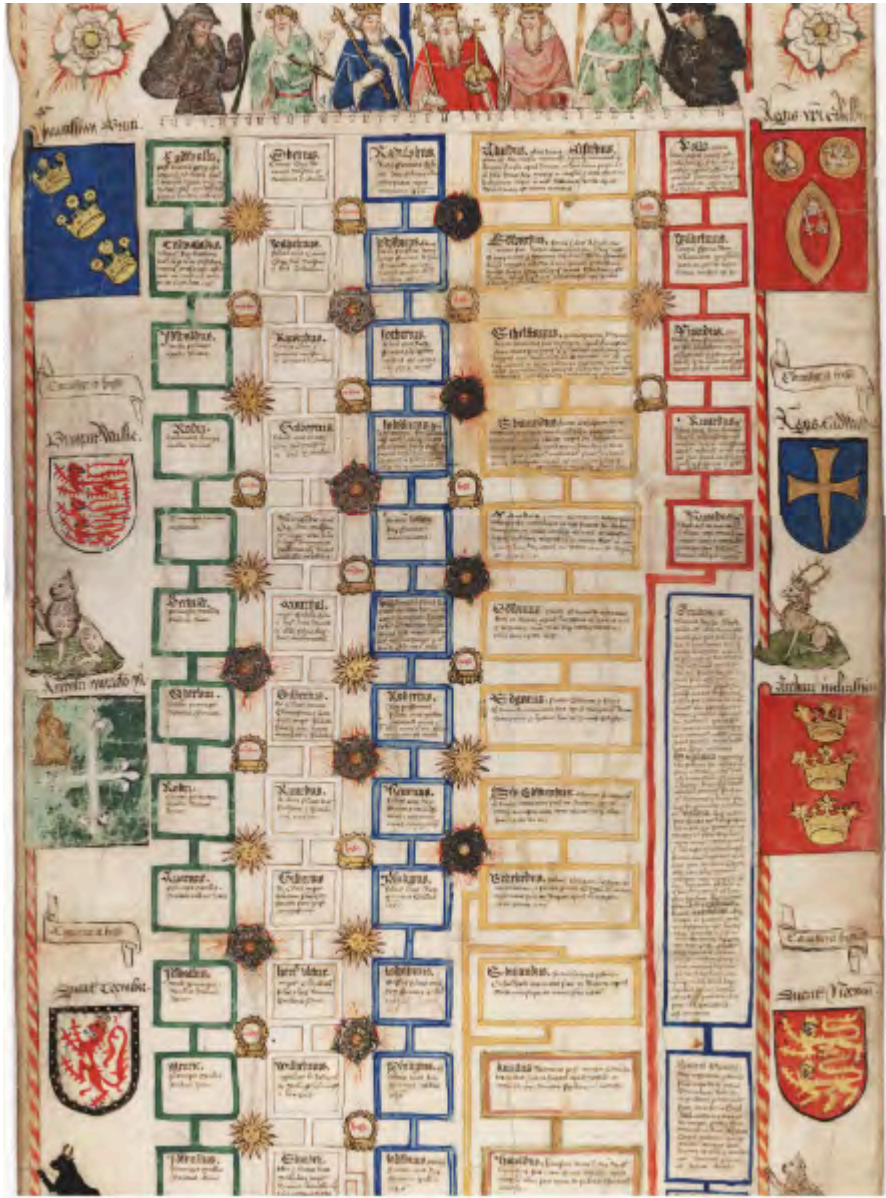
In the revelation quoted, Saint Bridget asks Christ a hypothetical question about how to respond to a usurping junior collateral line. The response from Christ is that the senior line – *whether paternal or maternal* – must be returned to power in order to restore the kingdom to peace and prosperity. The political rhetoric of returning the kingdom to harmony and productivity was frequently used by supporters of the House of York who wished to see Henry VI deposed and the third duke, or his son Edward, "restored" to the throne of England. Edward IV's "comfort and joy" motto, which is repeated more than forty times in Lewis E201, announces the promise of happier days with a change in regime.

In Part Four of this series, the remaining family lines (all collateral) and heraldic banners, shields, and miscellaneous illustrations from the bottom half of Lewis E201, will be annotated and contextualized.

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With deepest gratitude to all who contributed their time and effort, including Free Library curators H. Heaney, K. Lightner, C. Goodman, and K. Sunil. For their review of the heraldry and annotations: P.W. Hammond, G. Wheeler, and D. Grummit. For suggestions on further reading: R.A. Griffiths, J. Laynesmith and L. Melin. For quality control peer reviews on the transcription and translation: S. Drimmer and L.F. Davis. For digital mapping: Laura Blanchard, Cheryl Greer. For providing a host drive, building the Digital Mappa file, and serving as de facto technical coordinator: Dot Porter at Schoenberg Institute of Manuscript Studies.

Saxon Line: Alfred to Harold Godwinson



The Saxon succession is attached by a **gold line** to the history of the Heptarchy given above the portraits, and begins with Alfred. Danish usurpers appear in unconnected boxes with a **brown outline**. The **green line** of the British-Welsh (L) and the **French blue line** (center) are similarly connected to the ancient history provided above the portraits.

Transcription

Alvredus, alias dictus Alfredus, primus rex Anglie monarchus extitit coronatus que regem Anglie apud Romam a Sancto Leone Papa anno Domini 872. primus rex unicus in Anglia & ante istum non habuerunt reges in Anglia diademata. deinde apud Wintoniam est iterum coronatus.

Edwardus, senior filius Alfredi, coronatus fuit regem anno etatis sue xviii^o regnavit que xxij annos & Wintonie sepelitur. iste vero Edwardus duxit in uxorem Edgwinam, ex qua genuit Ethelstanum, deinde duxit Edgynam, ex qua genuit Edredum & Edwinum, tertio superduxit Ethelwitham, ex qua genuit Edmundum & Edredum etc.

Ethelstanus, primogenitus Edwardi regis, coronatus fuit in regem apud Kingestonum anno etatis sue xxiii^o. qui in viis patrum suorum ambulans non declinavit ad dexteram vel ad sinistram, eandem in deum fidem in subditos gratiam, circa ecclesias devotionem, circa pauperes misericordiam, circa dei sacerdotes retinens reverentiam, regnavit que xvj annis.

Edmundus, frater Ethelstani. hic in regnum promotus nimis egre tulit paganorum reliquias, cultura ydolorum, regni sui fedare decorem. de quorum manibus civitatem Lincolnie & alias quattor quas eactenus incoluerant penitus extorsit omnique infidelitate abrasa. etc. regnavit annis 5 mensibus 7. nephanda proditore occiditur.

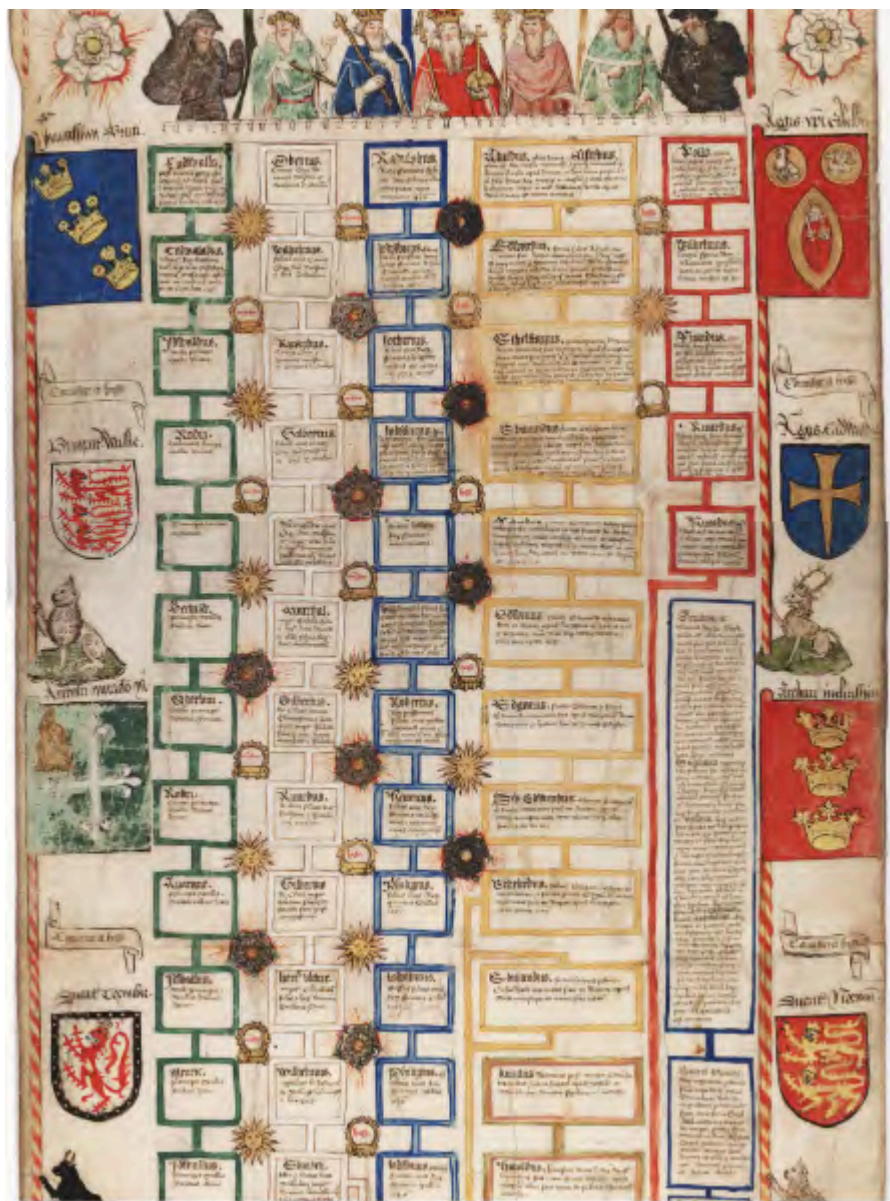
Translation

Alfred, otherwise known as Alfred, was the first sole ruler of England and was crowned King of England at Rome by Saint Leo, the Pope, in the year of our Lord 872. He was the first sole king in England, and before him the kings in England did not hold the diadem. Then he was again crowned at Winchester.

Edward, the elder son of Alfred, was crowned king in his eighteenth year and reigned for 22 years, and he is buried at Winchester. This Edward married Edgwin, from whom he fathered Ethelstan, then he married Edgyn, from whom he fathered Edred and Edwin, and third he married Ethelwitha, from whom he fathered Edmund and Edred etc.

Ethelstan, the firstborn of King Edward, was crowned king at Kingston in his twenty-third year. Walking in the ways of his ancestors, he did not turn aside to the right or to the left, and he preserved their faith in God, grace toward the conquered, devotion to the churches, mercy to the poor, and reverence to the priests of God. He reigned for 16 years.

Edmund, brother of Ethelstan. When he was made king, he disliked the fact that idol worship, a lingering practice of the pagans, was besmirching the honor of his kingdom. He wrested from their (sc. the pagans') hands the city of Lincoln, as well as four other cities that they had inhabited up to that point, and he wiped away all unbelief etc. He reigned for five years and seven months. He was killed by a wicked traitor.



Transcription

Edredus, frater Edmundi, regnum primum suscepit. hic ambulavit in viis fratris sui, beati Dunstani in omnibus consiliis obediens et iustissimis legibus subditos regens. regnavit secundum cronica Marchii x annis; secundum Henricum viij annis. in veteri monasterio Wyntonii est sepultus etc.

Edwinus, filius Edmundi, coronatus fuit in regem apud Kingeston anno gracie 946 & regnavit annum unum super totam terram, & obiit sine exitu de se.

Edgarus, frater Edwini & filius Edmundi, coronatus fuit apud Bathoniam anno gracie 959 & habuit heredem etc., & iacet Glastonburiensi.

Sanctus Edwardus Martir, primogenitus Edgari, coronatus fuit in regem apud Westmonisterium anno gracie 975. obiit sine exitu de se.

Ethelredus, filius Edgari ex secundo matrimonio & frater sancti Edwardi martyri, coronatus fuit in regem apud Kyngestoun anno gracie 979.

Edmundus Ferrei Lateris, filius Etheldredi, coronatus fuit in regem apud Westmonisterium anno gracie 1016.

Translation

Edred, brother of Edmund, took up the first kingdom. He walked in the ways of his brother, following the counsel of the blessed Dunstan and ruling his subjects according to the most just laws. According to the Chronicle of March, he ruled ten years; according to Henry, eight. He was buried in the ancient monastery of Wyntonnia etc.

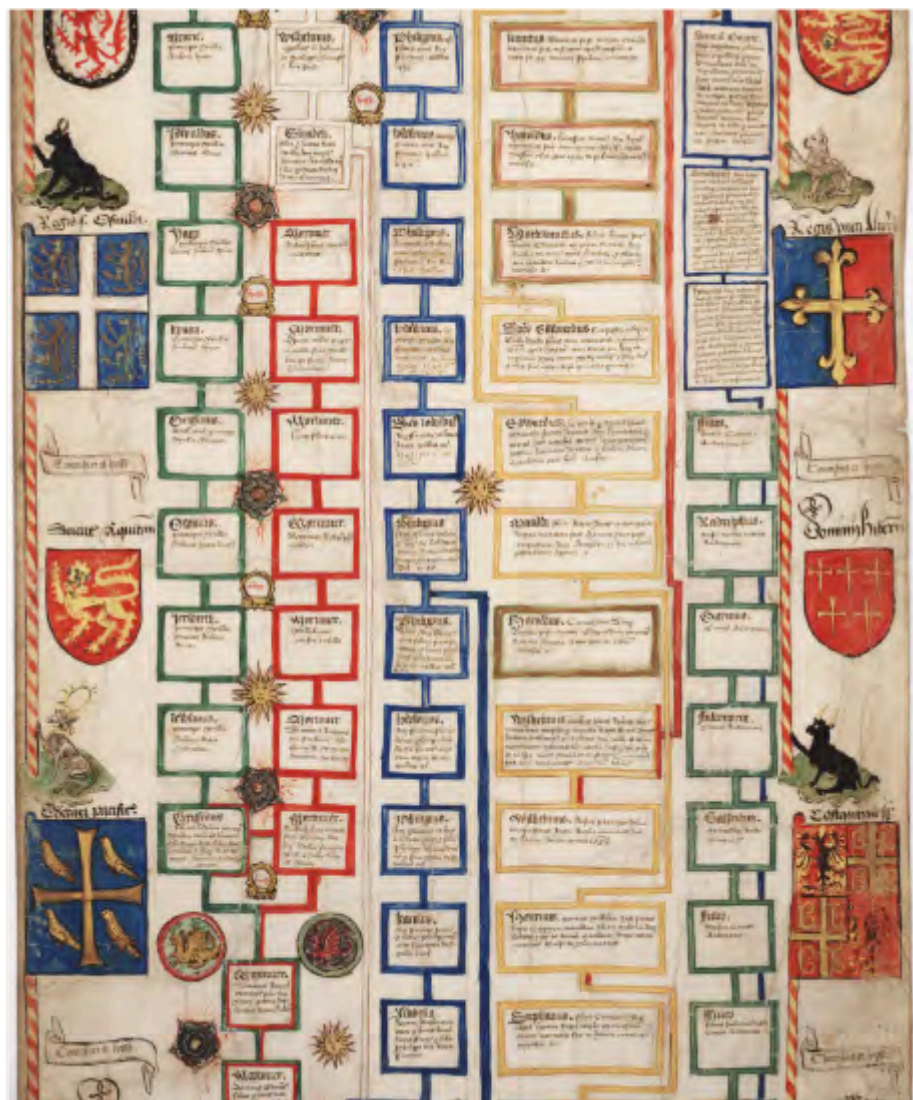
Edwin, son of Edmund, was crowned king at Kingston in the year of grace 946 and reigned for one year over the whole land. Died without issue.

Edgar, brother of Edwin and son of Edmund, was crowned at Bath in the year of grace 959 and had an heir etc. He lies in Glastonbury.

Saint Edward the Martyr, firstborn of Edgar, was crowned king at Westminster in the year of grace 975. Died without issue.

Ethelred, son of Edgar from his second marriage and brother of Saint Edward the Martyr, was crowned king at Kingston in the year of grace 979.

Edmund Ironside, son of Ethelred, was crowned king at Westminster in the year of grace 1016.



On the right, the **gold Saxon line** continues through and terminates with Harold Godwinson, who is labeled in a **brown box for Danish usurpers**. William the Conqueror appears at the terminus of the **Norman red line**; he assumes the same gold-colored boxes as the Saxon succession.

Knuctus Danicus. post mortem Edmundi coronatus fuit in regem apud Westmonisterium et regni sui xx Wintonii sepelitur etc. intrusor.

Haroldus Harefoot, Danicus. rex Anglie coronatus fuit anno gracie 1035 apud Westmonisterium. obiit sine exitu de se. Londinii est humatus. Intrusor.

Hardekunctus, filius Knucti, frater sancti Edwardi ex parte matris. rex Anglie coronatus apud Lambethum & filium nec heredem habuit, & Wintonium sepelitur. intrusor etc.

Sanctus Edwardus, Confessor Gloriosus, Etheldredi filius, erat coronatus anno gracie 1042 apud Westmonisterium anno etatis sue lxiii et regnavit xxiii annos, xxvj menses, xxvij dies, & obiit sine exitu de se quod virgo permansit.

Edwardus Le Exile per Danos. filius Edmundi Ferrei Lateris, rex Hungarie & verus heres Anglie. genuit Margaretam, postea Reginam Scottorum, & habuit filiam Matildam, rectam heredem Anglie.

Matilda, filia regis Scottorum et Margarite regine. maritata fuit Henrico Primo post conquestum regi Anglie, ut hic inferius postmodum apparet etc.

Haroldus, comes sive dux Cantie. post sanctum Edwardum coronatus fuit in regem anno gracie 1066. intrusor etc.

Cnut the Dane. After the death of Edmund, was crowned king at Westminster and was buried at Winchester in the twentieth year of his reign etc. Usurper.

Harold Harefoot. Dane. Crowned king of England in the year of grace 1035 at Westminster. Died without issue. Buried at London. Usurper.

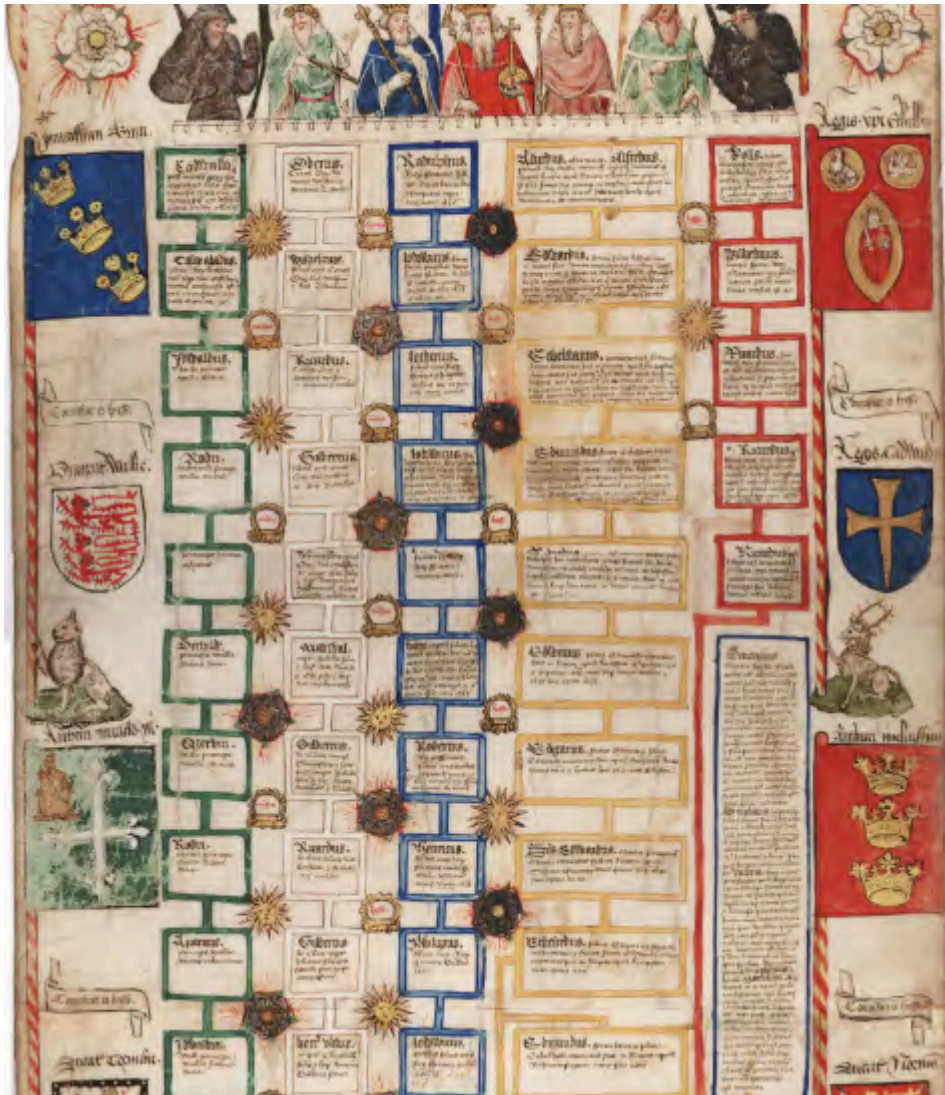
Hardekunctus [sc. Hardecnut], son of Cnut, brother of Saint Edward on his mother's side. Crowned king of England at Lambeth. Had no son or heir. Buried at Winchester. Usurper etc.

Saint Edward, Glorious Confessor, son of Ethelred, was crowned in the year of grace 1042 at Westminster at the age of 63 and reigned for 23 years, 26 months, and 27 days. Died without issue because he remained a virgin.

Edward the Exile, because of the Danes. Son of Edmund Ironside, king of Hungary and true heir of England. Fathered Margaret, later queen of Scots, and had a daughter Matilda, the true heiress of England.

Matilda, daughter of the king of the Scots and of Queen Margaret. Married Henry I, king of England, after the conquest, as will be clear here below etc.

Harold, count or Duke of Kent. Crowned king after Saint Edward in the year of grace 1066. Usurper etc.



The origins and succession of the Dukes of Normandy begin with Rollo, and are outlined in red boxes on the far right margin. The line eventually leads to William the Conqueror (aka the Bastard) further down the roll.

Rollo urbem Baiocensem conqueravit, ubi Rollo Berengii filia accepta postea Christianus effectus. et patriam Normannie decoratus & auctoritate confirmatus regnavit xliij annis.

Rollo. Conquered the city of Bayeux, where, after seizing the daughter of Berenger, Rollo was later made a Christian. He honored the land of Normandy and strengthened it by his authority. Reigned 17 years.

Wilhelmus Longa Spata, dux Normanie, qui secundum cronica prodicione regis Francie occisus est etc.

William Longsword, Duke of Normandy, who according to the chronicles was killed by the treachery of the king of France etc.

Ricardus Sine Timore, dux Normanie. vicit et ipse diabolum corporaliter colluctans & prosternens ligans que manus eius post tergam confusum victor relinquit.

Richard the Fearless, Duke of Normandy. He conquered the devil in person, fighting with him and laying him low, and binding his hands behind his back. He was victorious and left the devil perplexed.

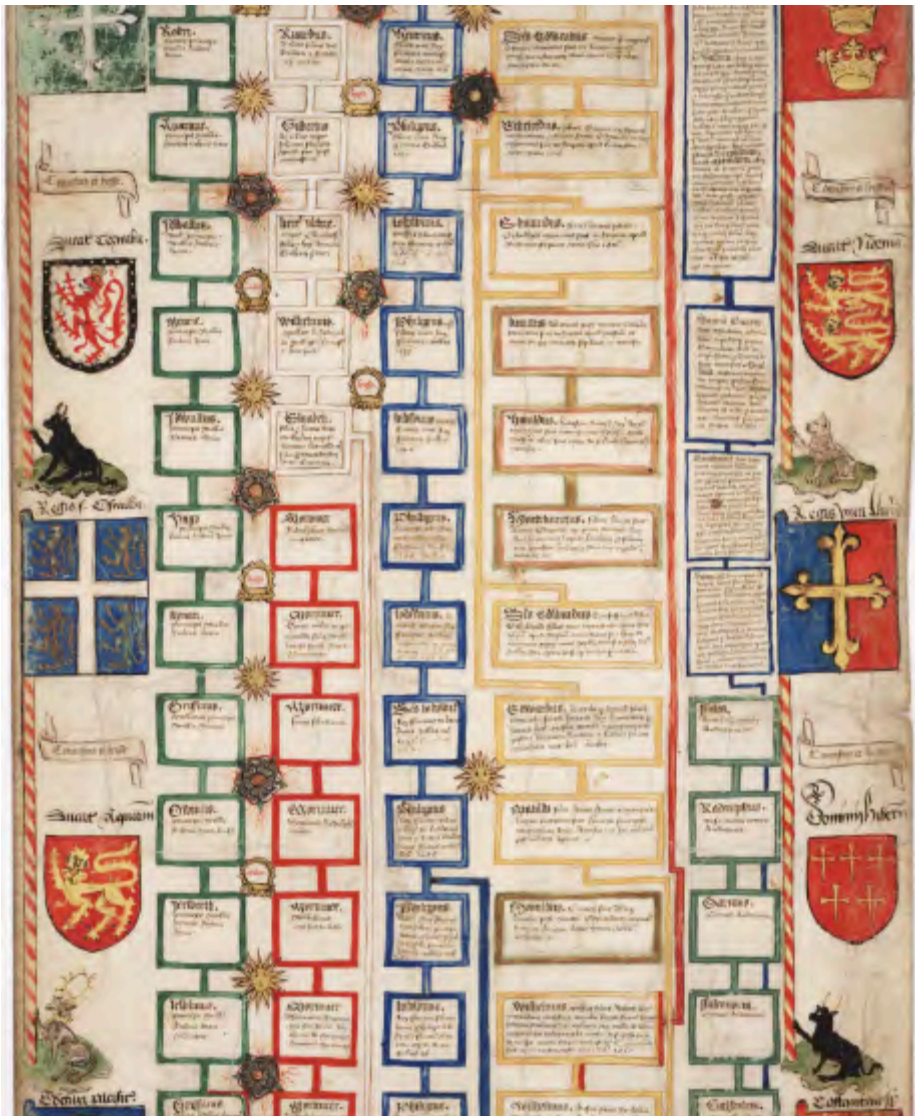
Ricardus Secundus, filius eius, dux honorabilis. ad quem Ethelredus, rex Anglie, regnum necessitate coactus relinquens etc. cum regina sua, sorore eiusdem ducis, duobus que filiis eorum scilicet Edwardo et Alvredo etc.

Richard II, his son, an honorable duke. Under force of necessity, King Ethelred of England, along with his queen, the sister of the duke, and their two sons, Edward and Alfred, left him his kingdom.

Ricardus Tertius, filius eius senioris, qui secundum cronica vix unius anni vivens veneno extinguitur, fratrem suum Robertum Normannie reliquens heredem.

Richard III, his oldest son. According to the chronicles, he lived (sc. after accession) barely one year before being killed by poison. His brother Robert of Normandy was his heir.

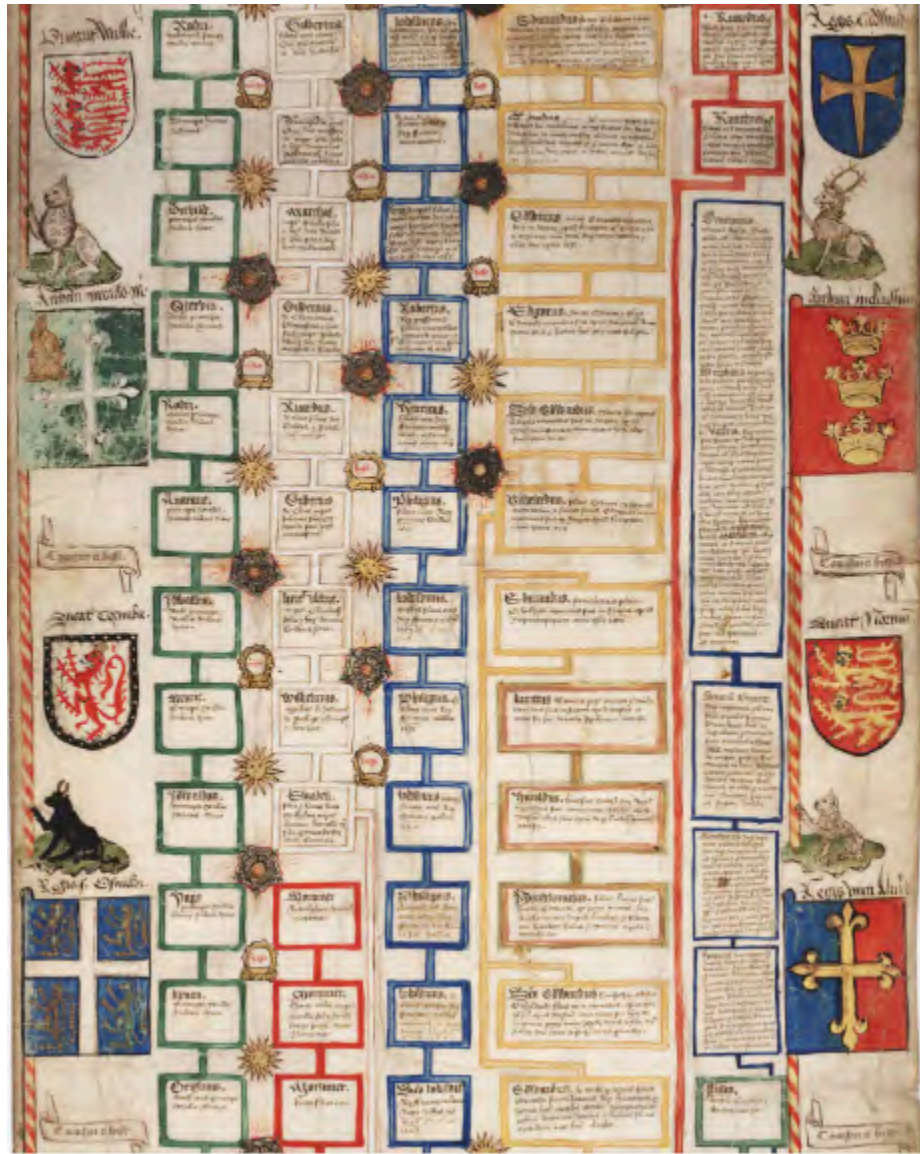
Editorial Note: There is no genealogical box for Robert "the Magnificent", Duke of Normandy, d. 1035, the father of William the Bastard aka the Conqueror.



Wilhelmus Nothus, filius Roberti, ducis Normannie, consilio & auxilio regis Francie ducatus honore sublimatus etc. audiens dux nullum de semine regio regni gubernaculo Anglie suscepisse, tribus de causis mente stimulatus est etc. coronatus fuit apud Westmonesterium anno Domini 1067.

William the Bastard, son of Robert, Duke of Normandy, elevated to the honor of a dukedom by the counsel and aid of the king of France. Hearing that no one of royal blood had taken up the government of the kingdom of England, the duke was moved by three causes etc. Crowned at Westminster in the year of our Lord 1067.

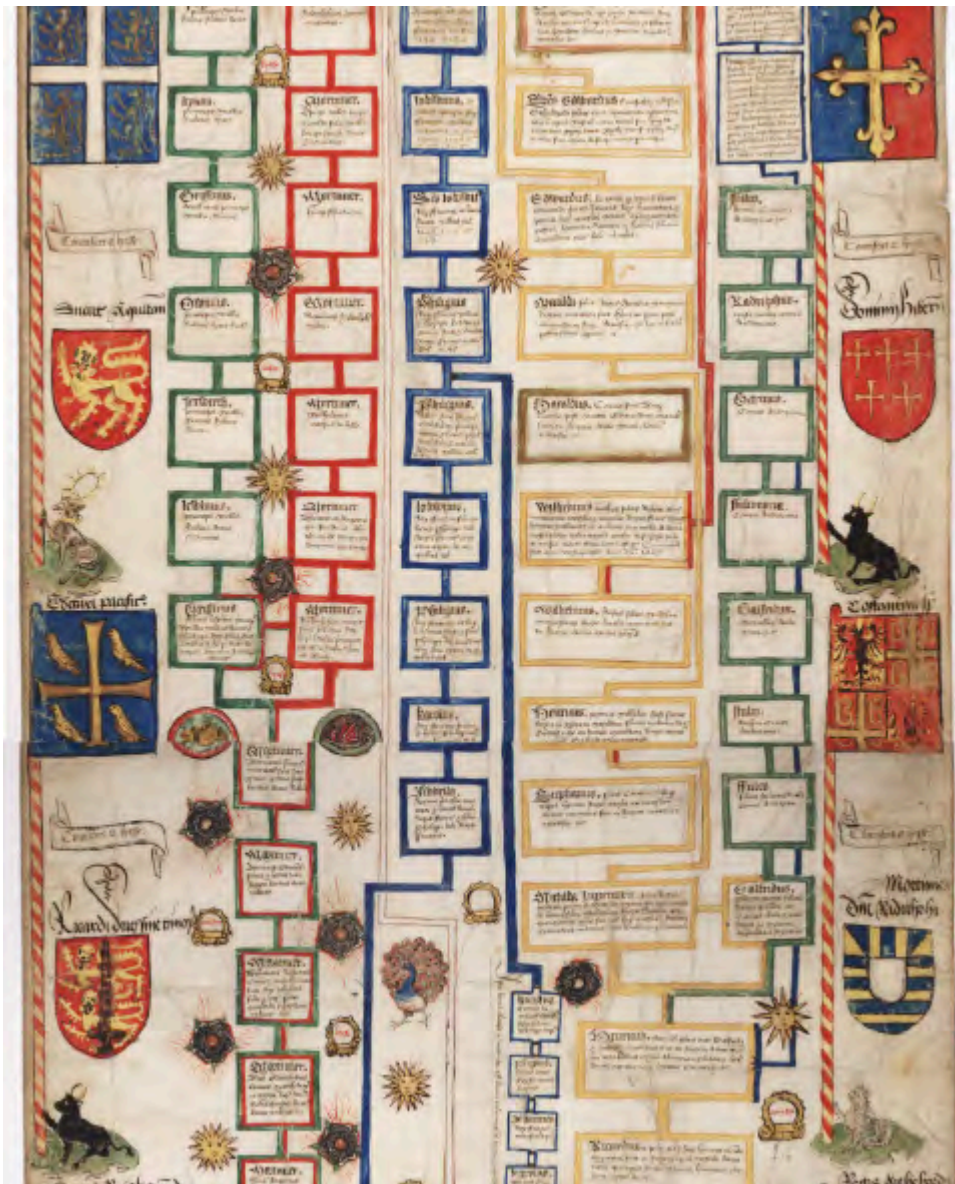
The box for William the Conqueror (aka the Bastard) is the terminus for the **red line of Norman dukes** appearing on the right. After his conquest of England, the Norman ducal title is absorbed into the **Saxon gold line**, which will be called the **English line** henceforth. (Figure 4)



The origins of the **dukes of Aquitaine** begin on the far right margin, in boxes with a **dark blue** outline. Most of this is legendary history. This line terminates with Eleanor of Aquitaine's father, who is misidentified as "Henry".

Senebrinus, ultimus rex de Burdegalee, alias Burdeux. post mortem suam non reliquit prolem nisi tantummodo unicam filiam, quam comiti Lemoviceum ante obitum filiorum suorum donaverat in uxorem. nichilominus comes de dicta uxore sua non habuit prolem nisi unicam filiam, nomine Valeria. comite autem predicto viam universi carnis ingresso, comitissa & filia sua Valeria, cui regnum Burdegale iure paterno & hereditario pertinebat, advenerit beatus Martialem, qui eos spiritus sancti gratia renovavit. imperator Romanus, audita morte regis Burdegale & comitis supradicti, dedit prefatam Valeriam Stephano, nepoti suo, filio fratris sui, cum tota terra sua & redditibus, in uxorem, sub tali tamen condicione: quod non ipse nec heredes sui reges, set duces ulterius vocarentur; privilegio vero diadematis & honore ipse & heredes sui perpetualiter congauderent etc. **Valeria** hiis auditis, purificata unda baptismatis, in fide Christi firmitate radicata, ad prefatum Stephanum imperium venire renuit penitus & contempsit. quo audito Stephanus, furore nimio agitatus, ipsam fecit concito decollari, qua decollata ibidem actor seleris expiravit. Valeria vero caput suum proprium deportavit ad locum in quo beatus Marcialis eam honorifice sepelivit. hiis auditis prefatus **Stephanus** beatum **Marcialem** adiit, dicens ei, 'si agonem Valerie suscitates ipse baptismum accipiet & fidem Cristianorum defenderet toto posse.' beatus Marcialis, elevatis oculis in celum premissa oratione, mortuam suscitavit. ipsa die Stephanus cum quinque milibus hominum baptizatus, & tunc regnum Burdegale cum pertinentibus terris suis Aquitania est vocatum.

Senebrinus, the last king of Burdegalea, otherwise known as Bordeaux. After his death, he left no offspring but a single daughter, whom he gave to the Earl of Limoges to marry before the death of his sons. Similarly, the count had no offspring by this wife but a single daughter, by the name of Valerie. When this count went the way of all flesh, the countess and her daughter Valerie, to whom the kingdom of Bordeaux belonged by paternal and hereditary right, approached Saint Martial, who renewed them in the grace of the holy spirit. The Roman emperor heard of the death of the king of Bordeaux and the count mentioned earlier, and he gave Valerie as a wife to **Stephen**, his nephew, the son of his brother, along with his entire hereditary estate, but under this condition: that he and his heirs would not be called kings, but dukes; but that both he and his heirs would perpetually enjoy the honor and privilege of the crown etc. When she heard this, Valerie, who had been purified by the waters of baptism and whose faith in Christ was unshakeable, spurned Stephen's authority and refused to obey. Hearing this, Stephen was enraged and had her summarily beheaded. When she was beheaded, the executioner died on the spot. But Valerie carried her own head away to a spot where Saint Martial buried her with honors. When the aforementioned **Stephen** heard of this, he approached **Saint Martial** and told him that, if he (sc. Martial) revived Valerie, he (sc. Stephen) would consent to be baptized, and would defend the Christian faith to the extent of his power. Saint Martial raised his eyes to heaven when he heard this speech, and he revived the dead Valerie. On that day, Stephen, along with 5,000 others, was baptized, and hence the kingdom of Bordeaux, along with its surrounding lands, was called **Aquitaine**.



Upper R, the dark **blue line of the dukes of Aquitaine** ends with the father of Eleanor, who does not have her own genealogical box on this roll. This line is subsumed into the **gold line of English succession** with Eleanor's marriage to King Henry II of England, as the title merged with the crown.

Transcription

Sancius Guarte, dux Aquitanie, ultimus filius Castelle. quem postea Gaucelinus, dominus de Castellione, prodionaliter fecit interfeci a Guillino, Austencii domino de Nogrii. postea fuit vocatus in ducem Aquitanie comes Pictavensis, qui vindicavit mortem dicti Sancii et inde per maritajum ducatus pervenit ad regem Anglie.

Senebrinus, dux Aquitanie inclitus. bellator fuit super Sarezinos. cum paucis Christianis plurimos Sarezinos subiecit. cui sancta Maria aperuit in terraf sancta, confortans eum custodire fidem. & idem Senebrinus convertibat Fenix, pulcherimam filiam soldani Babilonie, ad baptismum Domini nostri Ihesu Christi. & postea praedicta Fenix baptizata fuit & nomen sumpsit Marie, que devota fuit & multa bona fecit inter Christianos.

Henricus, dux Aquitanie, verus heres successive linialiter descendens. approcreavit Alionoram, nuptam Henrico Plantagenet, dicto Henrico Fitz Emprice, alias Henrico Secundo, Anglorum regi, duci Normanie, comiti Andegavie & domino Hiberne. per dictam Alionoram dux Aquitanie que accepit possessionem cum consensu dominorum & communitatis ibidem in terris transmarinis.

Translation

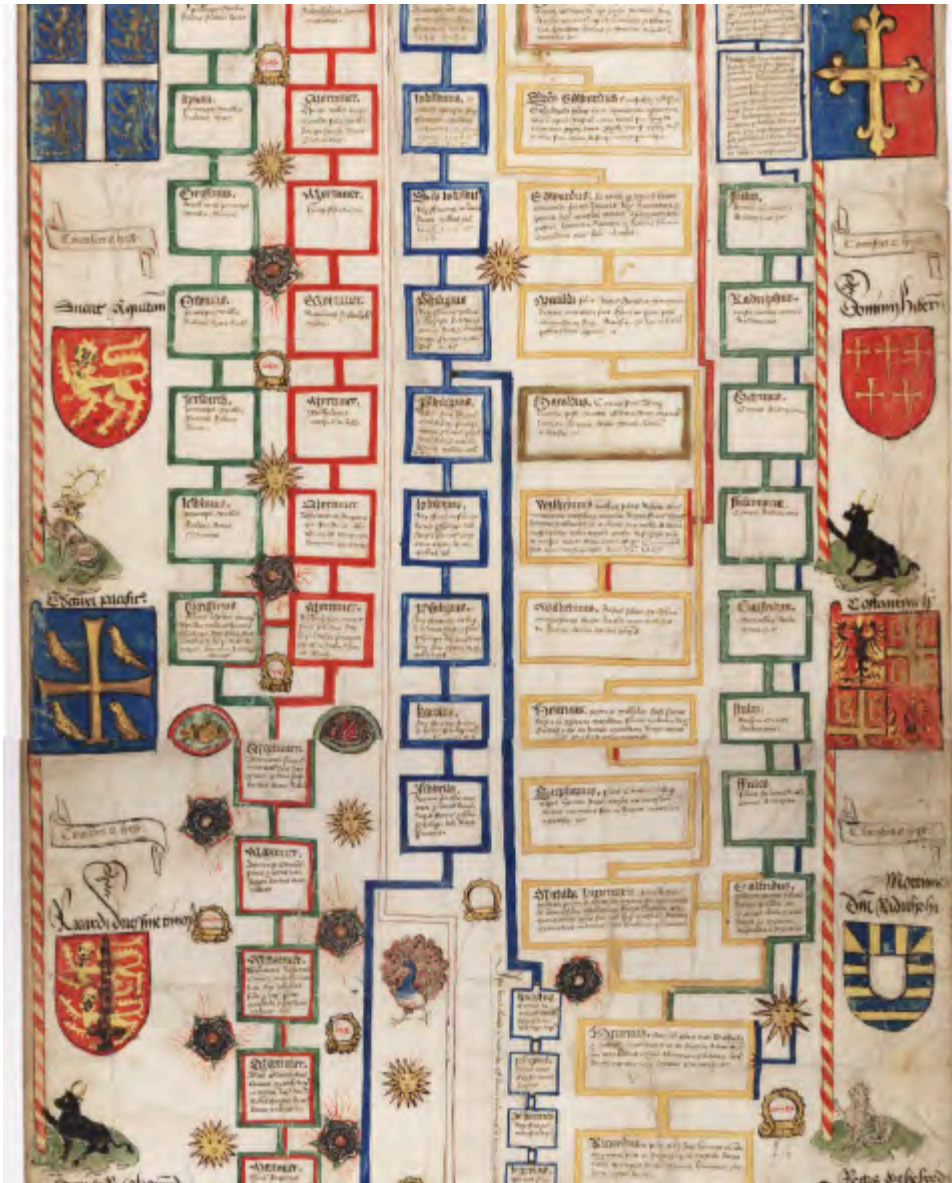
Sancius Guarte, Duke of Aquitaine, last son of [the king of] Castile. Later, Lord Gaucelinus of Castile treacherously had him killed by William Austencius, Lord of Nogrius. Later, the Earl of Poitou was called to the Duke of Aquitaine, who vindicated the death of Sancius, and hence the duchy passed through marriage to the king of England.

Senebrinus, renowned Duke of Aquitaine. He was a fighter against the Saracens. He, along with a few Christians, conquered many Saracens. Saint Mary appeared to him in the Holy Land, encouraging him to preserve his faith. And this Senebrinus converted Fenix, the beautiful daughter of the sultan of Babylon, to baptism in our Lord Jesus Christ. And later, this Fenix was baptized and took the name of Mary. She was faithful, and she performed many good deeds among the Christians.

Henry [sic], Duke of Aquitaine, true heir and descendent by lineal succession. Fathered Eleanor*, who married Henry Plantagenet, called Henry Fitzempress, otherwise known as Henry II of England, Duke of Normandy, Earl of Anjou, and Lord of Ireland. Through this Eleanor* he received possession of the Duchy of Aquitaine, with the consent of the lords and the commons there, in the overseas lands (sc. Brittany).

**Editorial Note: there is no separate genealogical box for Eleanor, Duchess of Aquitaine in her own right. Her father was William, tenth duke of Aquitaine, not Henry*

Origins of **Angevin Line** to Geoffrey Plantagenet



The line of the Counts of Anjou appears on the right margin, in green-outlined boxes. It ends with the birth of Henry II of England, son of Empress Matilda, whereupon the title of Count of Anjou is subsumed into the **English gold line**.

Transcription

Fulco Bonus, comes Andegavie etc.

Radulphus Trisa Tunica, comes Andegavie.

Garitius, comes Andegavie.

Fulco Noria, comes Andegavie.

Galfridus Marcellus, Andegavie etc.

Fulco Ruchin, comes Andegavie.

Fulco, filius Fulconis Ruchim, comes Andegavie.

Galfridus Plantagenet, filius regis Jerusalem ac comes Andegavie, duxit in uxorem Maltildam Imperatricem.

Translation

Fulk the Good, Earl* of Anjou etc.

Ralph Greymantle, Earl* of Anjou

Garitius, Earl* of Anjou.

Fulk Nerra, Earl* of Anjou.

Geoffrey Martel, of Anjou etc.

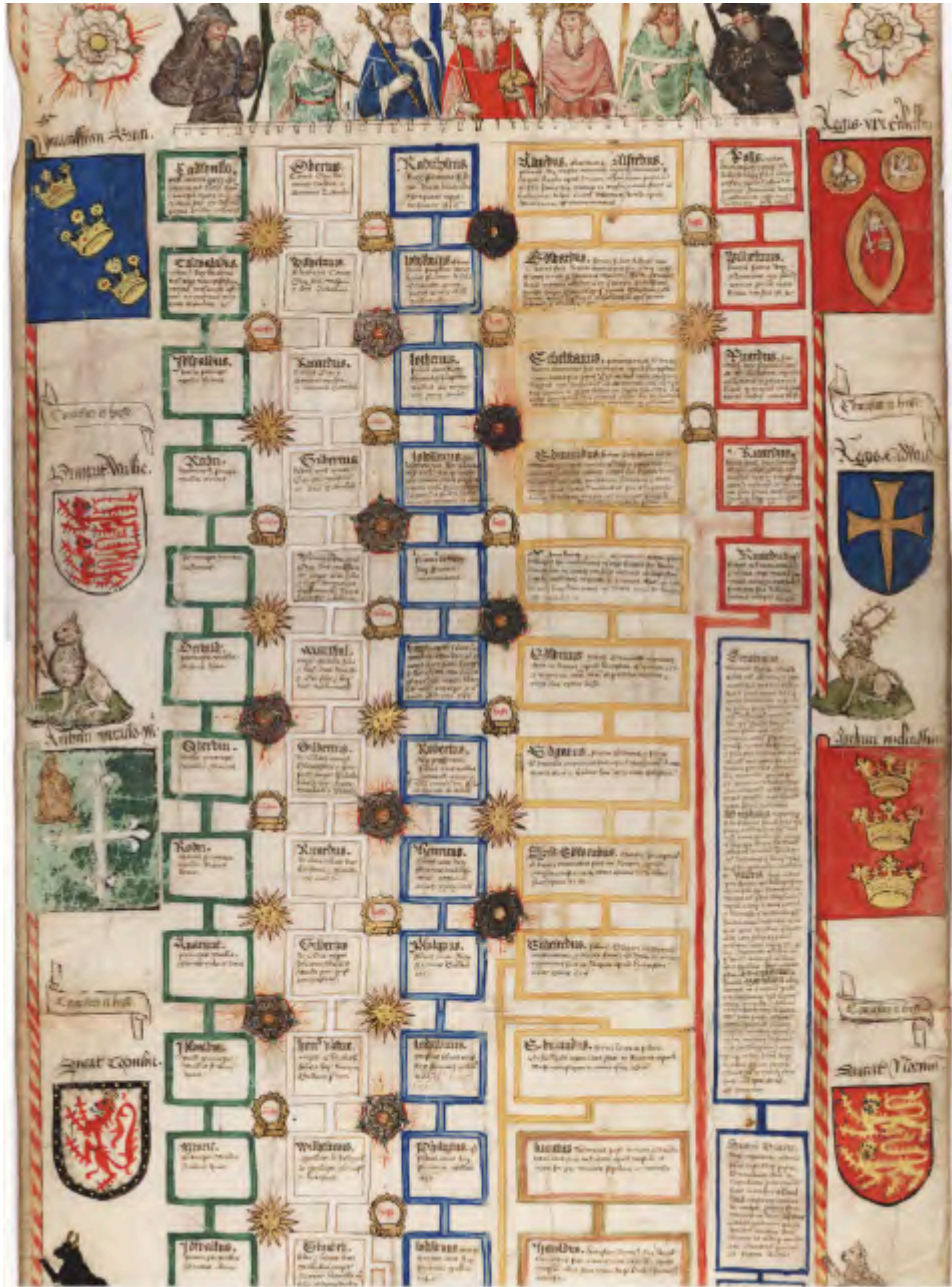
Fulk Réchin, Earl* of Anjou.

Fulk, son of Fulk Réchin, Earl* of Anjou.

Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of the king of Jerusalem and Earl of Anjou, married Empress Matilda.

**Editorial Note: the Latin word "comes" is usually translated into the English word "earl" but before 1380, the correct French title was "count of Anjou".*

Kingdom of France: Capet Line with Valois Usurpers



The origins of the French royal house of Capet, shown in a [central blue line](#) that continues from the ancient history of the Franks set out above.

Transcription

Robertus, rex piissimus, filius eius. gallus. regnavit annis 30. secundum quosdam Cunradus rex Francie regnavit 15 annis.

Henricus, filius eius, rex Francie amantissimus. regnavit annis xxix. 1031.

Philippus, filius eius, rex Francie. gallus. 1061.

Lodowicus Grossus, filius eius, rex Francie. gallus. 1109. secundum vero alios 1110.

Philippus secundus, filius eius, rex Francie. gallus. 1138

Lodowicus Iunior, frater eius, rex Francie. gallus. 1140.

Translation

Robert, a pious king, his son. Rooster. Reigned for thirty years. According to some, Conrad, king of France reigned for 15 years.

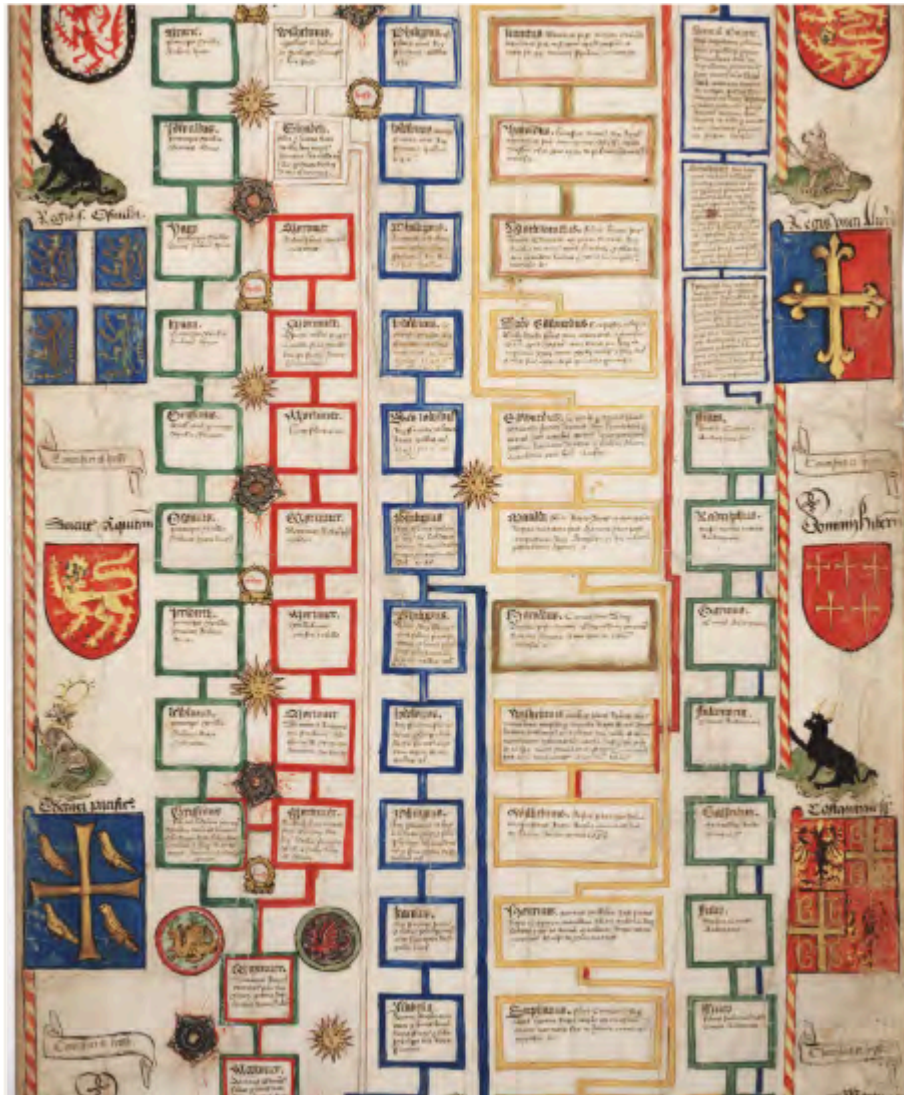
Henry, his son, beloved as king of France. Reigned for 29 years. 1031.

Philip, his son, king of France. Rooster. 1061.

Louis the Fat, his son, king of France. Rooster. 1109. According to others, 1110.

Philip II, his son, king of France. Rooster. 1138

Louis the Younger, his brother, king of France. Rooster. 1140.



The **royal blue line** of the House of Capet runs down the center of the roll, with a collateral branch for the junior House of Valois.

Transcription

Philippus Augustus, alias dictus Conquestor, rex Francie, rex Francie. 1180. Gallus.

Lodowicus de Mont penser, rex Francie. gallus. regnavit in anno Domini 1227. secundum vero alios, 1224.

Sanctus Lodowicus, rex Francie in linea recta. gallus, sol. 1229. secundum vero alios 1227.

Philippus, rex Francie, filius & heres sancti Lodowici, veri & recti & indubiti regis Francie. gallus, sol. 1270.

Philippus Belus, rex Francie, erat filius primogenitus & heres Philippi regis, filii Sancti Lodowici. gallus, sol. 1285.

Lodowicus, rex Francie, filius & heres Philippi Beli, regis Francie. obiit sine exitu de se. gallus, sol.

Translation

Philip Augustus, otherwise known as the Conqueror. King of France. 1180. Rooster.

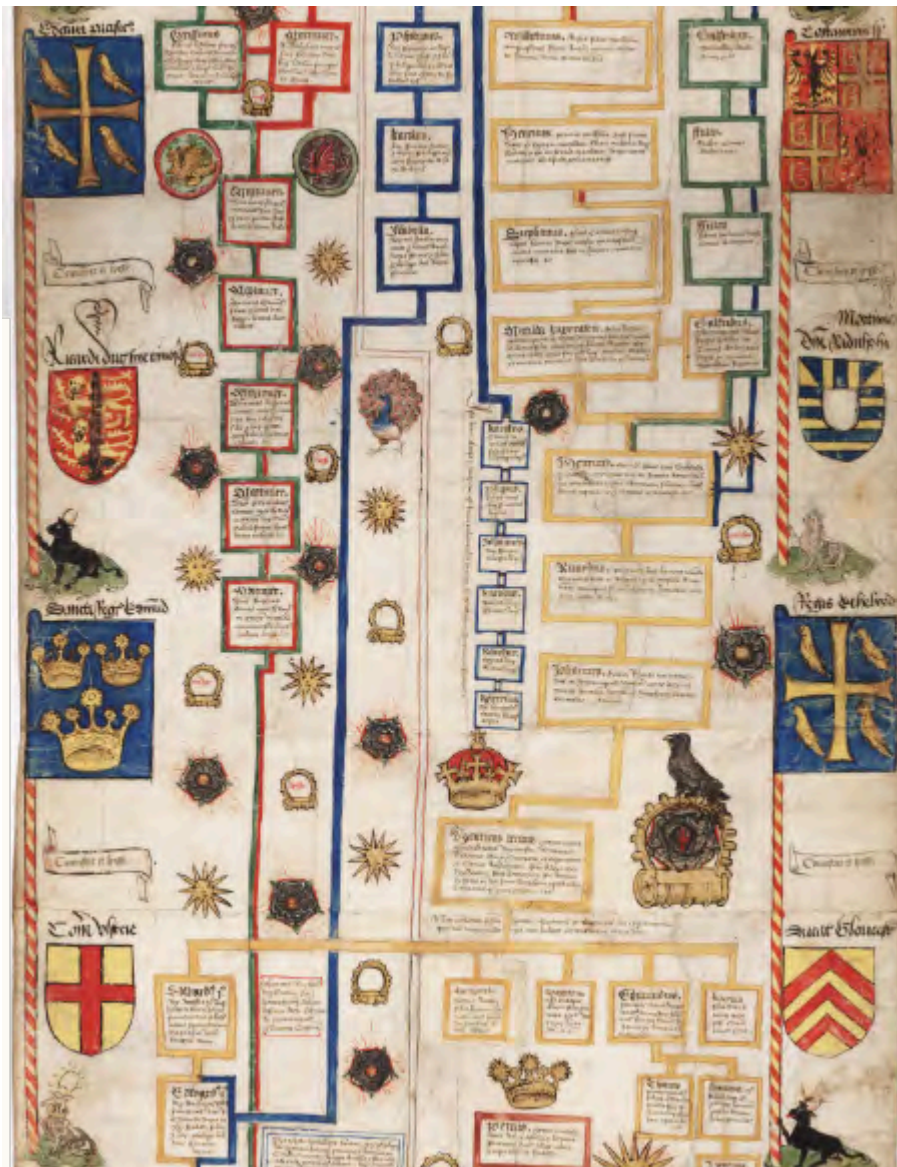
Louis de Montpensier, King of France. Rooster. Reigned in the year of our Lord 1227; according to others, 1224.

Saint Louis, King of France, in the direct line of succession. Rooster, sun. 1229. According to others, 1227.

Philip, king of France. Son and heir of Saint Louis, the true, right, and undisputed king of France. Rooster, sun. 1270.

Philip the Fair, king of France, was the first-born son and heir of King Philip, son of Saint Louis. Rooster, sun. 1285.

Louis, king of France. Son and heir of Philip the Fair, king of France. Died without issue. Rooster, sun.



The French **royal blue line**. The House of Capet terminates in Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair, who marries Edward II of England (lower L), bringing a senior claim to the crown. The House of Valois is shown as a junior collateral branch with smaller boxes.

Transcription

Translation

Philippus, rex Francie et heres Lodowici regis & filius Philippi Beli secundus. obiit sine exitu de se. gallus, sol.

Philip, king of France and heir of King Louis and second son of Philip the Fair. Died without issue. Rooster, sun.

Karolus, rex Francie, frater & heres Philippi tertii. obiit sine exitu de se. gallus, sol.

Charles, king of France, brother and heir of Philip III. Died without issue. Rooster, sun.

Isabella, regina Anglie, erat soror & heres Karoli, regis Francie, & filia Philippi Beli, regis Francie.

Isabelle, queen of England, was the sister and heiress of King Charles of France and the daughter of Philip the Fair, King of France.

Collateral Valois kings:

Sideways text on the left of these boxes:

ista linea clausa & ingrata est linea colaturalis in iure succendi quo ad coronam Francie.

This closed and disagreeable line is the collateral line in the right of succession to the throne of France.

Karolus, comes de Valeis, secundus filius dicti Philippi. Lupus.

Charles, Earl of Valois, second son of the aforementioned Philip. Wolf.

Philippus, filius eius, rex Francie. Lupus.

Philip, his son. King of France. Wolf.

Johannes, rex Francie iniuste. Lupus.

John, king of France without right. Wolf.

Karolus Quintus, rex Francie. Lupus.

Charles V, king of France. Wolf.

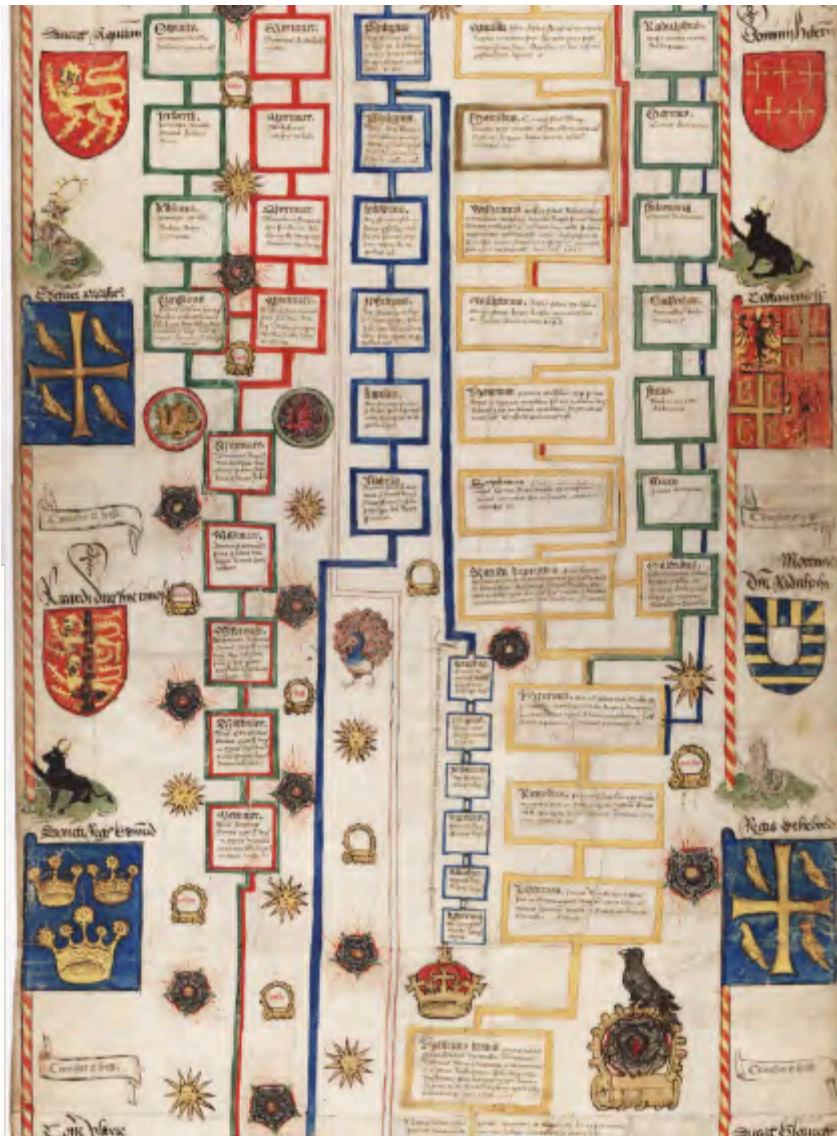
Karolus Sextus, rex Francie. Lupus.

Charles VI, king of France. Wolf.

Katerina, uxor Henrici Quinti, mater Henrici Sexti.

Katherine, wife of Henry V, mother of Henry VI.

Kingdom of England: William I to Edward II



The **red Norman**, **green Angevin**, and **blue Aquitaine** lines all merge with the **English gold line**. The genealogy presents Empress Matilda as the rightful heir to Henry I. King Stephen's box is unattached to the **English gold line** of succession.

Transcription

Wilhelmus Nothus, filius Roberti, ducis Normannie, consilio & auxilio regis Francie ducatus honore sublimatus etc. audiens dux nullum de semine regio regni gubernaculo Anglie suscepisse, tribus de causis mente stimulatus est etc. coronatus fuit apud Westmonesterium anno Domini 1067.

Wilhelmus Rufus, filius Wilhelmi Conquestoris, regis Anglie, coronatus fuit in regem anno gracie 1080.

Henricus Primus, Wilhelmi Rufi frater, duxit in uxorem Matildam, filiam Malcolmi, regis Scottorum, & ex ea jenuit Matildam Imperatricem, maritatum Galfrido Plantagenest.

Stephanus, filius comitis Blesensis, nepos Henrici, regis Anglie, ex cuiusdam sororis coronatus fuit in regem anno 1135. intrusor etc.

Matilda Imperatrix, filia regis Henrici Primi et Matilde, uxoris sue, vocata Matilde Le Bonne, filie Malcolme, regis Scocie et Margarete, uxoris sue. recta heres Anglie & ducatu Normannie, maritata fuit Galfrido Plantagenet [sic].

Translation

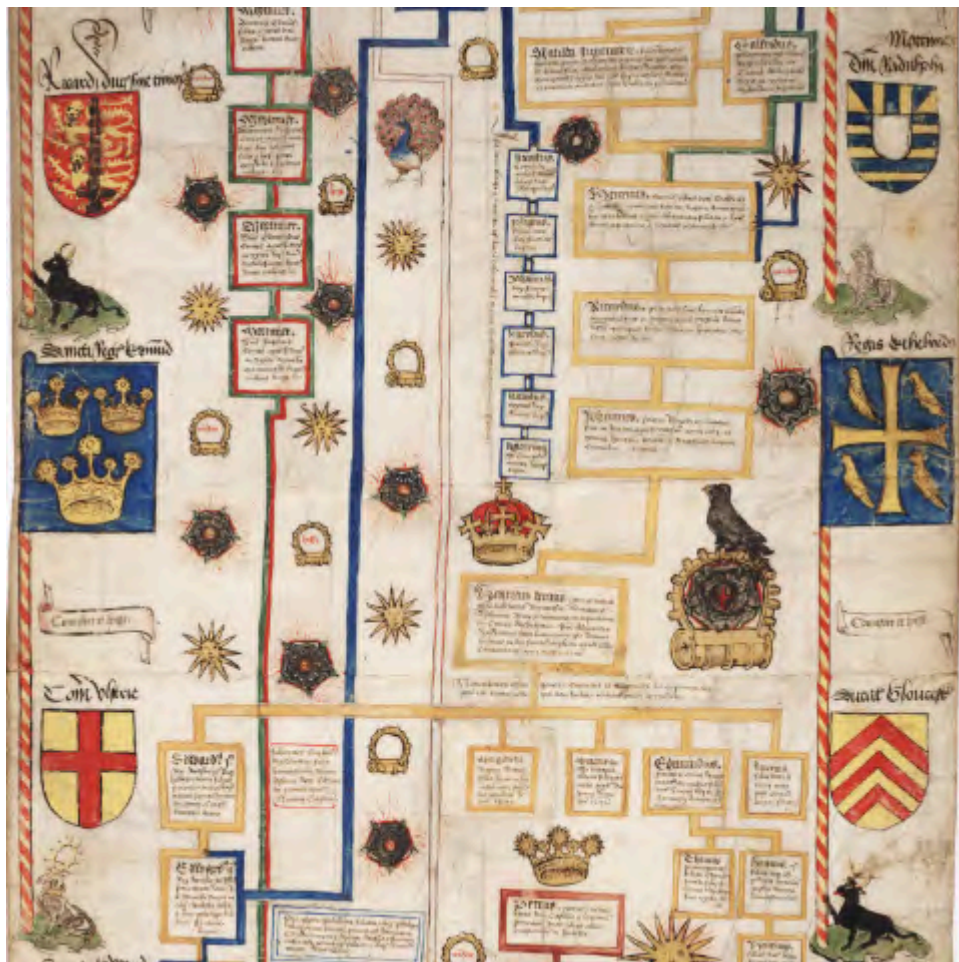
William the Bastard, son of Robert, Duke of Normandy, elevated to the honor of a dukedom by the counsel and aid of the king of France. Hearing that no one of royal blood had taken up the government of the kingdom of England, the duke was moved by three causes etc. Crowned at Westminster in the year of our Lord 1067.

William Rufus, son of William the Conqueror, King of England, was crowned king in the year of grace 1080.

Henry I, brother of William Rufus, married Matilda, daughter of Malcolm, king of Scots, and from her fathered Empress Matilda, married to Geoffrey Plantagenet.

Stephen, son of the Earl of Blois, nephew of Henry, king of England, from one of his sisters. Crowned king in the year 1135. Usurper etc.

Empress Matilda, daughter of King Henry I and his wife Matilda, called "Matilda the Good," daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland and his wife Margaret. Heiress by right of England and the Duchy of Normandy. Married to Geoffrey Plantagenet.



Henry II appears on the upper right margin in a **gold box**, bringing his father's Angevin dukedom, his wife's Aquitanian dukedom, and his mother's claim to the royal crown of England. Interestingly, there is no separate box for Eleanor of Aquitaine

Transcription

Henricus Secundus, filius dicti Galfridi & Matilde, coronatus fuit in regem anno 1154. hic vero habuit uxorem Alionoram, filiam & heredem ducis Aquitanie & comitis Pictavensis etc.

Ricardus Primus, filius Henrici Secundi, coronatus fuit in regem apud Westmonisterium anno 1185, qui apud fontem Ebrandi humatur. obiit sine exitu de se.

Johannes, frater Ricardi, coronatus fuit in regem apud Westmonisterium anno 1191 et genuit Henricum Tertium et Ricardum, ducem Cornubie. taurus.

Henricus tertius, verus, rectus, et indubitatus rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie, dux Normanie et Aquietanie, & comes Andegavie. item Alexander, rex Scottorum, fecit homagium isto domino Henrico in die Sancti Stephani apud Eboracum. coronatus que anno graciae 1216.

Edwardus I^{us}, rex Anglie etc. regis Henrici tertii filius primogenitus & heres, natus septuodecimo die Junii anno 1239. taurus, draco.

Written next to Edward I's box: Iohannes Bayhol, rex Scottorum, fecit homagium reverendissimo regi Edwardo primo apud Novum Castrum.

Translation

Henry II, son of the aforementioned Geoffrey and Matilda, was crowned king in the year 1154. His wife was Eleanor, daughter and heiress of the Duke of Aquitaine and Earl of Poitou etc.

Richard I, son of Henry II, was crowned king at Westminster in the year 1185. He is buried at Fontevraud Abbey. Died without issue.

John, brother of Richard, was crowned king at Westminster in the year 1191 and fathered Henry III and Richard, Duke of Cornwall. Bull.

Henry III, the true, right and undisputed King of England, lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine and Earl of Anjou. Alexander, King of Scots did homage to Lord Henry on Saint Stephen's day at York. Crowned in the Year of Grace 1216.

Edward I, King of England, etc. First-born son and heir of King Henry III, born on the seventeenth of June in the year 1239. Bull, dragon.

John Balliol, King of Scots, did homage to the most reverend King Edward I at Newcastle.

Written Above Henry III's Children:

nativitates Margarete, Beatricis, et Edmundi hic exprimuntur pro eis tantomodo qui non habent certitudinem earundem.

The births of Margaret, Beatrice, and Edmund are here put forth merely for those who do not know them.

Margareta, regina Scottorum, filia Henrici tertii, nata erat secundo die Octobris anno Domini 1240.

Margaret, Queen of Scots, daughter of Henry III, was born on the second day of October in the year of our Lord 1240.

Beatrix, ducissa Britanie, altera filia, erat nata xxv^{to} die Junii anno Domini 1242.

Beatrice, duchess of Brittany, was his [Henry III's] other daughter, born on the twenty-fifth day of June in the year of our Lord 1242.

Edmundus, primus comes Lancastrie creatus, secundus filius dicti Henrici tertii. 16 die Januarii anno 1245 erat natus.

Edmund, made the first Earl of Lancaster, the second son of the aforesaid Henry III. He was born on the sixteenth of January in the year 1245.

Katerina, filia dicti Henrici tertii, nata post Edmundum, comitem praedictum.

Catherine, the daughter of the aforesaid Henry III, born after Edmund, the earl mentioned earlier.

Edwardus II^{us}, rex Anglie etc., filius primogenitus dicti regis Edwardi. duxit in uxorem Isabellam filiam & heredem Philippi Beli, regis Francie. Lupus.

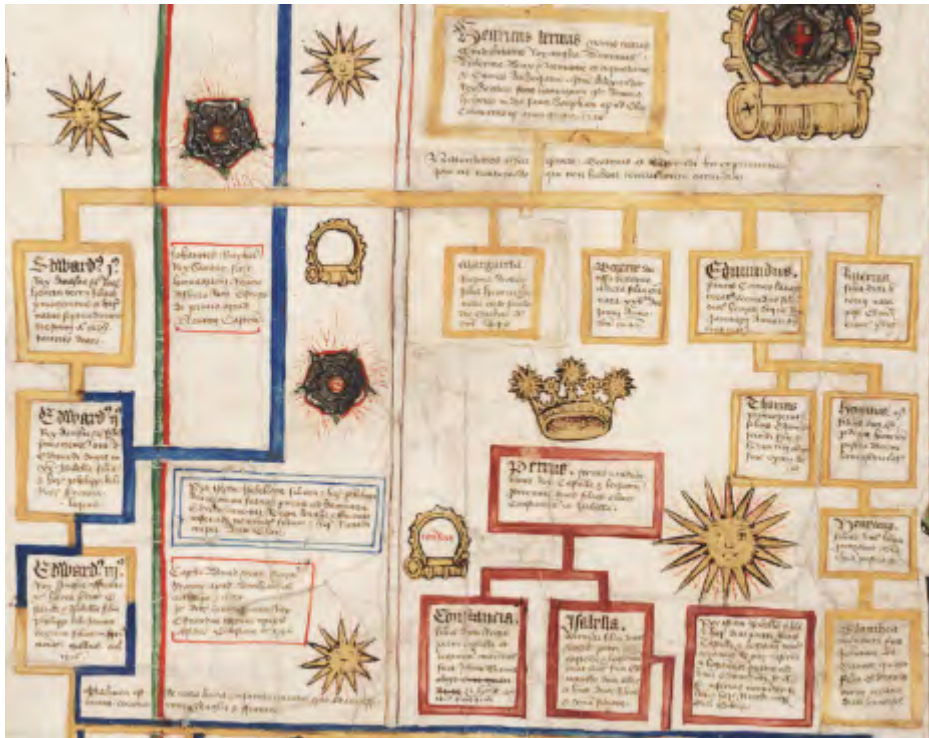
Edward II, King of England, etc. First-born son of the aforementioned King Edward. Married Isabella, daughter and heiress of Philip the Fair, King of France. Wolf.

Written Next to Edward II's box:

Per istam Isabellam, filiam & heredem Philippi Beli, coronam Franciae pervenit ad dominum Edwardum III, regem Anglie & Francie inferius nominatum, filium & heredem Ricardi nuper ducis Eboraci.

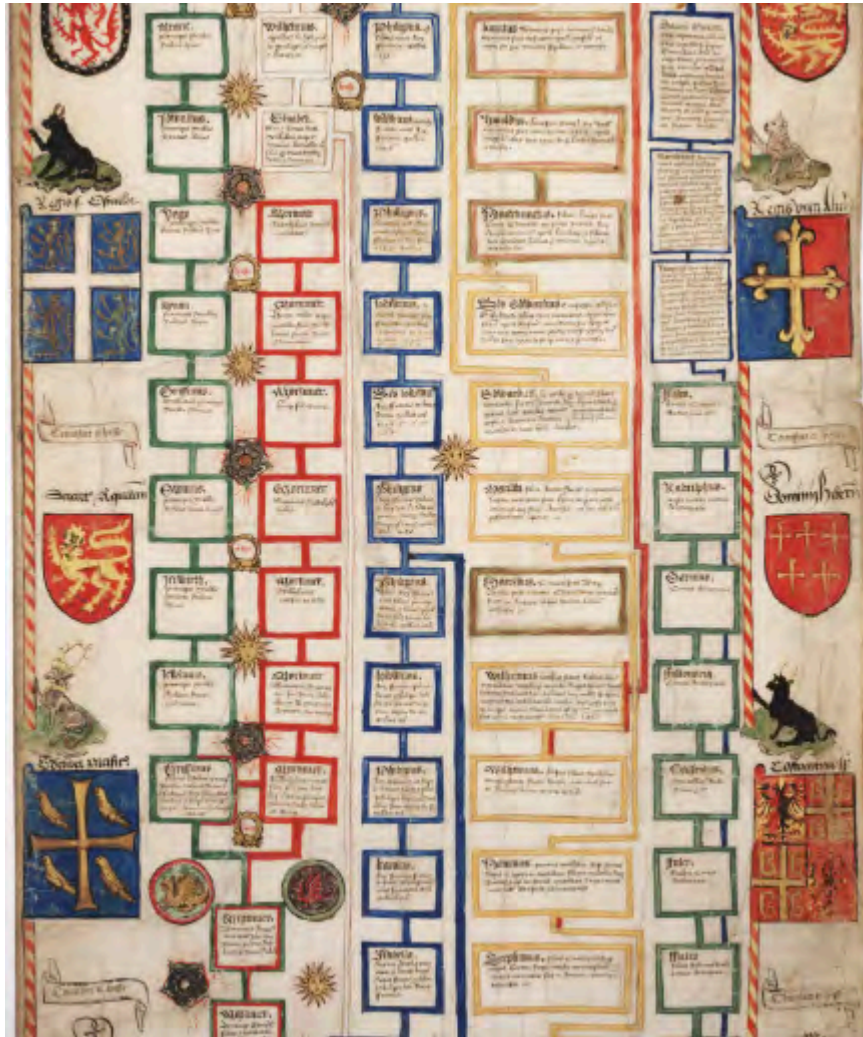
Through this Isabella, daughter and heiress of Philip the Fair, the crown of France passed to Lord Edward IV, King of England and France, mentioned below, son and heir of Richard, Duke of York.

See Capet Line for Isabella's genealogical box (above)



Henry III and his children in **English gold boxes**. The roll makes a great effort to show that Edward I was the firstborn son, to rebut the Lancastrian claim that Edmund was firstborn. The roll gives specific birth dates for Henry III's children, something it does not do elsewhere.

Mortimer Line to Richard Earl of Cambridge



On the left, the **Mortimer red line** joins with the Welsh green line at the marriage of Ralph Mortimer to Gwladus Ddu, and continues as a **red+green line**. Roundels showing white and red dragons draw special attention to this union.

Transcription

Mortimer Radulphus, dominus Mortimer.

Mortimer Hugo, miles. nuptus Matilde, filie Wilhelmi Longa Spata, ducis Normanie.

Mortimer Hugo, filius eius.

Mortimer dominus Radulphus, miles.

Mortimer Wilhelmus, occisus in bello.

Mortimer dominus Rogerus, qui fundavit Abathiam de Wigmore. dominus Mortimer.

Mortimer Radulphus. maritatus fuit Gladuy Duy, heredi Lewlini, principis Wallie, rubii draconi et Bruti.

Mortimer dominus Rogerus. maritatus fuit domine Breux prima. rosa, Brutus, draco rubeus.

Mortimer dominus Edmundus, filius & heres dicti Rogeri. Brutus, draco rubeus.

Translation

Ralph Mortimer, lord Mortimer.

Hugh Mortimer, soldier. Married Matilda, daughter of William Longsword, Duke of Normandy.

Hugh Mortimer, his son.

Lord Ralph Mortimer, soldier.

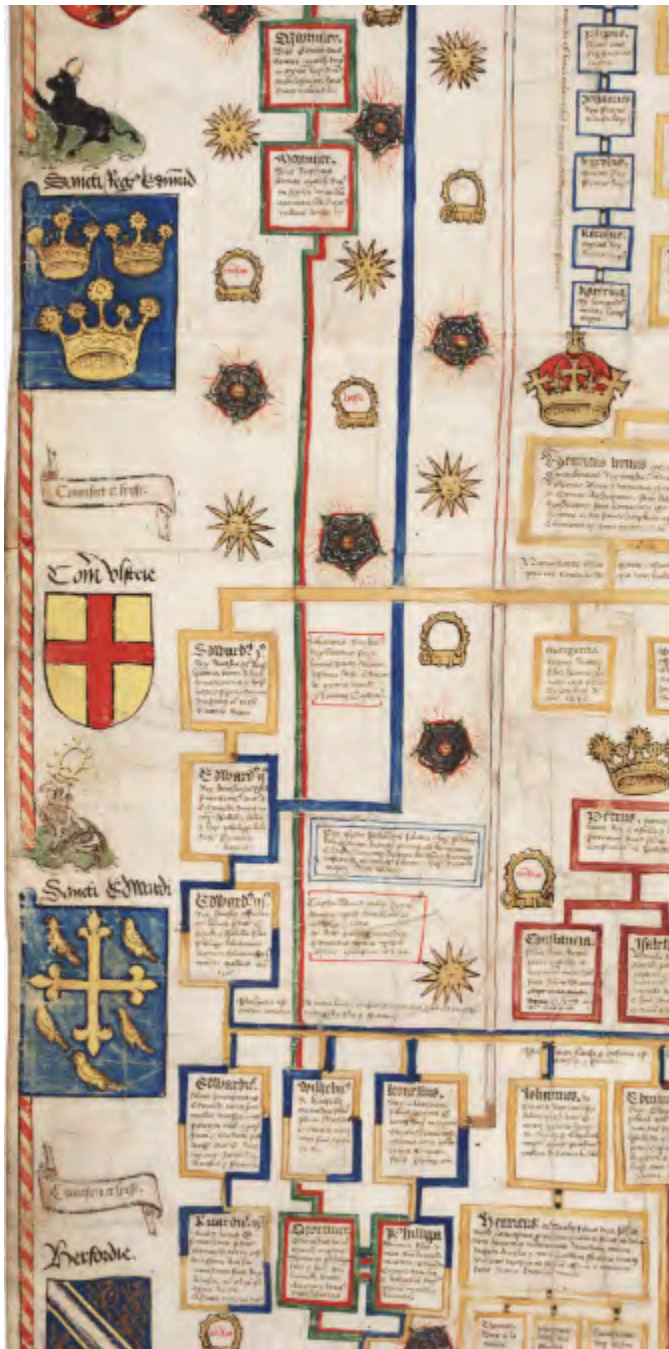
William Mortimer, killed in battle.

Lord Roger Mortimer, who founded Wigmore Abbey. Lord Mortimer.

Ralph Mortimer. Married Gladuys Duy, heiress of Lewlin, prince of Wales, of the red dragon, British.

Lord Roger Mortimer. Married lady Braose I. Rose, British, red dragon.

Lord Edmund Mortimer, son and heir of the aforementioned Roger. British, red dragon.



Transcription

Translation

Mortimer dominus Rogerus, comes Marchi. maritatus fuit domine Johanne, filie & heredi Petri Genyville. Brutus, draco rubeus, leo.

Lord Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, was married to lady Joan, daughter and heiress of Peter Geneville. British, red dragon, lion.

Mortimer dominus Edmundus, comes Marchi. duxit in uxorem heredem domini Badelesmere. Brutus, draco rubeus, leo.

Lord Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, married the heiress of lord Badlesmere. British, red dragon, lion.

Mortimer dominus Rogerus, comes Marchi. duxit in uxorem Matildam Mountagev. Brutus, rubeus draco, leo.

Lord Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, married Matilda Montagu. British, red dragon, lion.

Mortimer Edmundus, comes Marchi, nuptatus domine Philippe, filie & heredi domini Leonelli, ducis Clarence. brutus, rubeus draco, leo.

Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, was married to Lady Philippa, daughter and heiress of Lord Lionel, Duke of Clarence. British, red dragon, lion.

Note: after this marriage, the Red+Green line is subsumed into the Gold+Blue line of England+France, the latter of which is passed down to all Mortimer descendants.

The red+green (Mortimer+Welsh) line continues through the marriage of Edmund Mortimer to Lionel of Antwerp's daughter Philippa, bottom center.

Transcription

Translation

Rogerus Mortimer, comes Marchi, primogenitus predicti Edmundi et Philippe, fuit regnorum Anglie & Francie proximus. tunc heres per totam Angliam ita proclamatur. Brutus, galus et sol, leo.

Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, first-born son of the aforementioned Edmund and Philippa, was next in line to the kingdoms of England and France. Then he was declared heir throughout all of England. British, rooster and sun, lion.

Edmundus, I^{us} filius Rogeri. post decessum patris sui fuit comes Marchi. obiit sine exitu de se.

Edmund, first son of Roger. Became Earl of March after the death of his father. Died without issue.

Rogerus, II^{us} filius predicti Rogeri, decessit ante dictum Edmundum, fratrem suum. obiit sine exitu de se. Leo.

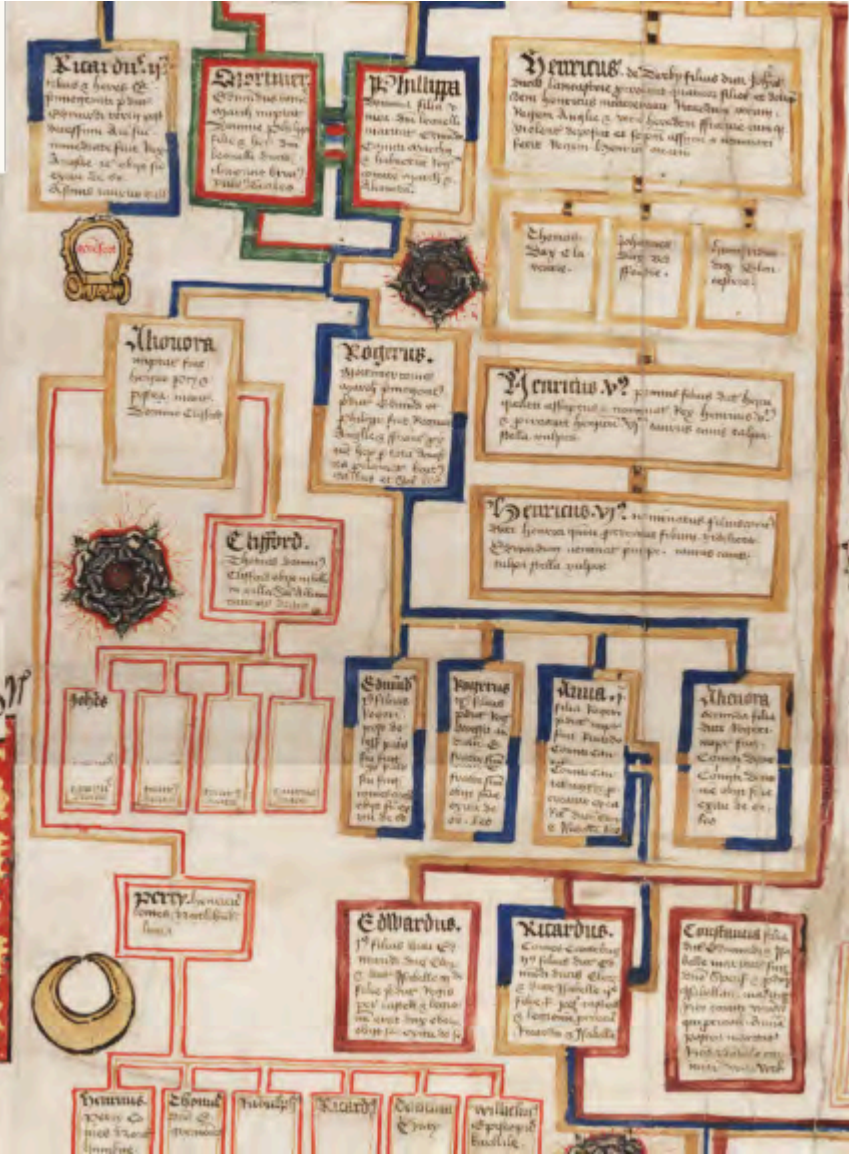
Roger, second son of the aforementioned Roger. Died before the aforementioned

Anna, I^a filia Rogeri predicti, nupta fuit Ricardo, comiti Cantebriggie, & procreavit ex ea Ricardum, ducem Eboraci, & Isabellam. leo.

Anne, first daughter of the aforementioned Roger, was married to Richard, Earl of Cambridge, and through her he fathered Richard, Duke of York and Isabelle. Lion.

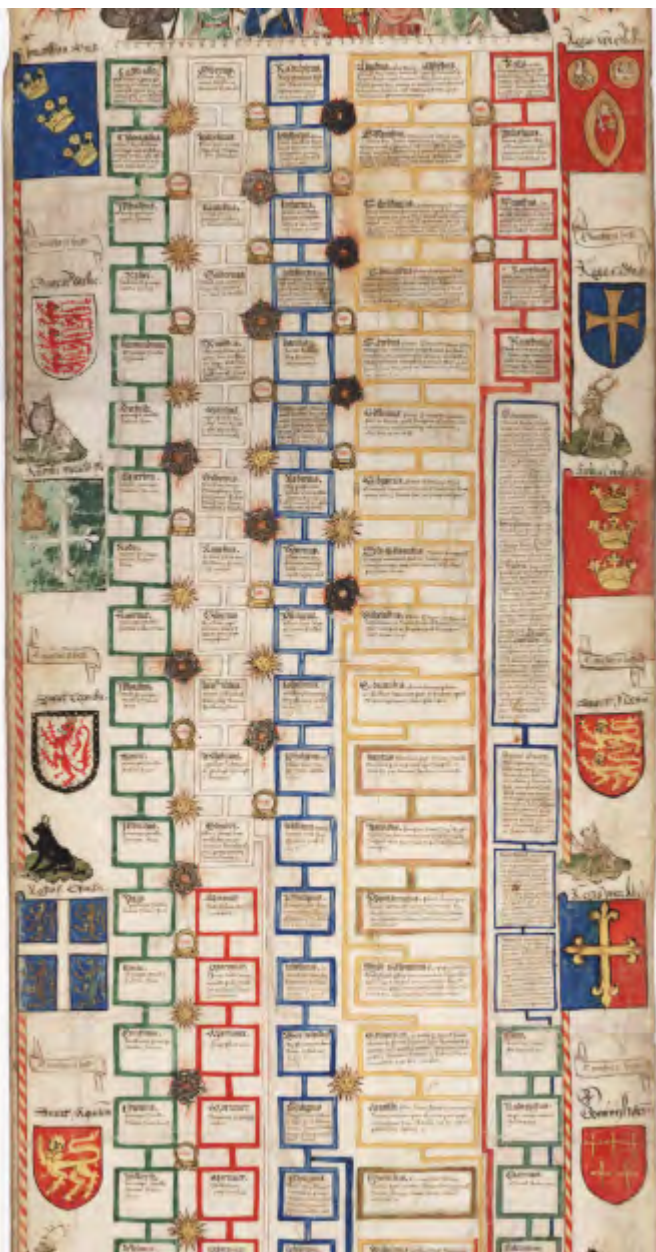
Alienora, secunda filia dicti Rogeri, nupta fuit comiti Devonie. obiit sine exitu de se. leo.

Eleanor, second daughter of the aforementioned Roger, was married to the Earl of Devon. Died without issue. Lion.



The descendants of Philippa and Edmund (upper L), showing daughter Eleanor’s marriage into the Percy and Clifford families, and the male hereditary line continuing through son Roger to granddaughter Anne Mortimer, whose line connects with her husband, Richard earl of Cambridge, directly below her. Note how the red+green (Mortimer+Welsh) line is subsumed into the royal lines of England and France.

Ancestry of Lionel of Antwerp's Wife



The ancestry of Lionel of Antwerp's wife, Elizabeth de Burgh, is presented in **white-outlined** boxes (L) originating with the Counts of Eu (called "Ogy" here). The **white line** descends through the de Clare and de Burgh patrimonies. This ancestry brought the Anglo-Irish earldom of Ulster into the House of York

Transcription

Obertus, comes Ogy, dominus Wolstoni, et dominus Todenham.

Wilhelmus, filius eius. comes Ogy, dominus Wolstoni, & dominus Todenham.

Ricardus, comes Ogy & dominus Wolstoni & dominus Todenham.

Gilbertus, filius eius. comes Ogy, dominus Wolstoni, et dominus Todenham.

Ricardus Strongbowe, comes Ogy, dominus Wolston etc. nuptus Eve, filie & heredi Durmount Makmurghi, regis Lyncestre in Hibernia.

Marchal. nuptus Isabelle, filie & heredi dicti Ricardi & Eve, filie & heredis dicti Makmurgh.

Gilbertus de Clare, comes Gloucestrie & Hertfordi. nuptus Isabelle, filie & heredi dictorum Marchali & Isabelle.

Translation

Obertus, Earl of Ogy, lord of Wolston and lord of Todenham.

William, his son. Earl of Ogy, lord of Wolston and lord of Todenham.

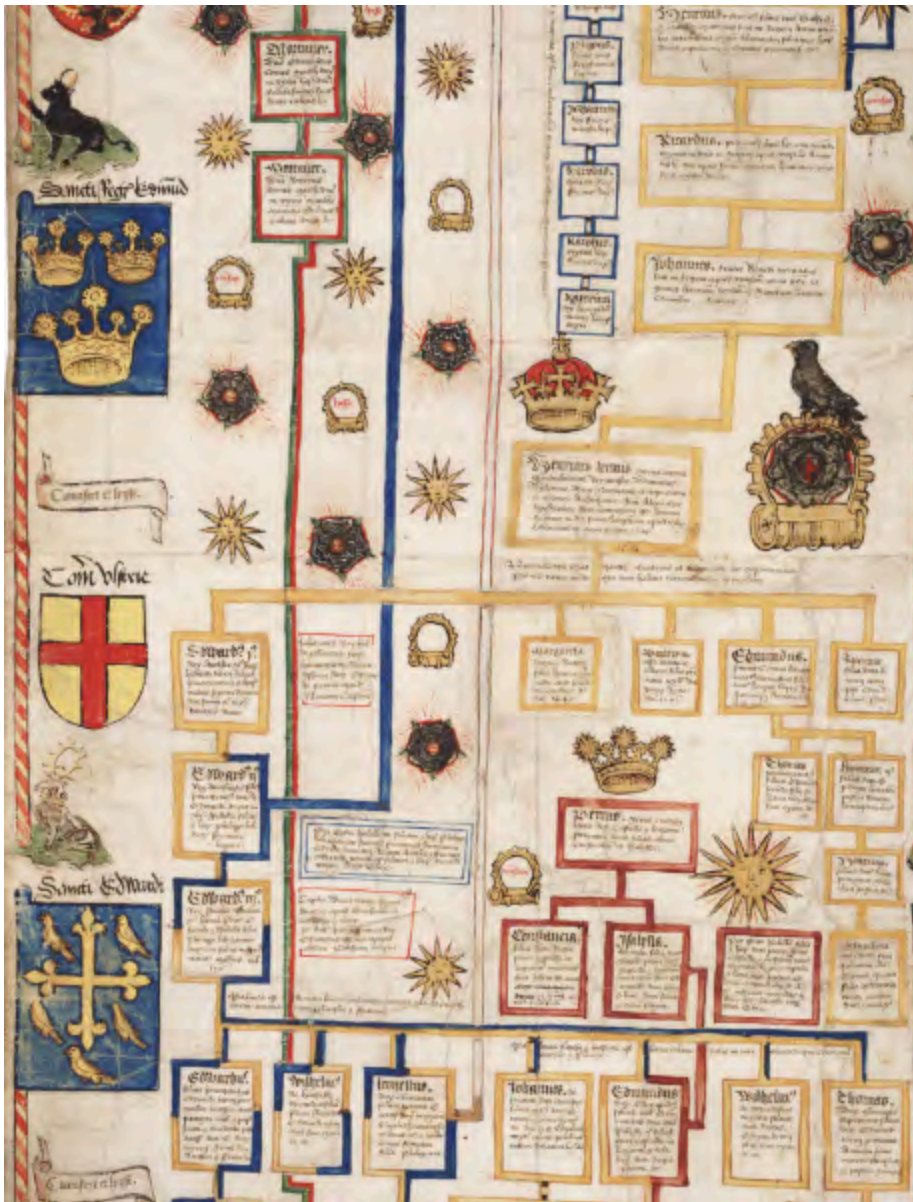
Richard, Earl of Ogy, lord of Wolston and lord of Todenham.

Gilbert, his son. Earl of Ogy, lord of Wolston and lord of Todenham.

Richard Strongbow, Earl of Ogy, lord of Wolston etc. Married to Eve [Aoife], daughter and heiress of Durmount Makmurgh [Diarmait Mac Murchada], the king of Leinster, in Ireland.

Marchal. Married to Isabelle, the daughter and heiress of the aforementioned Richard and of Eve, daughter and heiress of the aforementioned Makmurgh.

Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford. Married Isabelle, daughter and heiress of the aforementioned Marchal and Isabelle.



Elizabeth de Burgh's box leads to a very long white line (center) which terminates at her marriage to Lionel of Antwerp, bottom center.

Transcription

Ricardus de Clare, filius dicti Gilberti & Isabelle, uxoris eius etc.

Gilbertus de Clare. nupto Johanne, filie Edwardi primi, post conquestum.

Heres Ulstrie. nuptus Elizabethae, filie & heredi domini Gilberti praedicti.

Wilhelmus, appellatur Le Redeyerl, de Wolcestre, Gloucestre, & Hertfordi.

Elizabeth, filia & heres dicti Wilhelmi. nupta domino Leonello iii^o filio Edwardi tercii, duci Clarencie.

Translation

Richard de Clare, son of the aforementioned Gilbert and his wife Isabelle etc.

Gilbert de Clare. Married to Joan, daughter of Edward I, after the conquest.

The heir of Ulster. Married to Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of the aforementioned lord Gilbert.

William, called "The Red Earl," of Wolcester, Gloucester, and Hertford.

Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of the aforementioned William. Married to lord Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the third son of Edward III.



Edward III appears in the upper left, with the royal lines of **England (gold)** and **France (blue)** outlining his box. These lines pass through the Black Prince, Richard II, William of Hatfield, and Lionel of Antwerp.

Edwardus III^{us}, rex Anglie & Francie etc., heres predicti Edwardi secundi & Isabelle, filie Philippi Beli, ianuit septem filios inferius nominatos. gallus, sol. 1316.

Edward III, King of England and France, etc., heir of the aforementioned Edward II and Isabelle, daughter of Philip the Fair. Fathered seven sons, named below. Rooster, sun. 1316.

Next to Edward III's genealogical box in box with thin red line: captio David Brux, regis Scottorum, apud Durham ab archiepiscopo & clero. item dictus inclitissimus rex Edwardus tertius incepit obsidere Calisiam etc. 1346.

Capture of David Bruce, King of Scotland, at Durham, by the archbishop and the clergy. At the same time, the aforementioned most renowned King Edward III began to besiege Calais etc. 1346.

Written under Edward III's box, and above the boxes for his three eldest sons: ista linea est de recta linea consanguinitatis quo ad successionem coronarum Anglie & Francie.

This line descends from the right line of consanguinity to the succession to the crowns of England and France.

Edwardus, filius primogenitus Edwardi tertii, princeps Wallie. decessit ante patrem suum & procreavit Ricardum & immediate post decessum dicti Edwardi regis tertii regnavit Ricardus, rex Anglie & Francie.

Edward, first-born son of Edward III. Prince of Wales. Died before his father. Fathered Richard, and immediately after the death of the aforesaid King Edward III, Richard ruled as king of England and France.

Ricardus II^{us}, filius & heres Edwardi tertii. post decessum avi sui immediate fuit Rex Anglie etc. obiit sine exitu de se. asinus, taurus, gallus.

Richard II, son and heir of Edward, the first-born son of the aforementioned Edward III. After the death of his grandfather, he immediately became king of England, etc. Died without issue. Donkey, bull, rooster.

Wilhelmus de Hatfeldi, secundus filius predicti regis Edwardi tertii. obiit sine exit de se.

William of Hatfield, second son of the aforementioned King Edward III. Died without issue.

Leonellus, dux Clarencie, filius tertius Edwardi tertii, duxit in uxorem Elizabetham, comitissam Ulconie etc., & habuerunt unicum filium, Philippam.

Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III, married Elizabeth, Countess of Ulster etc., and they had a single daughter, Philippa.

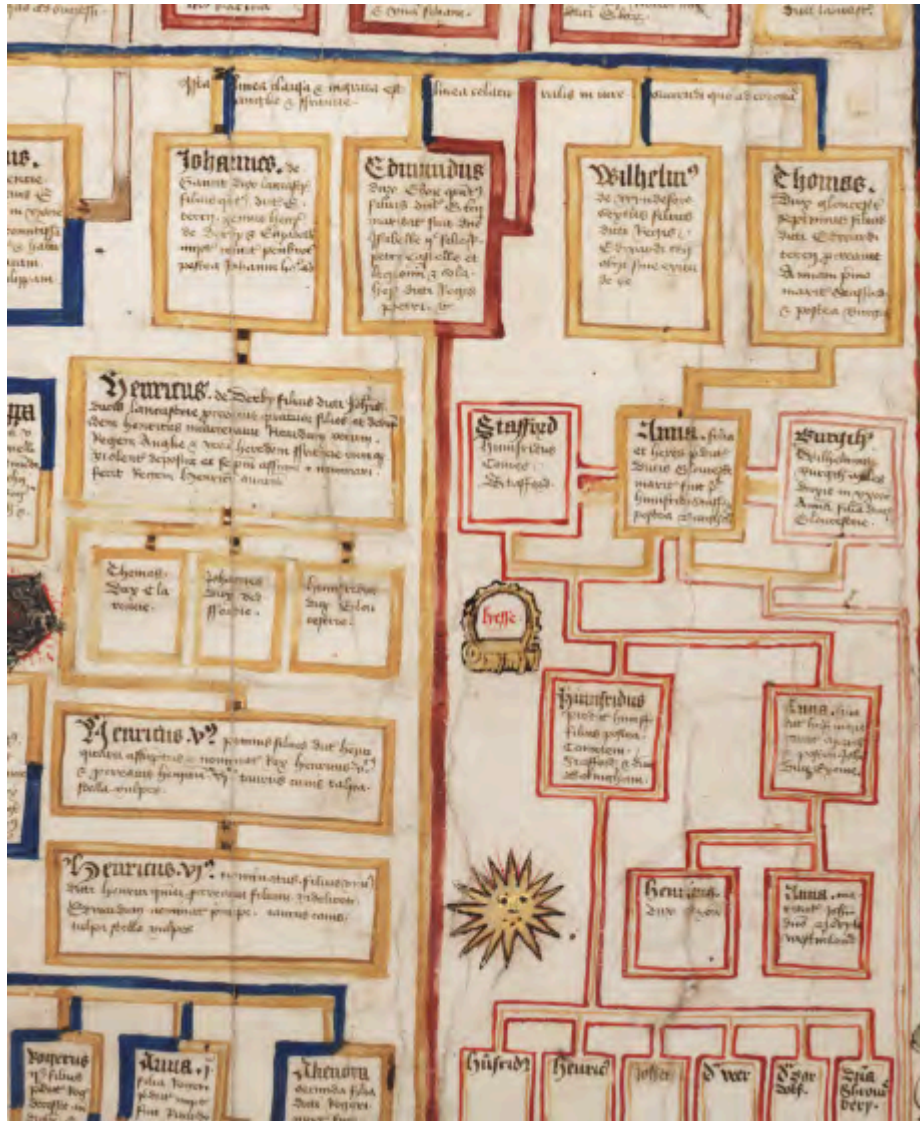
Phillipa domina, filia unica domini Leonelli, maritata Edmundo, comiti Marchii, & habuerunt Rogerum, comitem Marchi, & Alionoram.

Lady Philippa, only daughter of Lionel, was married to Edmund, Earl of March. They had Roger, Earl of March and Eleanor.

Written above John of Gaunt:

ista linea clausa & ingrata est linea colaturalis in iure succendi quo ad coronas Anglie et Francie.

This closed and disagreeable line is the collateral line in the right of succession to the crowns of England and France.



Johannes de Gaunt, dux Lancastrie, filius quartus dicti Edwardi tertii. genuit Henricum de Derby & Elizabetham, nuptam comiti Penbroci, postea Johanni Holand.

John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, fourth son of Edward III. Fathered Henry Derby and Elizabeth, married to the Earl of Pembroke and later to John Holland.

Henricus de Derby, filius dicti Iohannis, ducis Lancastrie. procreavit quatuor filios. et demum idem Henricus incarceravit Ricardum, verum regem Anglie & verum heredem Francie, eum que violenter deposuit et seipsum assumi & nominari fecit regem Henricum quartum.

Henry Derby, son of the aforementioned John, Duke of Lancaster. Fathered four children. And then this Henry incarcerated Richard, the true king of England and the true heir of France, and violently deposed him. He assumed the throne and had himself named King Henry IV.

Henricus V^{us}, primus filius dicti Henrici quarti, assumptus & nominatus rex Henricus V^{us}, & procreavit Henricum vi^{tum}. taurus, canis, talpa, stella, vulpes.

Henry V, first son of the aforementioned Henry IV. Assumed the throne and named King Henry V. Fathered Henry VI. Bull, dog, mole, star, fox.

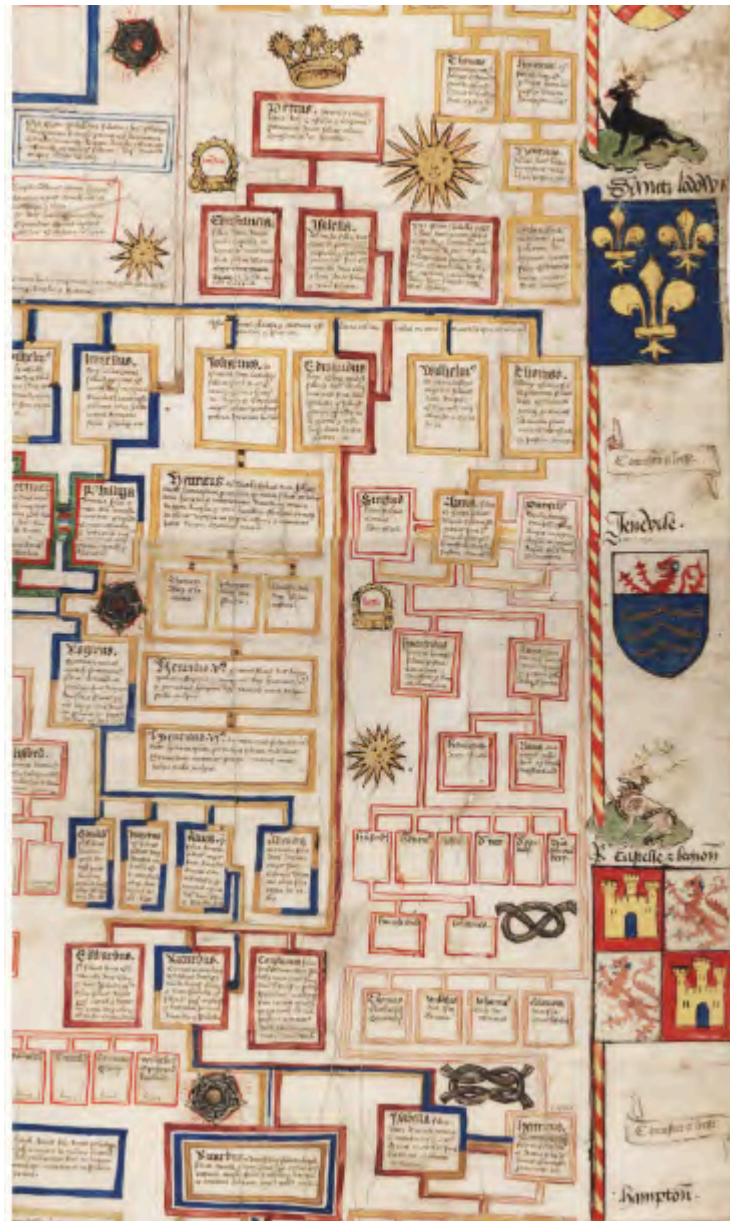
Editorial Note: The three other sons of Henry IV (Thomas, John, and Humphrey) are included with their ducal titles.

Henricus VI^{us} nominatus, filius unicus dicti Henrici quinti, procreavit filium, videlicet Edwardum, nominatum principem. taurus canis, talpa stella vulpes.

Henry VI, so-called, only son of the aforesaid Henry V. Fathered a son, known as Edward, named prince. Bull, dog, mole, star, fox.

At the top: Edward III's younger sons John of Gaunt, Edmund of Langley, William of Windsor, and Thomas of Woodstock. None of them transmit the solid blue line of the French crown, indicating that they are only collateral to the direct line of succession. The sons of Henry IV are shown, as well as the daughter of Thomas of Woodstock who married into the Stafford and Bouchier families.

House of York & its Claim to Crown of **Castile & Leon**



Top center: the **crown of Castile & Leon** is presented with its line of succession indicated in a **red color**, with Edmund of Langley inheriting the direct line over John of Gaunt. Gaunt and Langley had married the two daughters of King Peter. Edward IV ultimately agreed to settle his claim to the Castilian crown and someone later struck out parts of this lineage.

Transcription

Petrus, verus & indubitatus rex Castellae & Legionum, procreavit duas filias, scilicet Constanciam et Isabellam.

Constancia, filia dicti regis Petri Castellae et Legionum, maritata fuit Johanni Gaunti. obiit sine exitu de se & habuit exitum Caterinam.

Isabella, secunda filia dicti regis Petri Castellae & Legionum, maritata fuit Edmundo, duci Eboraci, & habuit duos filios & unam filiam.

Written Outside Isabella's Box:

Per istam Isabellam, filiam et heredem dicti Petri regis Castellae & Legionum, titulus coronarum de earum Castellae & Legionum pervenit ad dominum Edwardum iij, regem Anglie et Francie inferius nominatum, filium et heredem Ricardi nuper duci Eboraci.

**Editorial Note: this statement above is crossed out by a later hand.*

Edmundus, dux Eboraci, quintus filius dicti Edwardi tertii, maritatus fuit domine Isabelle, II^{ae} filie regis Petri Castellae et Legionum & sola heredi dicti regis Petri etc.

Edwardus, I^{us} filius dicti Edmundi, ducis Eboraci, & dicte Isabelle, II^{de} filie predicti regis Petri Castellae & Legionum, erat dux Eboraci. obiit sine exitu de se.

Ricardus, comes Cantabrigie, II^{us} filius dicti Edmundi, ducis Eboraci, & dicte Isabelle, II^{ae} filie regis Petri

Translation

Peter, the true and undisputed King of Castile and León, fathered two daughters, Constance and Isabelle.

Constance, daughter of the aforesaid King Peter of Castile and León, was married to John of Gaunt. Died without issue. And had issue: Catherine.*

**Editorial note: the strikeout and language about Constance's issue were added to Lewis E201 after it was first made.*

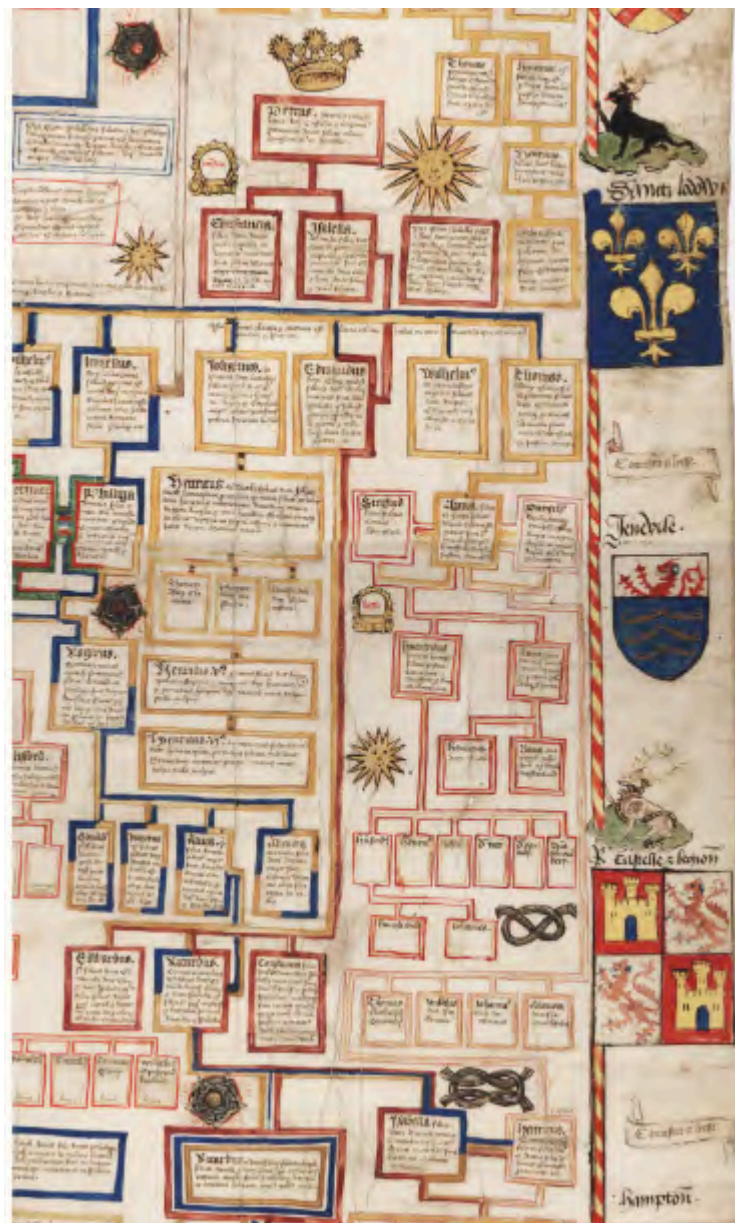
Isabelle, the second daughter of the aforesaid King Peter of Castile and León, was married to Edmund, Duke of York, and had two sons and one daughter.

Through this Isabelle, daughter and heiress of the aforementioned Peter, king of Castile and León, the title of the crown of Castile and León passed to Lord Edward IV, King of England and France, named below, the son and heir of Richard Duke of York.

Edmund, Duke of York, fifth son of the aforesaid Edward III, was married to Lady Isabelle, the second daughter of King Peter of Castile and León and the sole heiress of the aforesaid King Peter etc.

Edward, first son of the aforementioned Edmund, Duke of York, and the aforementioned Isabelle, second daughter of the aforementioned Peter, king of Castile and León, was Duke of York. Died without issue.

Richard, Earl of Cambridge, second son of the aforementioned Edmund, Duke of York, and the afore-



Castelli & Legionum. procreavit Ricardum & Isabellam.

Editorial Note: the box for Richard of Cambridge is outlined in the three colors representing the lineal succession of England, France, and Castile (gold, blue, red).

Constancia, filia dicti Edmundi & Isabelle, maritata fuit domino Spenser & produxi Isabellam maritatum Ricardum comiti Warwicki qui procreavit Annam postea maritatum Ricardum Nevile comiti Warwicki.

Ricardus, dux Eboraci, filius & heres predicti Ricardi & dicte Anne, fuit verus heres regnorum Anglie, Francie, Castellie & Legionum et dominus Hibernie. Brutus, gallus, sol, leo.

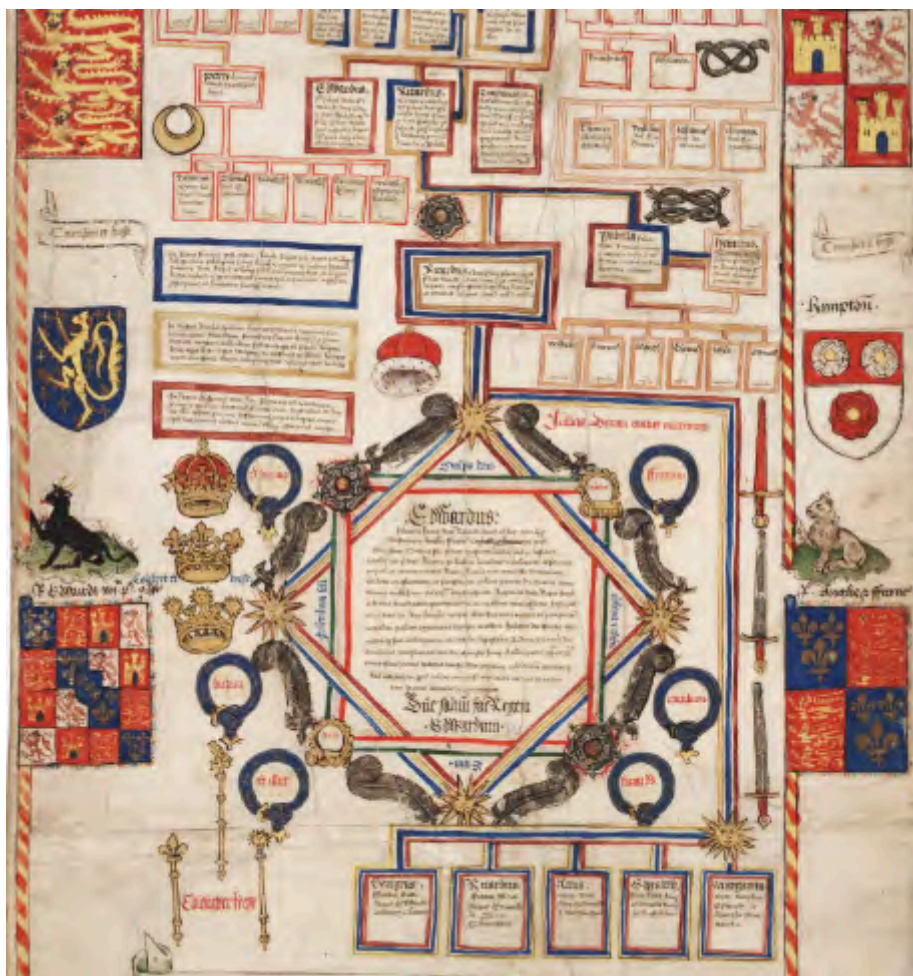
Editorial Note: the box for Richard, third Duke of York is especially large and it is dramatically outlined in the royal lines of succession for England, France, and Castile (gold, blue, red).

mentioned Isabelle, second daughter of Peter, King of Castile and León. Fathered Richard and Isabelle.

Constance, daughter of the aforementioned Edmund and Isabelle, was married to Lord Despenser and bore Isabelle, married to Richard, Earl of Warwick, who fathered Anne, who later married Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick.

Richard, Duke of York, son and heir of the aforementioned Richard and the aforementioned Anne, was the true heir of the kingdoms of England, France, Castile, and León and the lord of Ireland. British, rooster, sun, lion.

Edward IV's Claim to **English**, **French**, and **Spanish** Crowns



Richard, third duke of York, is described in a rectangular box that is outlined with the three royal lines of **England**, **France**, and **Castile & Leon**, demonstrating his superior right to those crowns over Lancastrian descendants.

Transcription

Ricardus, dux Eboraci, filius & heres predicti Ricardi & dicte Anne, fuit verus heres regnorum Anglie, Francie, Castellie & Legionum et dominus Hibernie. Brutus, gallus, sol, leo.

In a blue-outlined box to the left of Richard third duke of York's box:

In regno Francie post obitum Karoli regis, filii regis Philippi Beli, quidam Philippus, filius Karoli, comitis de Valoys, fratris junioris dicti regis Philippi Beli, sublimatus fuit in regem regni ipsius, a quo tempore omnes qui regnarunt in Francia usurpant et hactenus successerunt.

In a gold-outlined box to the left of Richard third duke of York's box:

In regno Anglie quidam Henricus Derby, ligiancie sue renunciatis, Ricardum secundum regem Anglie & suum regem mortem dolendam subire coegit et seipsum regem fecit appellari, a quo tempore successores eiusdem Henrici coronam istius regni occupaverunt, usurpantes iniuste.

In a red-outlined box to the left of Richard third duke of York's box:

In regno Hispanie, cum rex Petrus ad senectutem pervenit, quidam Henricus, frater eius bastardus, de regno illo ipsum Petrum deforciavit, a quo tempore omnes qui regnarunt ibidem coronam illam usurpant iniuste.

Translation

Richard, Duke of York, son and heir of the aforementioned Richard and the aforementioned Anne, was the true heir of the kingdoms of England, France, Castile, and León and the lord of Ireland. British, rooster, sun, lion.

In the kingdom of France, after the death of King Charles, son of Philip the Fair, a certain Philip, son of Charles, Earl of Valois and younger brother of the aforementioned King Philip the Fair, was raised to the throne of this kingdom. From this time, all who have reigned in France, and who have succeeded each other up to now, have been usurpers.

In the kingdom of England, a certain Henry Derby renounced his oath of fealty; subjected Richard II, the king of England and his own king, to a painful death; and named himself king. From this time forward, Henry's successors have held the throne of this kingdom unjustly, as usurpers.

In the kingdom of Spain, when King Peter reached old age, a certain Henry, his bastard brother, forced Peter from the kingdom. From this time forward, all who have reigned there have held the throne unjustly, as usurpers.

EDWARDUS: filius et heres dicti Ricardi, ducis Eboraci, veri heredis regnorum Anglie, Francie, Castelle et Legionum. post decessum patris sui praedicti existens Londoni, ius et iustum titulum ad praedicta regna se habere luculenter intelligens, desiderii populi et communitatis regni Anglie cum concensu dominorum ibidem existentium et satisfacere volens, quarto die Marcii anno Domini millesimo CCC^omo^o sextogesimo, regimen dicti regni Anglie sibi iure hereditario pertinentem in se realiter cum effectu suscepit et extunc ut rex Anglie incepit idem regnum regere et potestatem regalem palam excerceri et exequi in eodem. insuper Dei gratia coronatusque fuit solempniter in vigilia apostolorum Petri et Pauli, die Dominica vicesimo octavo die mensis Iunii anno gratie m^olo^o CCC^omo^o setogesimo primo, magno congaudio populorum iubilantium gratiasque Deo agentium propter talem immensam iustitiam inter eos sit exortatam, dicens cordialiter et unanimiter, Domine salvum fac regem Edwardum.

EDWARD: Son and heir of the aforementioned Richard, Duke of York, true heir of the kingdoms of England, France, Castile, and León. Being at London after the death of his aforementioned father, and clearly understanding that he possessed the right and just title to the aforesaid kingdoms, by the will of the people and the commons of the kingdom of England and with the consent of the lords present there, and wishing to satisfy their will, on the fourth of March, the year of our Lord 1460, he earnestly took up the rule of the aforesaid kingdom of England, truly belonging to him by hereditary right, and thenceforth began to rule that kingdom as king of England and publicly to wield royal power and to carry out his duty in the same. Moreover, by the grace of God, he was solemnly crowned on the vigil of the apostles Peter and Paul on the Lord's day, the twenty-eighth of June, the year of grace 1461, to the great joy of the people, who rejoiced and gave thanks to God because such a great act of justice occurred among them, heartily and unanimously crying, Lord, save King Edward.

Boxes for Duke of York's younger children:

Georgius. frater dicti regis Edwardi ac dux Clarentie.

George. Brother of the aforementioned King Edward and Duke of Clarence.

Ricardus. frater dicti regis Edwardi ac dux Gloucestrie.

Richard. Brother of the aforementioned King Edward and Duke of Gloucester.

Anna. soror dicti regis Edwardi & ducissa Exonie.

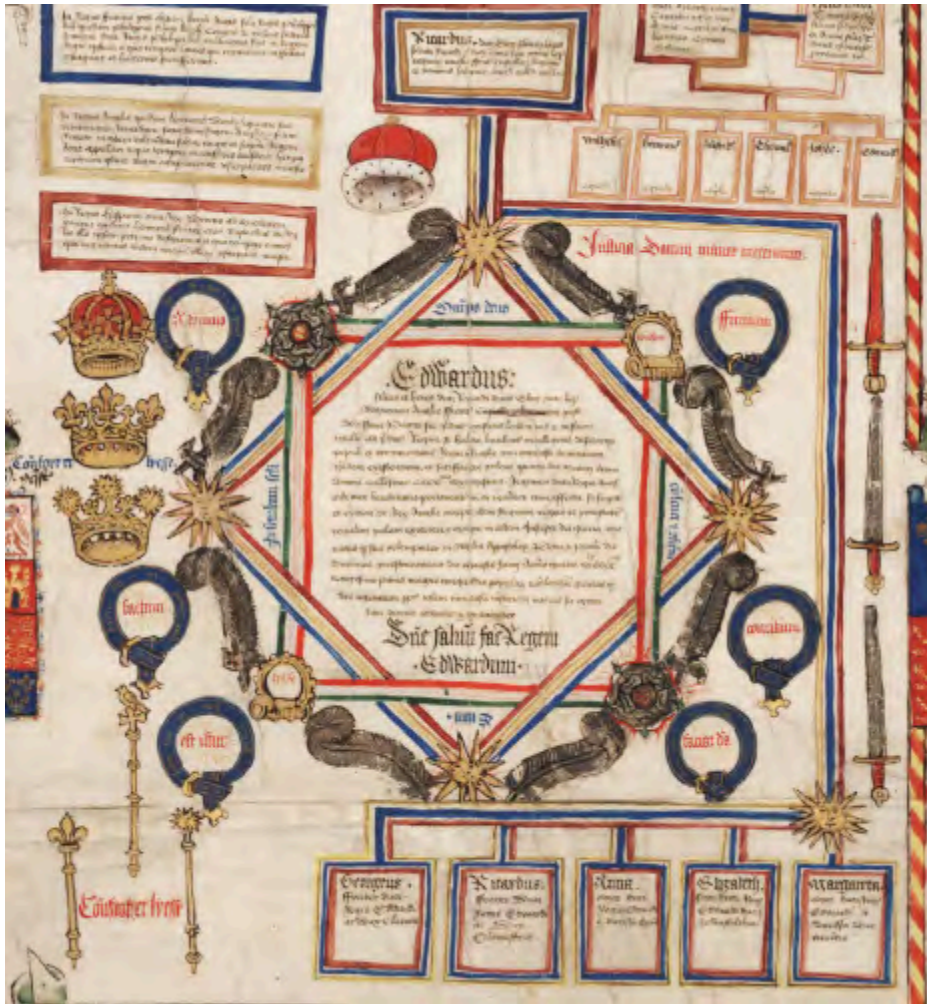
Anne. Sister of the aforementioned King Edward and Duchess of Exeter.

Elizabeth. soror dicti regis Edwardi ducissa Suffolchie.

Elizabeth. Sister of the aforementioned King Edward, Duchess of Suffolk.

Margareta. soror dicti regis Edwardi et ducissa Burgundie.

Margaret. Sister of the aforementioned King Edward and Duchess of Burgundy.



The culminating statement of Edward IV's right to the **English, French, and Castilian** crowns. One ribbon has the lineal colors of each of these kingdoms. The other ribbon is red, white, and green, and seemingly signifies his **Mortimer/Norman**, de Clare/de Burgh, and **British/Welsh** ancestry. (f18b)

Religious Basis for Edward IV's Assumption of the Crown



Editorial Note: At the foot of Lewis E201 is a large horizontal scroll which quotes from the Revelations of Saint Bridget of Sweden, Book Four, chapter 3. In this excerpt, Saint Bridget asks Christ a hypothetical question about how to respond to a usurping junior collateral line. The response from Christ is that the senior line, whether paternal or maternal, must be returned to power in order to restore the kingdom to peace and prosperity.

Et quia nichil ad quirendum est cum iniustitia, et quod regum Anglie, cui debetur successio iure hereditario, per electionem voluntariam metu et violentia factam alienatur de fratre seniori, vero heredi, et datur et accumulatur fratri iuniori, non heredi, contra iustitiam, propterea regnum istud Anglie patitur hanc afflictionem et eius desolacionem, ut bene et clare declaratum est inter Revelationes Beate Birgitte, in libro celestis imperatoris ad reges, tercio capitulo incipiente. sponsa ad Cristum in fine eiusdem capituli in forma que subsequitur: "iterum loquitur sponsa ad Dominum, 'O domine,' inquit, 'ne indigneris si ad huc quero semel. iste rex habet duos filios et duo regna. in altero regno elegitur iure hereditario, in altero secundum favorem populi. nunc autem contrarium factum est. nam iuniori filius est in regnum hereditarium, maior vero in regnum quod per electione debetur.' respondit Deus, electoribus eorum tria erant inconveniencia, et quartum superexellit: inordinatus amor, prudentia simulata, adulacio stultorum, et diffidencia de Deo et communitate regni. ideo electio eorum sunt contra iusticiam, contra Deum, contra bonum rei publice et utilitatem communitatis populorum et regni. propterea ad providendum paci et consulendum utilitatem communitatis populi et regni necesse est quod senior filius recipiat regnum hereditarium, iunior vero ad electionem veniat. alioquin, nisi retractentur priora regna facta, regnum patientur dispendium, comunitatis regni affligetur, discordia orietur, dies filiorum erunt in amaritudine et regna eorum iam non erunt regna debet sicut scriptum est: "potentes transmigrabunt a sedibus suis, et qui ambulabant in terris elevabuntur." ecce dico igitur exemplum de duobus regnis: in uno est electio, in alio vero est hereditas. primum, ubi est electio, destructum et afflictum est, qui verus heres non elegibatur, et ad hoc fecerunt partes electionum et cupiditas ambiētis regnum. ergo quia Deus non affligit filium pro peccatis patris nec in eternum irascetur, set ius-

ticiam facit et servat in terris et in celis, ideo regnum illud non veniet ad priorem gloriam et feliciorum statum donec verus heres consurgat aut ex paterna successione aut materna."

And because nothing should be acquired with injustice; and because the kingdom of England, to which is owed succession by hereditary right, was estranged from the older brother, the true heir, through an arbitrary election carried out through fear and violence, and given and granted unjustly to the younger brother, not the heir; for this reason the kingdom of England has suffered this affliction and its desolation, as is well and clearly declared in the Revelations of Saint Bridget in the book of the heavenly Emperor to the kings, beginning in the third chapter. The bride [speaks] to Christ at the end of this chapter in the following manner. "Again the bride said to the Lord, 'O Lord, do not be offended if I ask one more thing. The current king has two sons and two kingdoms. In one kingdom, the king is chosen by hereditary right; in the other, he is elected according to the will of the people. Now, however, the opposite has been done. For the younger son holds the hereditary kingdom while the older holds the kingdom that is granted through election.' God responded, 'in their electors there were three faults, and a fourth that surpassed these: unlawful love, feigned prudence, flattery of fools, and lack of faith in God and in the common people of the kingdom. For this reason, their election was against justice, against God, against the good of the commonwealth and the welfare of the common people and the kingdom. Therefore, for the provision of peace and the welfare of the common people and the kingdom, it is necessary that the older son regain the hereditary kingdom and that the younger son come to the election (sc. the elective kingdom). Otherwise, unless the earlier actions are repealed, the kingdom will suffer loss, the kingdom's people will be afflicted, discord will arise, the days of its sons will be spent in bitterness, and their kingdoms will no longer be kingdoms, but it will be as it is written: "the powerful will move from their seats, and those who walked on the earth will be elevated." Mark this example of two kingdoms. In one there is election; in the other, hereditary succession. The first, where there is election, was destroyed and afflicted because the true heir was not elected. And this was caused by the election and the greed of the one who sought to rule. Therefore, because God does not strike down the son because of the sins of the father, and because he is not eternally angry but acts as a just protector both on earth and in heaven, for that reason this kingdom will not come to its earlier glory and happy condition until there appears the true heir, either from the paternal or the maternal line."



John More and His Son's *The History of King Richard III*

A discovery from the Mary Shelley line of inquiry,

The Missing Princes Project

by Denise M. Testa

For centuries, Thomas More's *History* has served as a key source for historians supporting the "Tudor version" of events. Scholars focus not only on the veracity of More's narrative, but the differences between his Latin and English variations, debating which best represents More's original intentions. Little notice has been paid to the role More's father played in shaping his literary output, specifically *The History of King Richard III* (a title only given to More's literary piece twenty-two years after his death and upon its publication by his nephew, William Rastell).¹



Sir John More by Hans Holbein the Younger

More's *History* presents challenges of historical interpretation given how problematic it is to ascertain what is the "truth" within his descriptions. There are at least seven known renditions, some written in English and others in Latin. Within these versions are substantial variations to the text. The Latin *History* ends at Richard's coronation, while English accounts continue on into Buckingham's rebellion.²

Equally problematic are More's sources. John Morton, who had been made Bishop of Ely by Edward IV and later Lord Chancellor, Archbishop of Canterbury, and a cardinal under Henry VII, is commonly assumed to be the origin of More's information. The inference is that a twelve-year-old Thomas More overheard enough "fragments of Morton's conversation" during the time he served as a page in Morton's household (1490-1492) to pen his *History* over twenty years later.³

However, More *does not* mention John Morton as a source for anything.⁴ All of More's references—with a single exception—are written in the plural, and it is clear that he is quite fond of the indirect attribution. His

¹ *The Princes in the Tower*, Langley, Philippa, Pegasus Books, New York, December 2025, p. 103

² *The texts of Thomas More's "Richard III,"* Hanham, Alison, *Renaissance Studies*, Wiley, February 2007, Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 62-84, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24416950> downloaded November 18, 2025

³ *The Life of Thomas More*, Ackroyd, Peter, Doubleday, New York, 1998, pp. 29-33

⁴ *The Making of Sir Thomas More's Richard III*, Pollard, A. F. *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait*, Edwards, J. G., et. al. Editor, Manchester, 1933, p. 225

texts are littered with phrases such as "There are some who suspect..."⁵ and "Others, who are better acquainted..."⁶ with More himself admitting: "I can state nothing for certain: I am going on nothing but people's suspicions and conjectures, a route which occasionally leads to the truth but *more often away* from it."⁷

The only instance where Thomas More seems willing to name names appears in the Latin version of his *History*. King Edward IV had just died and "a certain Mistlebrook" rushes to the house of Potter, a servant of Richard III. Upon hearing the news, Potter exults, "Then there is no doubt that my master the Duke of Gloucester will promptly be king." More goes on to tell us, "I remember that this conversation was reported to my father..."⁸

"It is, however, incredible that More should have learnt no more from his father (John More), who was living when More wrote about Richard III, than that one detail," asserts A.F. Pollard in his *The Making of Sir Thomas More's Richard III*.⁹ Pollard is more prescient with that statement than he is given credit for.

Throughout his earliest years, John More (c. 1451-1530) was connected to some of the leading merchants and tradesmen of London. This alliance continued after he became a lawyer during the second half of Edward IV's reign, a time when John More's reputation ascended, culminating with his own coat of arms from Edward IV's heralds.¹⁰

When Richard III assumed the throne, John More's upward trajectory sputtered to a stop. One has to wonder whether More shared sympathies with that group of disaffected courtiers who faced accusations of corruption from Richard. He was certainly associated with a fair number of them.¹¹ In fact, the "crown jewel" of More's clients would come from one of Richard's most treasonous enemies, Henry Stafford, 2nd Duke of Buckingham.

Perceived Ambitions

Edward Stafford, eldest son of Henry and 3rd Duke of Buckingham (1478-1521), retained John More to handle a dispute involving his sister's marriage settlement, a conflict which would become one of the biggest court scandals of Henry VIII's reign.¹²

Anne Stafford's first husband, Sir Walter Herbert, died in 1507. At that time, Anne turned over control of her jointure lands to Buckingham, who would arrange her second marriage to George Hastings, the 1st Earl of Huntingdon (1488-1544) and grandson of William, 1st Baron Hastings.¹³

⁵ *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, Kinney, Daniel, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, Vol 15, 1986, pp. 226-227

⁶ More pp. 396-397

⁷ More pp. 326-327

⁸ More pp. 326-329

⁹ Pollard p. 225

¹⁰ Ackroyd p. 10, p. 15

¹¹ TNA C 1/73/88 1386-1486, E 326/3914 22 April 1482

¹² TNA SP 1/22 fo. 79

¹³ *English Aristocratic Women 1450-1550*, Harris, Barbara J, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002, pp. 144-145, p. 83

Both Anne and her new husband would join the royal court, where Anne served as a lady-in-waiting to Catherine of Aragon and Hastings became a companion of the king. By 1510, rumors were circulating over Anne's supposed affair with Sir William Compton, another good friend and advisor to Henry VIII.

Alerted to this gossip, Buckingham confronted his sister, only to discover Compton in her chambers. Enraged, he assaulted Anne, then accused her husband of being complicit with the affair. Hastings was forced to banish Anne to a convent and Compton was made to swear publicly that he hadn't committed adultery. The scandal strained relations between Buckingham and Henry VIII.¹⁴ And in a final irony to this already convoluted story, Don Luis Caroz, the Spanish ambassador, suggests in a 29 May 1510 report that it might have been Henry all along who was having the affair with Anne.¹⁵

It's significant to note that the progenitures of both parties in John More's legal action would later be misidentified in his son's *History*, and in Hastings's case, maybe even have some shade thrown. Thomas More mistakenly identifies the 2nd Duke of Buckingham as Edward instead of Henry and William Hastings is erroneously called Richard.¹⁶

In the English version of his *History*, More characterizes Hastings as a deceiver, "With these persuasions of the Lord Hastings (whereof part himself believed, *of part he wist the contrary*)"¹⁷ as well as being easily deceived, attributes which could be equally applied to his grandson, George.

As for Buckingham, his fate remained in limbo (at least as recorded in Thomas More's *History*). This may have been deliberate on More's part, since the perceived ambitions of Henry Stafford would cast a dark shadow over those of his son's.

In 1521, the 3rd Duke of Buckingham faced charges of high treason for "imagining and compassing the death of the King." His trial became a foregone conclusion, with charges widely believed to have been trumped up by Henry VIII, leading many contemporary observers, including Thomas More, to doubt the validity of Buckingham's conviction.¹⁸



John More, detail of study for portrait of the More family by Hans Holbein the Younger

¹⁴ *The Mistresses of Henry VIII*, Hart, Kelly, Stroud History Press, Yorkshire, 2009, pp.21-26

¹⁵ 'Spain: 1510', in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 2, 1509-1525*, ed. G A Bergenroth (London, 1866), British History Online <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol2/pp33-54> [accessed 19 November 2025]

¹⁶ Kinney pp. 340-341

¹⁷ *The History of King Richard the Third*, More, Master Thomas, The Complete Works of St. Thomas More, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, Vol 2, 1963, p. 23

¹⁸ *A Daughter's Love*, Guy, John, Houghton, Mifflin, Harcourt, Boston & New York, 2009, pp.70-71

The king insisted on interviewing witnesses beforehand, even forcing Buckingham's own priest to break the sanctity of confession. No one dared remind Henry that he was denying the accused man due process, not even John More, who despite his prior lawyer/client relationship with Buckingham showed little hesitation in joining the other judges at Guildhall to indict him.¹⁹ Ever the pragmatist, More would take Buckingham's guilty verdict and subsequent beheading in his stride.

Strategic Unions

John More, like many of his fellow London-based lawyers "who rented chambers in the Inns of Court and earned their livings in the royal courts of Westminster,"²⁰ considered himself a man of substance. However, since he'd inherited only a small plot of land in Hertfordshire which was not nearly enough to attain his desired status, More needed a new strategy.

Agnes Graunger, his first wife and mother to all six of his children, died around 1499 when More was in his forties. She had been the daughter of a tallow-chandler (a maker and seller of candles made from animal fat), a decidedly inferior position within the social hierarchy of Tudor England.²¹ On his next tries, More would aim higher.

His subsequent three wives, Joan Marshall, Joan Bowes, and Alice More, were all widows of well-to-do London merchants or gentlemen.²² Each came with a "jointure," making them attractive marriage prospects. And in the case of More's second wife, there was an added bonus.

Joan Marshall's late husband was a fellow parishioner of John More's and had left behind a sizable estate, with domiciles in London as well as multiple manors scattered across the southern and Midlands counties. According to his will, Joan was to enjoy a life interest in half of the profits from these holdings while the rest went to charity. Their children couldn't inherit a penny until Joan's death, leaving them to watch as their new stepfather reaped the fruits from their late father's largesse.²³

These repeated dives into the matrimony market may have inspired Thomas when he was crafting his *History*. In one particular scene, Edward IV is seeking to engage his mother's support for his marriage to Elizabeth Wydville (Woodville). Horrified by the suggestion, the Duchess of York objects, "as this widow's humble condition falls below the preeminence of your own majesty." More counters her argument by putting these noble words into Edward IV's mouth: "Marriage ought to be contracted in the interests of virtue, not wealth."²⁴

Just as More the father found much to admire in the real-life Edward IV, so to would the son. Throughout his *History*, More would wax somewhat poetic, recounting, "No other ruler of England was ever dearer to the

¹⁹ Guy p. 71

²⁰ Guy p. 20

²¹ Ackroyd p. 11

²² *Dictionary of National Biography*, Lee, Sidney, British Library, Vol 38, 1894, pp. 424-425

²³ Guy p. 19

²⁴ Kinney pp. 442-443

nobles and the people,”²⁵ adding that Edward’s “kingdom was perfectly calm and its affairs in a flourishing state.”²⁶ Even the king’s young children “showed all the natural distinctions and all the illustrious tokens of kingly virtue.”²⁷ From More’s perspective, the only fly in this idyllic royal ointment was Elizabeth Wydville.

Despite his strengths, Edward was at times “ruled by the Queen’s faction more than stood either with his honor or our profit.”²⁸ This favoritism towards the Wydville clan created deep divisions among the nobility, particularly (as More is quick to point out) with Richard, Duke of Gloucester (later Richard III), and the 2nd Duke of Buckingham. This would set the stage for an inevitable power struggle after the king’s death.

There are distinct similarities between the fictionalized Elizabeth Wydville and traits More’s own father displayed throughout his life. Elizabeth is presented as ambitious and manipulative, “not unwisely devised” to root her family’s influence in the young King Edward V’s favor,²⁹ tactics definitely not unfamiliar to John More.

Author John Guy asserts that the patriarch of the More family was “something of a Jekyll and Hyde figure...full of disarming candor and merry jests; at other times opinionated and dictatorial.” He could be quite ruthless, condoning “actions for the forfeiture of lands and the recovery of rent or debts in his legal practice that were *little short of predatory*.”³⁰

A Controversy of “More” Recent Origin

In 2024, an article appeared, “Sir William Capell and a Royal Chain: The Afterlives (and Death) of King Edward V.” Authored by Tim Thornton, it announces that “a previously overlooked reference to Edward’s chain in the possession of the Capell family early in the sixteenth century” may give evidence to the fate of Edward V.”³¹ (This particular chain has had references made to it in 1826, 1906, 1994, 2002, and 2015.)³²

During his research, Thornton accessed the will of Lady Margaret Capell, widow of Sir William Capell, dating from 1516 and proved in 1522. In one of her many bequests, Capell leaves a piece of jewelry to her son, Giles Capell, described as his “*faders Cheyne which was yonge kyng Edwarde the vth*.”³³

²⁵ Kinney pp. 316-317

²⁶ Kinney pp. 318-319

²⁷ Kinney pp. 320-321

²⁸ More p. 27, *Study Guides to Thomas More’s ‘The History of King Richard III,’* Wegemer, Gerald B., Curtright, Travis, Center for Thomas More Studies, p. 17, <https://thomasmorestudies.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/05/History-of-King-Richard-III-2019-UPDATED.pdf> downloaded November 20, 2025

²⁹ More p. 14

³⁰ Guy pp. 18-19

³¹ *Sir William Capell and A Royal Chain: The Afterlives (and Death) of King Edward V.* Thornton, T, *History*, 109: 2024, pp. 445-460. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-229X.13430> downloaded November 19, 2025

³² *The Princes in the Tower: A Debatable ‘Discovery.’* Richard III Society Research Blog, December 10, 2024, <https://riiiiresearch.blogspot.com/2024/12/the-princes-in-tower-debatable-discovery.html>, downloaded November 19, 2025

³³ Thornton p. 454

This revelation, as author and historian Matt Lewis observes, “is purported to add weight to Sir Thomas More’s gruesome account of the murder of the Princes in the Tower.”³⁴ Before her marriage to Capell, Lady Margaret was an Arundell. She had an older half-sister, Anne, who was the widow of Sir James Tyrell, “the man Thomas More collars as the murderer of the two boys (or at least, the man who has it done by Forest and Dighton).”³⁵

In “a significant further twist to the evolution of this tale” Thornton tells us that “Sir William Capell was one of the most important clients of the serjeant-at-law and later judge John More.”³⁶ He concludes, “it was John’s son, Thomas More, who during the later 1510s for the first time constructed a detailed account of the coup which overthrew Edward V’s regime and brought Richard III to the throne, and of the murder of Edward and his brother Richard.”³⁷ However, if we are to consider the bequests of wills and Thomas More as *primary sources* for the fate of Edward IV’s sons then this train of thought must be followed through to its logical conclusion.

John More’s own will was made in 26 February 1527 and proved on 5 November 1530, with his son, Thomas, being named one of the executors. In this will, John More would include a provision for prayers for the soul of “kyng Edward the fourthe.”³⁸

While this was a relatively common practice in the medieval and early Tudor periods, where individuals would make provisions in their wills for prayers to be said for the souls of the deceased, it should be noted that Edward IV is the *only* monarch mentioned in John More’s will. Also not mentioned are Edward IV’s sons.

This provision for Edward IV’s soul came a good 44 years after the king’s death and well after the window of time More’s *History* is said to have been written.³⁹ It demonstrates the long-lasting nature of John More’s loyalties, but also raises a question: If John More actually knew the Princes in the Tower had been murdered (as Thornton infers),⁴⁰ why didn’t he make provisions for them as well?

And if Thornton’s premise that Thomas More’s *History* and Capell’s will are accurate accounts of what happened, why wouldn’t More’s father, based on his easy accommodation with the established order of rule, seek to curry favor by delivering proof of those responsible?

Henry Tudor secured the throne through battle and his marriage to Elizabeth of York, but any legitimate male Yorkist heir still posed a direct challenge, even into the reign of his own son, Henry VIII. Evidence that the princes had indeed perished as related in Thomas More’s *History* should have been welcomed.

³⁴ *A Damning Discovery?* Lewis, Matt, Made by History blog, December 2, 2024, https://medievalmatt.substack.com/p/a-damning-discovery?r=17nngx&utm_medium=ios&triedRedirect=true downloaded November 19, 2025

³⁵ Lewis https://medievalmatt.substack.com/p/a-damning-discovery?r=17nngx&utm_medium=ios&triedRedirect=true

³⁶ Thornton p. 460

³⁷ Thornton p. 460

³⁸ TNA PRO 11/23/381 05 December 1530

³⁹ Hanham pp. 62-63

⁴⁰ Thornton p. 460

Instead we are faced with a harsh reality. The Tudors avoided any official proclamations of the princes' deaths and forbade formal monuments to be built in their memory⁴¹ (despite Henry VII doing just that by erecting a "royal tomb" for Richard III in 1495).⁴² This "silence," combined with the broadening of treason laws such as "imagining" the king's death, would make public acknowledgment of the princes a dangerous proposition. Even the act of praying for their souls could be seen as a challenge to the reigning Tudor monarch's legitimacy and considered a treasonous act.⁴³ Why?

Because the Tudors *could not produce any definitive evidence* of the princes' death.

⁴¹ *Seditious Bills: Treacherous Correspondance on the Renaissance Stage*, Jasper, Jean, Birmingham City University, 2009 pp. 1-270, https://www.open-access.bcu.ac.uk/4903/1/2009_Jasper_517149.pdf downloaded November 20, 2025

⁴² *Ricardian Burial Myths and the Discovery of Richard III's Body*, Ashdown-Hill, John, Richard III Society, <https://richardiii.net/richard-iii-his-world/his-life-and-death/burial/> downloaded November 20, 2025

⁴³ *A Remembrance of the Sons of Edward IV by their Sister Katherine Courtenay, Countess of Devon*, Pierce, Hazel, *The Ricardian*, Vol xxxv, 2025, pp. 53-64

Reviews

Myrna Smith, Pauline Calkin, Wayne Ingalls, Compton Reeves

The Colour of Darkness—Toni Mount, MadeGlobal Publishing, 2025

What manner of troubles must Seb Foxley face in June 1481? They include the threat of contagion in the Foxley household and a commission to discover the culprits who robbed William Caxton, destroyed his printing press, and set fire to his house. Meanwhile, the neighborhood is thrown into a tizzy by the appearance of a gorgeous young woman who is niece to the local apothecary, Bess Chambers. The men, including our Seb, can't stop daydreaming about her, and the women are at best indifferent but many are jealous and even hostile. Playing upon their fear and ignorance, one particularly spiteful woman convinces her neighbors that Bess and her niece are witches, whipping them into a frenzy leading to the destruction of their apothecary shop during a riot.

To top it all off, when Seb checks in with his sometime employer, City Bailiff Thaddeus Turner, he discovers that both of them have a new boss: one Andrew Dymmock, deputy coroner, appointed by no less than Edward IV himself. Dymmock is a "gentleman," a description which both Thaddeus and Seb say with quotation marks and some scorn. Dymmock responds to a case of accidental death (at least, nobody can prove otherwise) by sending his underlings on a wild goose chase, and they (or rather, Thaddeus Turner) responds by making up a fictional list of suspects: "John Smith, Will Cutler, Jack Steel...." etc. Seb has a twinge of conscience about this, but

goes along with it. Little does he know that his conscience will be tried even more severely soon.

The story centering around Caxton is interesting, although it is not a mystery in the sense that the reader knows from the beginning who the culprits are. It is just a matter of watching Seb trying to figure it out. As time passes, Seb comes closer and closer to finding the miscreants, but is reluctant to take the final step, because he has close ties with both of them. As a result, he does not name the guilty parties. Maybe the fact that the crime has become more serious with the death of an innocent bystander has something to do with this. Caxton thus feels justified in not paying for Seb's services, and the latter feels hard done by. Caxton does not come off here as a particularly admirable character and we are meant to sympathize with Seb in this dust-up, but I can't help feeling a little sympathy for Caxton, who has no press, no money, and no way or making a living without going into debt.

Toni Mount admits that all of this is totally fictional. There is no record of any such thing happening to Caxton's printing press, or he would have surely let us know, by means of that same printing press. As always, the author is able to immerse us in the life of a late 15th century London family—Seb's family—creating a colorful array of characters in the process. Even the maid Nessie (Agnes) gets her own little storyline. In the past she has been in the background, a cartoonish character, dim-witted and ill-tempered. Here the reader develops some sympathy for her when, in looking out for her best interests, the ever-kind Seb must step in to break off her relationship with a very ill-suited young man. Nessie's story is only a small side story, but the book features Seb's embittered brother Jude and Jack Tabor, the street urchin Seb took in. I (P.C. speaking here) can't stand either character but have to admit they are well-drawn: the self-pitying Jude and the amoral, directionless Jack. While reading this, I was wishing that they never make another appearance, but then I realized that Jude's storyline is a thread woven through the fabric of Seb's life. Maybe the same can be said of Jack but I wouldn't miss him if he does disappear from the series.

—M.S and P.C.

Old Bones: The Loves and Losses of Cecily Neville—Rachel Di Placito, Kindle Edition, 2025

Alone in her private chamber Cecily Neville, dowager Duchess of York, has just recorded the death of her fourth and last son, Richard III, in her Book of Hours. It is just the latest in a long list of losses she has suffered in her life, and it begins a flashback on her life, beginning with happenings in Ludlow in 1459. This is not a novel like Annie Garthwaite's *The King's Mother*, which focuses on Cicely, her

thoughts and feelings, but deals with various important events which affected her life. Indeed, she is not present during many of the episodes. For example, we see her husband, Richard, Duke of York, and second son, Edmund, in Ireland where they fled after Ludford Bridge, and then we follow George and Richard as they are exiled in the Low Countries after the deaths of their father and brother Edmund. The episodes are also very Richard-centric, that is, they follow his life story as the focus of Cecily's interest. Richard is shown in a very positive light, without nuance, but it is an enjoyable read—at least for a Ricardian like me.

Some bits I particularly liked. One was the interesting portrayal of Edmund: he falls in love in Ireland, and, he is suspicious of Warwick when the latter visits the Duke of York in Dublin. Those suspicions prove justified when the Duke makes his claim for the throne. Also, the scenes with Cecily's daughter, Elizabeth, Duchess of Suffolk, who is a bit too fond of her wine, will bring smiles to your face.

A pet peeve: constantly referring to Lancastrians as the Red Rose. Also, the history is a bit muddled at times, for example, here Elizabeth Woodville et al. do not go into sanctuary until June 1483. But the inaccuracies weren't enough to ruin the novel. Not one of the best I've read, but still entertaining. Worth reading if only for the scenes with the Duchess of Suffolk.—P.C.

The Pretender—Jo Harkin, Bloomsbury Circus, 2025

We are privileged to observe a Day in the Life of a peasant boy John Collan:

Things John Collan's father shouts at him in the daytime:

For God's sake John pick up your feet stand straight stop bothering the women stop bothering the cows stop bothering Jennot where in the holy hell were you don't wipe our mouth on your sleeve don't blaspheme quite down stand straight how many times where the devil is he now—

Things his father says at night:

Go to bed, my boy, sleep sweetly. (And a pat on the head.)

Typical boy, wouldn't you say. A little better off than most peasant boys, since he is learning to read and write, but pretty average. But that is about to change. Very soon, a man in a shabby hat arrives in the village. He is, at first, as much a mystery to us as he is to John. Could he be the future Henry VII himself, who appears (or part of him does) on the cover? No, but that's on the right lines, as we will discover later in the story. Much later than that, John, now John Crossey, sums up his life this way:

Has his kindness gone? Maybe. Each of his selves took something from him as they fell away. He left his confidence on the

farm with John Collan. His innocence drowned on the floor of the house in Oxford, as Lambert Simnel covered his eyes. His happiness is still locked in Edward, Earl of Warwick's bedchamber in Dublin. When Simnel quits here, his goodness and his faith will be left in one of Henry's strongholds.

Yes, this is the story of the person known as Lambert Simnel, based on a few lines in the chronicles, and much embellished. In this, he takes a more active role in his own life and that of others, certainly after he reaches adulthood. There will be a love interest in Joan Fitzgerald, the Earl of Kildare's daughter, whom he meets when Warwick stays with them for a while. There will be a marriage, mostly in name only (a sort of menage a trois) but that will be much later.

Like Toni Mount, Harkin tries to give a flavor of 15th century writing by using unusual (to us) word formations: "lateward" for "lately," for example, though sometimes she slips up and adopts modern speech. To be truthful, I caught this only once, which is not too bad a fault. A more serious failing in the book is that there are few really "good" characters for the reader to identify with. Only John of Lincoln really qualifies, and he dies young. His death, in fact/fiction, will be part of the plot line. Even our protagonist, as he grows older, will deteriorate, and most of the bad guys stay bad, or at least ambiguous.

Another technique, or trick of the trade, that the author uses is a sort of Greek chorus to comment on events, whether it is the villagers of John Collan's boyhood, or the citizens of London, both groups having a very jaundiced view of both Richard III and Henry VII. The Fitzgerald girls, Joan's numerous sisters, are a variation of this. Edward/Simne—whoever he is at the time—will have long conversations with her, even when they are far apart.

In the end, our (anti) hero will ride off into the sunset, or maybe the sunrise, as he has mentioned going to Japan, to find his fortune. So will there be a sequel? It would have to be entirely fictitious, as the real Simnel lived out his days in Henry VIII's England.? Or will Jo Harkin take up the life of the other Pretender, Perkin Warbeck, next?

This is a real doorstop of a book, over 400 pages, not counting family trees, acknowledgments, etc, etc., but the chapters are short, and it reads fairly fast.—M.S.

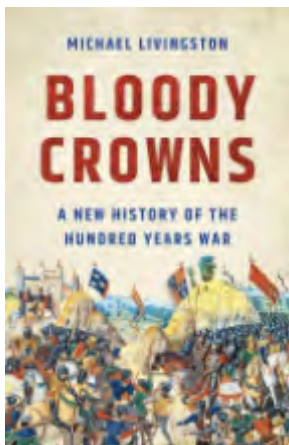
Degrees of Afinity—C.F. Dunn, Kindle Edition, 2025

It's 1472, the Yorkists have won the day, and Edward IV is back on the throne. And Isobel Fenton has married her love Robert Langton, now Earl. But no one lives happily ever after—George, Duke of Clarence makes sure of that. Prompted by George's scheme to fight against Barbary pirates, Robert goes off to Portugal to protect

his family estates and ends up as a slave in Morocco. Everyone in England believes Robert is dead, and Clarence sees his chance to take control of his and Isobel's estates. He makes her a prisoner, and her attempts to escape from the duke's clutches alternate with Robert's escape attempts. The depictions of Robert's life as a slave and his escape are truly harrowing on both a mental and physical level. Isobel's imprisonment also has long lasting effects on her mental stability—continuing fear, uncertainty, and inability to trust even the people she has the most reason to trust, such as the Duke of Gloucester. Of course, it's not paranoia if someone is really out to get you, and Isobel does have reason to fear because she knows the truth about the death of Isabel, Duchess of Clarence.

This is a well written book, although I could have wished for somewhat fewer escape attempts. The relationship between Robert and Isobel is believable. Robert exerts his authority as head of the household, while Isobel is independent-minded, but sometimes clearly in the wrong. Overall, I found the novel less compelling than the previous two in the series, maybe because the era and the court intrigue was not all that exciting to me. Anne Neville is depicted as a sweet airhead. (Hey, it could be that is what she really was, but I didn't care for it, nor for Richard's attitude toward her. "And, in the empty hours before dawn, he would wonder whether all the lands and manors and comfort he had gained were worth the marriage he had made.") However, I'm still looking forward to the next book in the series, and I don't think it's a stretch to think that both Isobel and Robert will have to deal with serious PTSD.

Bloody Crowns: A New History of the Hundred Years War—Michael Livingstone, New York: Basic Books, 2025



Bloody Crowns was published in the UK under a different title, *The Two Hundred Years War: The Bloody Crowns of England and France, 1292-1492*. For those who enjoy listening to books, it is available on Audible under the UK title narrated by Rupert Farley (a wonderful and engaging reader). In the October 14, 2025 Bow & Blade podcast that Professor Livingstone does with Dr. Kelly DeVries (speaker at our 2022 GMM), Dr. Livingstone shared that his UK publisher did not want the word "bloody" in the main title due to the coarse meaning of the word in the UK.

Those who have read Dr. Livingstone's previous books on the Hundred Years War, *Agincourt: Battle of the Scarred King* (2023) and *Crécy: Battle of Five Kings* (2022), know

the level of scholarship with which the author presents his research. In my view, his *Agincourt* and *Crécy* are the definitive works on these respective campaigns and battles. This new history of the Hundred Years War will take its place as the definitive work on the period. Whether "the Two Hundred Years War" phrase catches on to replace "the Hundred Years War" remains to be seen. As Dr. Livingstone points out, no one who fought in that long war called it by the name by which it has become known. The first time the phrase "Hundred Years War" appears in print referring to this conflict was 1823, so it is not at all a medieval phrase.



The traditional dates for the Hundred Years War are from 1337 - 1453. Early on in the book, Dr. Livingstone begins to make his case that the start of the conflict dates all the way back to 1292. He places the end of the conflict as the Peace of Étapes, 1492. As you will recognize, this places King Richard III's reign (1483-1485) within the window of the Two Hundred Years War.

This book is well researched and an enjoyable read. It is easy to follow his line of argumentation for the expanded dates of the conflict. Although King Richard III himself is only mentioned in passing in this work, this conflict had a significant impact on the Yorkist period. Without qualification, I highly recommend this book.

—Wayne Ingalls

The Wars of the Roses: War and Martial Culture in England 1455-1487—David Grummitt, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2025

David Grummitt is an established authority on the fifteenth-century military history of England. Dr Grummitt also chairs the Research Committee of the Richard III Society. This book is not a narrative history of the Wars of the Roses, but rather a series of discussions on topics inherent to the Wars. In his first chapter, Grummitt discusses the martial masculinity that was integral to fifteenth-century English society. England was largely a peaceful country, but war and preparation for war were potent societal forces. The English tax system had been developed in part to supply funds for war. The growth of representation in government rested in part on the needs for support for war. Men owned and maintained weapons and armor, and they read books about war and chivalry. Knighthood was honored. Part of the prestige King Edward IV enjoyed was based upon his chivalric masculinity. The point is made that the Church had offered no great objection to war and was in fact

supportive of the English efforts in the Hundred Years War; there was no such support from the Church during the Wars of the Roses.

Grummitt argues in his second chapter that the wars of the Wars of the Roses were not actually wars but episodes of treason and rebellion. He does not consider violent land disputes, such as the clashes at Heworth (1453), Clyst (1455) or Nibley Green (1470), to be aspects of the Wars of the Roses. Grummitt views the battles of St Albans (1455), Blore Heath (1459), and Ludford Bridge (1459) to have had reformist motives, but after the claim to the throne made by Duke Richard of York in 1460, the battles should be seen as dynastic uprisings. As Grummitt discusses the sequence of battles from St Albans (1455) to Stoke (1487), he makes the point that whereas it is common to view the Battle of Towton (1461) as a single and especially violent event, it was three distinct engagements, first at Ferrybridge, then at Dintingdale, and finally at Towton.

In the third chapter of his book, Grummitt discusses the recruiting and equipping of armies in the Wars of the Roses. Only two indentures of war survive for the period, both from 1460 with King Henry VI as one party. Indentures of retainer had a much larger role in the raising of armies in the Wars of the Roses. The crown and individuals relied on various methods to gather men for anticipated conflicts. There were few foreign mercenaries involved in the Wars of the Roses. Without an archive of contracts for military service, it is truly impossible to calculate the size of the armies involved. Unlike foreign wars, there were no parliamentary grants of taxes for the Wars of the Roses, so the avenue of tax documents for estimating the size of royal forces does not exist. The English had long experience with such matters as raising and equipping armies, supplying them with food and fodder, and paying the troops, but the records for such topics are inadequate or non-existent for the Wars of the Roses. There is, for example, no information about horses. Most of the men who fought in the various battles used their own weapons, and typical weapons are discussed. The crown supplied some weaponry for royal forces, particularly gunpowder weapons.

In his fourth chapter, Grummitt addresses what he calls the "practicalities of war," and emphasis is given to the militaristic essence of society, the widespread training of men in the use of weapons, and the fact that the aristocracy was educated for war. Newer skills were acquired in the use of gunpowder weapons. The armies of the Wars of the Roses were, then, by and large capable of fighting and led by commanders who knew what to do. No battle plans from the Wars of the Roses survive, and the disposition of troops on the various battlefields is unknown. Unlike the wars in France, the Wars of the Roses were not extended wars of attrition, and society was therefore inherently peaceful. Pillage and

devastation of the kingdom was not good strategy when support of the population was desired. Thus, pitched battles with a decisive result were more important than sieges and protracted campaigns. Help from foreign rulers was never decisive in the Wars of the Roses.

In attempting to discuss the experience of war in this fifth chapter, Grummitt ventured upon a difficult subject. There are no letters, diaries, or other first-hand descriptions by participants surviving from the Wars of the Roses to tell us what a combatant might have experienced. Nor can we be certain of the tactics employed in the succession of battles because of the absence of surviving records. We know about weaponry and know that there were missile troops, *mêlée* troops, cavalry, and gunpowder weaponry, but there is no certainty about how they were tactically deployed. As for the men in combat, it can only be supposed that emotions and experiences were mixed and complex: fear and bravery, heroism and cowardice, camaraderie and isolation. It is difficult even to imagine what being in a battle during the Wars of the Roses would have been like for a combatant.

What happened after a battle had ended is the subject of the sixth chapter. Little is known, for example, about the burial of the dead after a battle, and it appears that the wounded were left to their own resources. Chroniclers were not present for battles, and their accounts are a painfully inadequate source of information about casualties. A few captives were held for ransom, but that would have been kidnapping in English law. For those who fought against the king, Grummitt reasons, it was an exceptional case if they were executed for treason, nor were captives routinely killed. Some captives were imprisoned for a time and then released. The impact of the Wars of the Roses on women is a matter about which little is known. Attainder could, of course, ruin a family even if after a time the attainder was reversed.

In his final chapter, Grummitt discusses how contemporaries remembered and tried to understand what had been experienced. Funerary monuments of combatants showing them in armor emphasized chivalry and family status. Chapels and mausolea where prayers were said for the souls of the dead stemmed from the doctrine of purgatory as well as from a way of memorializing the dead. A lengthy account of the First Battle of St Albans and an account of the campaign of 1471 are the only substantial literary survivals from the Wars of the Roses. There were, to be sure, brief comments in letters, short chronicle entries, poems, and propaganda campaigns. Perhaps curiously, it took time for names to be attached to the battles and the exact sites of battles were frequently forgotten. Conflict archaeology as a tool for understanding the battles has been used extensively only for Towton (1461) and Bosworth (1485). The Battlefield Register was created by the government of the United

Kingdom in 1995. Battlefields, therefore, were not a key element in memorializing the Wars of the Roses for contemporaries.

In conclusion, Grummitt argues that there was an English way of war. The Wars of the Roses were internal wars, though they were of great interest to other European polities. There was little active foreign involvement. Unlike several European polities, England did not move in the fifteenth century to a permanent and paid standing army under the ruler's command. Commanders of the Wars of the Roses sought decisive battles during short campaigns, not long campaigns of attrition, and soldiers were not in service for long. As Grummitt wrote, this book is not a “drums and trumpets” (p. viii) narrative of the Wars of the Roses. It is a complement, and even a counterweight, to modern-day discussions of the campaigns and battles of the period. Grummitt has offered a significant contribution to fifteenth-century English military history. It deserves to be read alongside more traditional accounts of the Wars of the Roses, and Grummitt has significantly contributed to the historical understanding of the Wars of the Roses. —Compton Reeves

Upcoming Events

Unless otherwise stated, events are free and for paying members only. To register, send an email to membership@r3.org.

Annette Carson Demystifies Richard III

April 19, 2026, 12:00 pm – 1:30 pm EDT, Zoom

In her new book, *Richard III Unspun*, Annette Carson continues to shine a spotlight on the months following the death of Edward IV, a time during which centuries of spin have painted his actions as motivated by a grab for the throne. In previous books and talks, citing evidence in contemporary documents, she has demonstrated that he was actually forced into reacting, with legitimate and long-standing legal powers, to a series of unanticipated moves by hostile actors. Annette's latest talk is designed to bring these investigations to life by illustrating the “how, when and why” of two well-recorded incidents: the arrests at Stony Stratford, and the Hastings conspiracy. These events are often taken together and viewed as perplexing by Ricardians. But each incident will be shown to be the culmination of cynical plans to oust Richard from his position in the government, carried out by different factions who faced being toppled from their easy lives of corruption and venality.

Why the Haste with Hastings?

May 17, 2026, 12:00 pm – 1:30 pm EDT, Zoom

Join us for another engaging Social Hour, where members can discuss the 1483 execution of Sir William Hastings. Why was he accused of treason? What happened at that fateful council meeting? Was there a proper legal basis to the charge against him? Historians have widely different interpretations and we will delve into them in an open discussion led by our chair, Susan Troxell. Pour yourself a cup of coffee, tea, or other favorite beverage, and let's explore one of the most controversial events in Richard's life.

Materials will be distributed in advance to help focus our discussion. This is not a formal lecture, but an opportunity to talk to other members of the American Branch and share your thoughts on Hastings' demise.

The Duke of York & Wakefield: Shocking New Insights

June 14, 2026, 12:00 pm – 1:30 pm EDT, Zoom

What really happened at Wakefield?

Traditional accounts of the Wars of the Roses describe the Duke of York losing his head, and the Earl of Rutland his life, after a martial conflict with the forces of Henry VI in Wakefield, Yorkshire. These deaths were a pivotal moment in English history, as they paved the way for Edward IV and the Yorkist dynasty. Some historians say there had been a pitched battle; others say it was an ambush not far from Sandal Castle where duke was residing with his family. Exciting new research into medieval archives, however, reveals another interpretation that busts almost all the myths and legends about the duke's death and the events of 30 December 1460.

Paul Lindsey Dawson will talk about his research and how it shows the duke was not killed in Wakefield but rather Pontefract, under circumstances very different from a pitched battle. He will also talk about his new biography on the Duke of York, which reveals him to be a man with profound flaws that threw England into turmoil and cost him his own life.

Picturing the Future: Prognostications and Readers in an Age of Uncertainty

August 23, 2026, 12:00 pm – 1:30 pm EDT, Zoom

Beginning in 1400, English men and women gained increasing access to practical medical and scientific knowledge, first in vernacular manuscript collections, and later in inexpensive, printed books. More than two hundred years of engagement with this knowledge—much of it very old—in recipes, prognostications, almanacs, and other pragmatic texts, gradually encouraged readers to see themselves as adjudicators and even progenitors of

knowledge in their own right. This talk by Dr. Melissa Reynolds explores how 15th century readers developed creative means of using an unusual genre of manuscript to manage their health, understand their environment, and even predict the future. Through analysis of a small group of folding almanacs, this talk will show how communities of monastic readers developed a shared visual language for making sense of an uncertain and unpredictable world. We will see how this visual language spread more widely to those who sought to impose order in society that was unsettled by war, dynastic feuding, and religious conflicts.

Margaret of York: Medieval Powerbroker

October 18, 2026, 12:00 pm – 1:30 pm EDT, Zoom

Dr Lacey Bonar Hull, popular podcaster and educator at The History Desk substack, will speak about Richard III's sister, Margaret, the Duchess of Burgundy and a stalwart enemy of Henry Tudor. Despite being a woman, Margaret fearlessly blazed her own destiny as well as that of the Burgundian state.

Article Submission Guidelines

Keep it simple. Please use a standard 12-point font—such as the default font of the word processor.

Use italics for book titles, article titles, publication titles, and foreign language.

If the document has images, please submit them separately, marking their place in the document like this: <file name such as Fig1>

Do not resize your images. I can always make them smaller to fit, but can't make them larger. Images 300 dots per inch size, so if the image is 1" by 2" in the article, then it has to be 300 dots (or pixels) by 600 dots for the correct size.

Image file format should be jpg, png, tif, or pdf. Most cameras will produce jpg images.

Preferred document file formats are doc, docx, odt, or rtf. I can accept PDF files, but they do not always transcribe well. Tables or databases should use Microsoft Excel or CSV. Additionally, provide a PDF conversion so I can see what it should look like.

Please do not hesitate to contact me at info@r3.org if you have any questions on something that you want to submit.

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Ricardian Chronicle schedule:

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Fonts: The publication will use only one standard font throughout. If you need to have a special font, convert it to an image.

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If the ad submission is fully formatted, submit it as an image or pdf.

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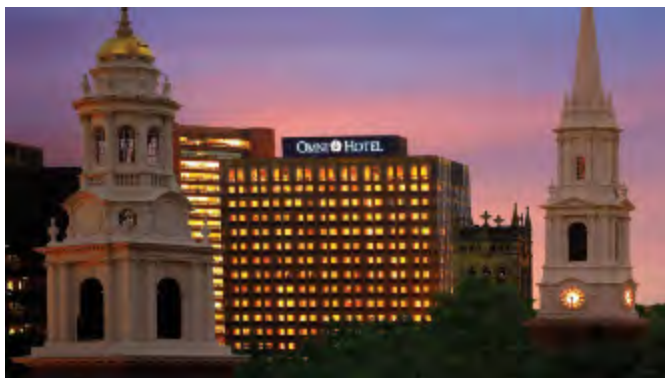


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Save the Date: 2026 GMM
October 30 – November 1, 2026

New Haven, Connecticut

The Richard III Society's General Members Meeting (GMM) is on the horizon! Join fellow Ricardians for three days of discovery, discussion, and connection as we delve into the enduring legacy of Richard III and his legacy. Full details coming soon—mark your calendar now!



The Omni Hotel in New Haven.