

A MEMOIR OF THE COURT OF HENRY VII

**An Edition of BL, MS. Cotton Julius B. XII, fols. 8v-
66r, with Textual and General Introduction.**

Emma Cavell

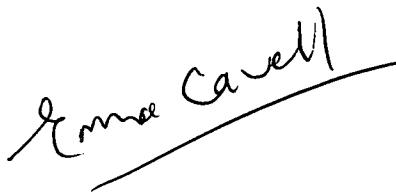
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October 2001


I hereby declare that this thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any tertiary institution; nor, to the best of my knowledge, any material which has been written or published by another, except where due reference is made.

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Emma Cavell

October 2001

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The memoir of the court of Henry VII for the years of 1486-90, contained in BL, MS Cotton Julius B. XII, fols. 8v-66r, represents an invaluable source for the study of court and socio-political life during the early years of the reign of Henry VII. Hitherto the only printed version of the memoir was to be found in Thomas Hearne's edition of Leland's *Collectanea*. It has long required a modern editor.

This thesis aims to do two things. In the first place, it has been my intention to complete a scholarly edition of the heraldic memoir, based on a close study of the original document. This section of my thesis also provides a basic apparatus to the text in the form of textual commentary, a glossary of terms and a biographical index of the principal persons mentioned in the text.

Second, my research should provide a scholarly background to the text of the memoir and its authors. There are four chapters to this section of my thesis. The first chapter represents the textual introduction to the manuscript, with critical discussion of the original manuscript, the date of its compilation, the (possible) identity of its authors, and the transmission of the narrative. In my second chapter, I investigate the nature and function of the heralds at the court of Henry VII during the years in which the memoir was created, their Yorkist and Continental models, and the state of their narrative record-keeping skills during the 1480s. It is thereby intended to elucidate the milieu in which the memoir of 1486-90 was created.

The third and fourth chapters of my thesis are intended as an investigation of some of the principal events recounted in the memoir, from the first provincial progress of Henry VII in spring 1486, to the celebration of the great ceremonial occasions of Prince Arthur's creation, Queen Elizabeth's coronation and the like, to the loyalist response to the rebellions of 1487 and 1489. I interrogate the memoir and draw upon other contemporary sources to determine the significance of these events and the implications of the heralds' reports on our understanding of the same.

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List of Abbreviations

André, <i>Vita</i>	Bernard André, 'Vita Henrici Septimi' in <i>Memorials of King Henry the Seventh</i> , ed. J. Gairdner, RS, 2 vols. (1858)
Bacon, <i>Henry the Seventh</i>	Francis Bacon, <i>The History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh</i> , F. Levy (Indianapolis, 1972)
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
BL	British Library.
<i>Cal. S. P. Venice</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, etc. relating to negotiations between England and Spain</i> , ed. G.A. Bergenroth, I, 1485-1509
CCR	<i>Calendars of Close Rolls</i> (HMSO)
CPR	<i>Calendars of Patent Rolls</i> (HMSO)
<i>Chroniques d'Adrien de But</i>	<i>Chroniques relatives 'l'Histoire de la Belgique, sous la Domination deas Ducs de Bourgogne. Vol I. Chroniques de Religieux des Dunes</i> , ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Academie Royale de Belgique, Brussels, 1870)
<i>Complete Peerage</i>	G.E. Cokayne, <i>The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom</i> , ed. V. Gibbs, et al, 12 vols. (1910-59)
<i>Croyland Chronicle</i>	'Fourth continuation of Croyland chronicle' in <i>Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Crowland</i> , ed. H.T. Riley (1893)
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , 63 vols. (1885-1900)
EETS	Early English Text Society

<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
e.s.	extra series
Fabyan, <i>New Chronicles</i>	Robert Fabyan, <i>New Chronicles of England and France</i> , ed. H. Ellis (London, 1811)
Hall, <i>Union</i>	Edward Hall, <i>The Union of the Two Noble Families of Lancaster and York</i> , facsimilie ed. (Menston, 1970)
HMSO	His/Her Majesty's Stationery Office
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission.
Holinshed, <i>Chronicles</i>	Raphael Holinshed, <i>Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland</i> , ed. V. F. Snow, 6 vols (1807-8; repr. New York, 1965), vol. 3
<i>JSA</i>	<i>Journal of the Society of Archivists</i>
KB	Knight of the Bath
KG	Knight of the Garter
<i>LP</i>	<i>Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII</i> , ed. J. Gairdner, RS, 2 vols. (1861-3)
<i>Materials</i>	<i>Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry the Seventh</i> , ed. W. Campbell, RS, 2 vols. (1873-7)
<i>Memorials</i>	<i>Memorials of King Henry VII</i> , ed. J. Gairdner, RS, 2 vols. (1858)
Molinet, <i>Chroniques</i>	<i>Chroniques de Jean Molinet (1474-1506)</i> , ed. G. Doutrepont and O. Jodogne, Academie Royale de Belgique. Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques. Collection des Anciens Auteurs Belges, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1935-7)
MS/S.	Manuscript/s
n.s.	new series

OHR	<i>A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household made in divers reigns from King Edward III to King William and Queen Mary: Also Receipts in Ancient Cookery</i> , printed for the Society of Antiquaries (London, 1790)
o.s.	original series
<i>Paston Letters</i>	<i>Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII</i> , J. Gairdner,).
<i>Paston Letters and Papers</i>	<i>Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century</i> , ed. N. Davis, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1971-6).
<i>Paston Letters. Intro&Supp</i>	<i>The Paston Letters 1422-1509 A.D. Introduction and Supplement</i> , ed. J. Gairdner, 3 vols. (Westminster, 1901).
<i>Paston Letters, n.c.e.</i>	<i>Paston Letters, A.D. 1422-1509</i> , ed. J. Gairdner, new complete edition, 6 vols. (London, 1904), iii.
PRO	Public Record Office
PO	<i>Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England</i> , ed. N.H. Nicolas (London, 1837), vol. vi
RP	<i>Rotuli Parliamentorum</i> , ed. J. Strachey, 6 vols. (London, 1767-83)
RS	Rolls Series
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
<i>Tudor Proclamations</i>	<i>Tudor Royal Proclamations</i> , vol. 1. 'The Early Tudors' P.L. Hughes and J.F. Larkin (New Haven, 1964)
<i>Vergil, Anglica Historia</i>	<i>The 'Anglica Historia' of Polydore Vergil, A.D. 1485-1537</i> , ed. D. Hay, Camden Soc., n. s. 74 (1950)

Wagner, *HH*

A.R. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages. An Inquiry into the Growth of the Armorial Function of Heraldry*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1956)

YHB

York House Books, 1461-1490, ed. L. Attreed, for Richard III and Yorkist History Trust, 2 vols. (Stroud, 1991)

PREFACE

*A shorte and a brief memorye, by licence and correcion, of the first progress of our souveraigne lorde
King Henry the vijth – after his noble coronacion, Christemas and parliament, holden at his paloyes of
Westminster – towardes the northparties.*

BL, MS. Cotton Julius B. XII, fol. 8v.

So commences the memoir of court affairs for the years 1486-90. By 1504, the year in which John Writhe, Garter King of Arms, died the memoir lay complete in the archives of the heralds of England. Seemingly compiled piecemeal over some five or more years, and written (at least partly) under ‘licence and correction’, the memoir represents an extended, descriptive report of the principle solemnities and other events that occupied the king and court during the years 1486-90. The memoir’s creation was clearly governed by some form of editorial policy, but whether this was in anyway direct royal sanction, and how far it shaped the extant tract, remains a matter of question.

The account of the first provincial progress of Henry VII, mentioned above, comprises the first quarter of the extant tract now housed in Julius B. XII. It recounts in detail, from an eye-witness perspective, the new king’s journey from London into the northern and western provinces of his realm during the spring of 1486: from his ride northwards at the head of an impressive entourage; to his celebration of the first Easter of his reign in the cathedral city of Lincoln; to his entry into York and lavish welcome by the civic officials. The ‘progress narrative’, as it may conveniently be called, also lists those lords and retainers rallying to the king’s banner between Lincoln and York, and provides a breakdown of the earl of Northumberland’s own retinue: king, lord and knight responded to the gathering of certain rebels in the

districts of Ripon and Middleham.¹ Just as the civic community of York greeted the king in splendid style, the towns on the penultimate leg of the journey – Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester and Bristol – each also received the king with processions and/or lavish pageantry, the speeches of which are reproduced verbatim in the herald-recorder's account.

The first great ceremonial event to follow was the birth and baptism of a son and heir. Named Arthur, the baby was reportedly christened in the cathedral of Winchester amid all the pomp and ritual typically visited upon such an important event. Many of the leading magnates of the realm were in attendance on this occasion, and certain among them were chosen to perform services: John de Vere, earl of Oxford, and Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby, were godfathers at the font; the dowager queen, Elizabeth Woodville, was godmother; the young Anne of York carried the chrysom cloth; and the bishop of Worcester, John Alcock, was selected to baptise the baby. Despite several minor setbacks described by the herald, Arthur's christening concluded amid a general air of optimism, and to 'the blessing of Almyghty God, Our Lady and Seint George, and of his fader and moder'.²

After covering only briefly the feasts of All Hallows and Christmas 1486, the memoir begins its reportage for 1487 with several events of national importance. Soon after the New Year, John Morton, then bishop of Ely and a former companion-in-exile to the new king, was publicly and ceremoniously installed as archbishop of Canterbury in a service described but briefly in the memoir. February, according to the heralds' reportage, brought a great council at the manor of Sheen, and then the treachery of the

¹ Julius B. XII, fols. 8v-21r.

² Julius B. XII, fol. 24r.

earl of Lincoln who had attended the assembly. Thus, in the second week of Lent, the king and his retinue set off into East Anglia to celebrate Easter, before moving rapidly into the West Midlands in response to news of the activities of Lincoln and his rebel associates in the Low Countries.³ The weeks spent in the mobilisation of troops and preparation for battle are recounted in detail by a herald seemingly attendant upon the royal vanguard, although – disappointingly perhaps – the report concludes with only a brief memorandum on the outcome of the battle and a list of knights and bannerets created by the king that day.⁴

Following the narrative of the Stoke campaign is a seventeen-folio account of the crowning and feasting of Queen Elizabeth of York in November 1487.⁵ Beginning with a notice of the king's decision to prepare for the coronation, the heralds' account proceeds through a transcript of materials relating to the Court of Claims, an account of the king's triumphal entry into London, and a lavish and detailed description of the three main days of coronation festivities. Indeed, the only notable omission from the account is the description of the creation of knights of the Bath, the manner of which is allegedly portrayed, instead, in 'the picture therof made'.⁶

By contrast, the heralds' reportage for 1488 displays an emphasis upon domestic affairs and the celebration of the principal feasts of the calendar year. The celebration of New Year, a splendid crown-wearing at Epiphany, the observance of Easter, and the feast of St. George with its customary requiem mass for deceased Garter knights, are each recounted by heralds clearly present at the events they describe. Whitsuntide

³ Julius B. XII, fols. 25v-26r.

⁴ Julius B. XII, fols. 28v-29v.

⁵ Julius B. XII, fols. 24v-45v.

⁶ Julius B. XII, fol. 35r.

followed, and then the hunting season, when the king reportedly slew his 'grease' in the park of Woodstock. Brief notices ensue in which the English court received exiles from the slain king of Scotland, James III; Sir Edward Woodville was killed in battle on the Continent; the duke of Brittany passed away; the court celebrated All Hallowtide; and another great council was held.⁷ The year ends in the memoir with a lengthy description of the arrival of a papal envoy bearing a gift for the king – the coveted cap and sword – followed by a memorandum, albeit incomplete, for the celebration of Christmas that year.⁸

A notice of the celebration of Easter at Hertford and a brief statement of the murder of the earl of Northumberland in North Yorkshire begin the reportage for the year 1489. There follow first an extended and systematic account of the mobilisation of the loyalist forces in response to the crisis, a brief account of the English participation at the siege of Dixmude; then a series of memoranda regarding the celebration of the feast of St. George, the arrival of an ambassadorial party from France, the hunting season, and then the conclusion of parliament on October 16. On All Hallows' Eve 1489 the queen was ceremoniously confined to her lying-in chamber, the interior of which is described in detail in the memoir. Subsequent folios relate in detail the creation of the three-year-old Arthur as Prince of Wales, followed immediately by an account of the christening of the new royal baby, Princess Margaret. This year's reportage ends with Christmas festivities at Westminster and Greenwich.⁹

Little at all is recorded in the memoir for the year 1490. After a list of the portions of largess received by the officers of arms on New Year's day, a notice of the king's

⁷ Julius B. XII, fols. 51r-51v.

⁸ Julius B. XII, fols. 45v-52v.

⁹ Julius B. XII, fols. 53r-64r.

hunt in Waltham forest and an account of a grand royal procession on Candelmas Day, the reportage concludes with the activities of English and foreign embassies at the royal court. There the memoir ends.

Hitherto, the form in which the memoir has most often been consulted is an eighteenth-century publication which may be termed the 'Leland-Hearne edition'. This is a transcript of the memoir of 1486-90 allegedly produced by the sixteenth-century antiquarian, John Leland, and subsequently included in the volumes of the *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, printed by Thomas Hearne in the 1770s.¹⁰ While clearly a valuable source for the study of early Henrician court life, pageantry, affairs of state and more, the Leland-Hearne version of the memoir is, as I discuss in Chapter 1, marred by inaccuracy and two counts of serious omission. Most notably, the exclusion of several folios from the original text led to a significant misconception regarding the loyalist response to the 1489 rising, only addressed in 1990 by one historian's recourse to the original manuscript.¹¹

The manifest deficiencies in the Leland-Hearne edition of the memoir have of course been recognised by a number of scholars in the past century or so, and there have been at least four partial reproductions of the original manuscript in that time. In 1890 the Surtees Society published a collection of miscellaneous English tracts which included a transcript of the pageantic speeches devised by the city of York to welcome the king in 1486.¹² A.H. Smith followed suit in 1939, re-editing the same texts under the justification that 'some inaccuracies in the previously printed texts,

¹⁰ John Leland, *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. Thomas Hearne, 6 vols. (London, 1774), iv, pp. 185-257.

¹¹ M.J. Bennett, 'Henry VII and the Northern Rising of 1489', *EHR*, 105 (1990), pp. 34-59.

¹² *A Volume of English Miscellanies*, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Soc., 8 (1890).

difficulty in obtaining them, and the interest of the documents themselves in literary history make their reprinting worthwhile'.¹³ Smith's purpose was to bring together the texts of the pageantry as recorded in both the memoir and the muniments of the Common Council of York, and his version of the pageantic speeches is clearly more accurate than its counterpart in the Leland-Hearne edition; yet, he treated so little of the complete memoir, that his work is of no great general value.¹⁴

A highly accurate transcript of the narrative relating to the progress of 1486, from fols. 8v-21r of Julius B. XII, was produced in 1977 by C.E. McGee in his unpublished doctoral dissertation, *A Critical Edition of the First Provincial Progress of Henry VII*.¹⁵ McGee was chiefly interested in the dramatic, poetic and diplomatic appeal of the civic pageantry devised for the king's progress in 1486, and his analysis generally differs little from the work of Sydney Anglo and John C. Meagher.¹⁶ Based upon a close study of the original manuscripts of the memoir and the York civic muniments, McGee's edition has been the most accurate text of the progress narrative hitherto available, and is an invaluable primary source for the study of Henry VII's first northern tour. Yet, McGee's narrow focus and insufficient understanding of the

¹³ A.H. Smith, 'A York Pageant, 1486', *LMS* (1946; for 1939), pp. 382-98.

¹⁴ The York civic pageantry, described in the memoir, merited a place in the history of English pageantry by the early twentieth-century scholars R. Withington, although Withington relies on the Leland-Hearne reproduction. R. Withington, *English Pageantry. An Historical Outline*, 2 vols. (1918; repr. New York, 1963), i, pp. 157-60.

¹⁵ C.E. McGee, *A Critical Edition of the First Provincial Progress of Henry VII*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of Toronto, 1977). McGee furthered his interest in the pageantry of the progress several years later, writing a brief article on the topic: C.E. McGee, 'Politics and Platitudes: sources of civic pageantry, 1486', *Renaissance Studies*, 3.1 (1989), pp. 29-34.

¹⁶ Especially S. Anglo, 'The *British History* in Early Tudor Propaganda', *BJRL*, 43 (1960), pp. 17-48; S. Anglo, *Spectacle Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1969); J.C. Meagher, 'The First Provincial Progress of Henry VII', *Renaissance Drama*, n. s., 1 (1968), pp. 45-73

nature and textual history of the manuscript belies its potential as a scholarly edition of this portion of the memoir.

In 1990, a new perspective was brought to the loyalist response to the rising in North Yorkshire in 1489.¹⁷ Professor M.J. Bennett uncovered a portion of text of some several folios covering the loyalist mobilisation after the murder of the earl of Northumberland, omitted from the Leland-Hearne edition and until then entirely unnoticed by historians. As a supplement to his discussion, Bennett appended his own transcription of the missing folios.¹⁸ This is an accurate source, and an invaluable addition to the known text in the Leland-Hearne edition.

Any editorial or historical approach to the memoir and its authors benefits from an understanding of the primary source materials for the early years of the reign of Henry VII, to supplement, challenge and verify the heralds' reportage. On the whole, these are limited and of no great quality. Of similar heraldic narratives for the period addressed by the memoir, I have uncovered few: an independent, eye-witness account of Prince Arthur's christening, and two lists of knights fighting for the king at the battle of Stoke in 1487. The first is a short list of knights and bannerets created on the field, and perhaps derived from the memoir itself; the other is a list of combatants in the royal army at Stoke, incorporated into Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia* at a later date, and generally presumed to originate with the officers of arms of the Crown. Nothing more from the heralds' pen appears to have survived for this period.

¹⁷ Bennett, 'Northern Rising', pp. 34-59.

¹⁸ Bennett, 'Northern Rising', pp. 56-9.

The principal chronicle sources offering substantial documentation of these few years of English history include *The Great Chronicle of London*, Jean Molinet's, *Chroniques*, the *Anglica Historia* of Polydore Vergil, Fabyan's *New Chronicles of England and France*, the chronicles of Edward Hall and Ralph Holinshed, and the *Croyland Chronicle*'s third and fourth continuations, although the latter concludes in 1486.¹⁹ By their very nature, chronicles have the potential to provide descriptive accounts of the main events in England at this time, and in some cases the narratives have been shown to derive from a range of eye-witness accounts or oral reports, including materials originating with the royal heralds. Indeed, as I shall discuss later, this is especially evident with the account of the battle of Stoke in 1487, provided by the Burgundian court historiographer, Jean Molinet.

Thus, the chronicles compiled in and around London are generally based upon excellent contemporary evidence, and were penned at the centre of affairs by men who held offices in the city. As A. Gransden noted, the London chronicles 'have a wealth of graphic descriptions which can only rest on first hand authority', and their methodical record of punishments meted out in London, and occasionally elsewhere, is characteristic and largely unique.²⁰ Their accounts of London civic pageantry, too, have been shown to derive from official records. What the London annals lack in continuous and more detailed narrative form is recompensed to some degree by their

¹⁹ *The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley (London, 1938); *Chroniques de Jean Molinet (1474-1506)*, ed. G. Doutrepoint and O. Jodogne, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1935-7); *The Anglica Historia* of Polydore Vergil, A.D. 1485-1537, ed. and transl. D. Hay, Camden Soc., n. s., 74 (1950); *Ingulph's Chronicles of the Abbey of Croyland*, ed. H.T. Riley (London, 1893).

²⁰ A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England II, c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1982), pp. 222, 230, 235, 240; Julius B. XII, fols. 55r, 55v. An interest in execution by burning, beheading, hanging, boiling, and the like is particularly evident in the annals compiled by the Grey Friars, whose proximity to Newgate prison provided plenty to write about. See also C.L. Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London* (Aberdeen, 1915).

strictly contemporary origins, and their presentation of popular opinion on the events they record.²¹ Indeed, their chief importance as historical sources belongs to the fifteenth century.²²

The 'principal vehicle by which the historiographical tradition and factual content of the London chronicles was transmitted to Tudor England' is Robert Fabyan's *New Chronicles of England and France*.²³ Like the more traditional London annals from which it derives, Fabyan's *New Chronicles* demonstrates considerable knowledge of, and preoccupation with, London affairs and furnished the sixteenth-century writers Edward Hall and Raphael Holinshed with materials for their own works. The chronicles of Hall and Holinshed, at least, have much to say for the years 1486-90. In addition, further small pieces of contemporary detail for the early years of the reign of Henry VII may be gained by recourse to Grey Friars' annals, the third and fourth continuations of the *Croyland Chronicle*, and similar surviving chronicle sources, like that in BL, MS. Vitellius A. XVI.²⁴

Perhaps more than any of the sources mentioned above, the humanist *Anglica Historia* of Polydore Vergil offers a wealth of cohesive narrative documentation of affairs in England during the years covered by the memoir. Vergil began historical research soon after he arrived in England in 1502, and kept a diary of current events from that time. Under commission from Henry VII, he commenced work on a

²¹ Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, p. 70.

²² Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, p. 72.

²³ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 245.

²⁴ *The Greyfriars' Chronicle of London*, in *Monumenta Franciscana*, ed. J.S. Brewer and R. Howlett, HMSO (London, 1858-82; repr. 1965), ii, pp. 143-260; *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, ed. J.G. Nichols, Camden Soc., o.s. 53 (1852); BL, MS. Vitellius A. XVI, printed in *Chronicles of London*, ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1905), pp. 153-263.

comprehensive history, and the first edition of his Latin *Anglica Historia*, dedicated to Henry VIII, was completed in 1531. Written to a coherent structure and, to a certain extent, a unitary theme the *Anglica Historia* makes extensive use of primary source material, and it formed the groundwork of the more elaborate, vernacular chronicles of Hall and Holinshed.

On the whole, however, the events of the years 1486-90 are not well documented in the chronicle sources. The value of Vergil's writing for the early years of the reign of Henry VII is lessened by a Lancastrian bias and its status as an *apologia* for the Tudor dynasty, and his accounts of events at the early Tudor court are highly selective: little is said at all of the solemn occasions of baptism, coronation and creation under Henry VII. Similarly, the near-contemporary verses penned by Bernard André, poet laureate and court historiographer to Henry VII, shed little or no historical light on the events of 1486-90, and his prose account of the battle of Stoke has been deemed 'somewhat confused and lacking in conviction'.²⁵ The *Great Chronicle of London* and derivative accounts are limited chiefly by their preoccupation with minute, sometimes trivial, local affairs, and a confusion of chronology arising from the practice of dating by mayoral years. Fabyan's *New Chronicles*, based on versions of the London Chronicle, perpetuates the problem of chronology, while the author's (or his continuator's) reportage for the reign of Henry VII is very brief indeed.

Among the most reliable, if also the driest, sources to set alongside the memoir are the governmental documents now housed in the Public Record Office, and catalogued in printed calendars of Patent, Close, Fine and Charter Rolls, and in the *Materials* for Henry VII's reign. These documents include wardrobe, household and exchequer

²⁵ Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, pp. 10-11; Bernard André, 'Vita Henrici Septimi', in *Memorials*.

accounts, chancery rolls, issue and receipt rolls and the like, and primarily offer hard evidence on people, places and dates: the routine administration behind the events of 1486-90 described by the heralds. To these sources may be added the surviving memoranda compiled by the civic officials of York, Cambridge and other places included on the royal itinerary, or in government affairs, between 1486 and 1490. However, administrative, governmental and municipal records provide no descriptive or analytical material, and say nothing at all of the background to the events in question.

Informal documents and personal correspondence offers some of the most interesting and illuminating information, and during the fifteenth century letters of less deliberate import begin to survive in the vernacular. The correspondence contained in the Paston and Plumpton collections are among the most 'fruitful and faithful' source for social, and occasionally political, history.²⁶ These letters contain incidental and generally less prejudiced references to public events, while some were written chiefly to supply the reader with the latest information on politics or current happenings. Nevertheless, the practice of restricting the information committed to writing in favour of the messengers' word-of-mouth has deprived the historian of much valuable information. Royal correspondence, together with other public papers, broadsides and proclamations may be found in printed collections, and further furnish one with materials to set alongside the memoir.

This thesis aim to do two things. In the first place it offers a scholarly edition of the complete heraldic memoir contained in BL, MS. Cotton Julius B. XII, fols. 8v-66r, based on an extensive, detailed examination of the original document. My intention

²⁶ Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, p. 193.

has been to render the memoir accessible to students and historians of the period while remaining as close as possible to the text contained in Julius B. XII. This section of the thesis also provides a basic apparatus to the text in the form of textual commentary, a glossary of terms and a biographical index to the principal persons mentioned in the text.

Second, the thesis aims to elucidate the textual history and historical background to the memoir and its authors. There are four chapters to this part of the thesis. Chapter 1 represents a standard textual introduction to the manuscript and the text of this edition. It contains critical discussion of both the original tract and the Cottonian volume to which it belongs, the date(s) of its compilation, the identity of its authors, and the transmission of the narrative during the centuries following its completion. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 offer an historical context for the details recounted in the memoir. In Chapter 2, I investigate the nature and function of the heralds at the court of Henry VII during the years in which the memoir was created, examining their Yorkist and Continental models, and the status of their narrative record keeping during the 1480s. It is thereby intended to elucidate the milieu in which the memoir of 1486-90 was created, and to answer another serious deficiency in the source material: the development of the heraldic narrative record in the fifteenth century.

As the great number of subjects incorporated into the memoir and the narrative's total size preclude a thorough discussion of each topic, Chapters 3 and 4 focus only on the principal events covered by the memoir's authors. These include the first provincial progress of Henry VII, the celebration of the great ceremonial occasions of royal baptisms, the queen's coronation, the creation of Arthur as Prince of Wales and customary annual observance of the feasts of the calendar year, together with the

loyalist response to the rebellions of 1487 and 1489. I interrogate the memoir, and draw upon other contemporary sources to determine the nature and significance of the heralds' reportage, and its implications on our knowledge of the events described.

Thus, the purpose of this thesis is to address a serious deficiency in the primary source material available for a period of English history that can scarcely afford such restrictions. It is to be hoped that this thesis will also provide an understanding not only of the events and principal persons described in the memoir, but also of the men who compiled the text, and the environment in which they worked.

TEXTUAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Manuscript

British Library, MS. Cotton Julius B. XII (henceforth Julius B. XII), a composite manuscript volume of diverse historical texts in English and Latin, was bound into its present form after 1621. It has undergone little alteration since its completion, and today contains over 60 constituent parts, recorded on paper and vellum.

The great majority of the items contained in Julius B. XII date from the latter half of the fifteenth, and the sixteenth, centuries and appear to be professional scribal transcripts. The collection now includes the following: heraldic materials and narrative accounts; records of grants of land and manors, and of the payment of debt; petitions and inquisitions; and several items of genealogical interest from the reign of Elizabeth I. Only one item is substantially older: a 13-folio vellum manuscript listed in the table of contents as ‘Inquisitio de Gubernatione Militum Templi in Angli’,¹ and written in a clear, early Anglicana script of *c.*1300.²

Although the binding process has served largely to mask evidence of the original presentation of the manuscripts, remnants of old foliation schemes still evident on the *recto* of each leaf suggest that Julius B. XII was created by the binding together of separate pamphlets. Several items appear to have been re-bound more than once. In addition, patterns of wear and discolouration throughout the volume suggest that

¹ BL, Cotton MS. Julius B. XII, fols. 67r-82r.

² I am indebted to Professor R. M. Thomson for his assistance in the dating of this hand.

many of the constituent parts, such as the vellum manuscript ‘Inquisitio de Gubernatione’, had a working life outside the present volume.

Today the condition of the material in Julius B. XII varies: several items have been rendered incomplete by loss or damage; others have suffered minor injury; still others have lost something in the rebinding and cutting of the pages. The first constituent manuscript, a genealogical chart now entitled ‘the names of suche families as came into England withe Kinge William the Conqueror’, shows considerable wear and the deterioration of the outer edges: some text has been lost. Similarly, the very last manuscript – a record in Latin concerning a petition from Richard duke of Gloucester, and Elizabeth countess of Oxford to William Gray, bishop of Ely and Lord Treasurer – has been mutilated.

Of the constituent manuscripts of Julius B. XII, that which forms the basis of the present study is the memoir of the years 1486-90 from the court of Henry VII at fols. 8v to 66r (henceforth, the memoir). This is a Middle English narrative commencing:

A shorte and a brief memory, by licence and correccion, of the first *progresse* of our *souveraigne* lorde King Henry the vijth – *after* his noble coronacion, Cristemas *and* *parliament* holden at his paloyes of Westminster – *towardses* the northparties.³

³ Julius B. XII, fols. 8v-66r.

As an extended narrative record of the first provincial progress of Henry VII, and of the principal court solemnities during the years 1486-90, the memoir represents the fourth and largest single item in the extant volume.

The memoir comprises three distinctive scribal hands and consists of 58 folios in three makes of paper, watermarked with a crowned star,⁴ a unicorn, and a *croix formé*⁵ respectively. Where the text was completed by the first scribe, the paper's chainlines stand 23mm apart, and the crowned star is located in the fifth channel from the outer edge, centred between the top and bottom of the leaf. The crowned star measures 42mm in height and has eight rays. The second make of paper, beginning at fol. 29 and also used by the first scribe, bears much fainter chainlines, and these stand approximately 30mm apart. Its unicorn watermark spans the third and fourth channels and measures some 97mm from the tip of its horn to the end of its tail. Where the third hand is present, the paper's chainlines stand 29-30mm apart, and the watermark also spans the third and fourth channels. This watermark, a *croix formé*, measures 16mm by 16mm.

The leaves of Julius B. XII, and hence of the memoir, were cut to their present size during the final binding and now measure approximately 280mm by 210mm, with slight variation at the binding edge. The average writing space on each leaf of the memoir differs from one hand to another, and between portions of text in the same

⁴ This watermark is very similar to watermark 6113 in C.M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, 2nd edn., 2 vols. (New York, 1966), ii, p. 354. Paper of this sort, marked with a crowned star, originated in France and became increasingly common in documents toward the end of the fifteenth century. Samples have been found in the low countries and in books published by Caxton.

⁵ Similar to Briquet 5457.

hand. Approximate measurements are: 165mm by 135mm for the first scribe; 206mm by 135mm for the second; 210mm by 140mm for the third. Where the first scribe has included verse in his transcription, the lines measure approximately 165mm by 105mm. There are an average of 27 lines per page, fewer where verse is present. The portions of verse are arranged with care: each stanza is indented from the main text and separated from its predecessor by an empty line; each verse line commences with a majuscule letter.

The original number and size of the folio gatherings of the memoir are no longer evident, as most of the sheets were cut during binding and the binding-jackets now contain varying numbers of leaves. The use of catchwords by the first scribe, evident at the bottom of fols. 12v, 20v, 28v, 36v and 44v, suggest that the folios produced by the first scribe were probably once gathered in groups of eight. The number of leaves bearing a watermark does not equal those without, however; and the absence of a watermark on fols. 16, 17 and 18 would seem to suggest the cancellation of leaves.

Also evident on several leaves in the portion of text produced by the first scribe are traces of what was probably the earliest foliation scheme applied to the memoir. The first example of this scheme appears on fol. 7r of Julius B. XII, which bears the tiny numeral 'ij' in the lower right corner of the leaf. Fol. 8r has been similarly marked 'iiij'. Along the lower edge of those folios bearing catchwords are traces of lettering, possibly Roman numerals, but these examples have been greatly damaged in the cutting of the leaves. In addition, the Latin word *prima* is evident on the bottom edge of fol. 29r and perhaps also on fols. 13r and 37r, although the latter two examples are no longer legible. Both the Roman numerals and *prima* appear to be in the hand of the

first scribe, and are only found on his material. As the word *prima* on fol. 29r is proceeded by the catchwords 'the lade' on fol. 28v, and as the (possible) remnants of the word *prima* on fols. 13r and 37r are also preceded by catchwords, it seems likely that we are looking at a system for marking the beginning and end of each gathering. As mentioned above, fol. 29r also introduces the second make of paper, marked with a unicorn.

By and large, the manuscript has been remarkably well preserved. Discolouration and degradation are largely confined to the outer edges of each leaf, as is consistent with the wear of any bound material. Grime, creases and small tears appear on the bottom right corners of most of the leaves. Several rust-coloured spots and small stains, together with the fingerprints of readers and the inky prints of scribes, are evident along the outer edges of several leaves, and on some the text itself has been marred by ink stains. In at least two cases, repair or alteration has caused minimal loss of text: a flourish on a majuscule *-I* at fol. 18r and the final *-p.* of 'archbishop' at fol. 40v were incorporated into the binding; a flourish on a miniscule *-h*, on the last line of fol. 21r, was obliterated by a small repair. Fading is also minimal, but has occurred to the greatest extent in the portion of text produced by the second scribe, perhaps indicating an ink of lesser quality. Here the lettering has lightened to a brownish shade. Over all, however, the legibility of the text is scarcely diminished.

The language employed in the memoir is unremarkable for a manuscript of late fifteenth-century English provenance, and for a document which most probably originated in the vicinity of London. Few dialectical characteristics are present, although vestiges of a southern orthography may be detected in the use of *-eth* and

–*ith* in the third person singular form of verbs (only the pageantic verse requiring rhyme contains the northern inflection of –*s*), and in the spelling of the word ‘hundreth’ at fol. 49r and ‘chirch/e’ throughout. But for one example, thorn has only been used in formal address, and then it is rendered –*y*; on fol. 45v, in an interlineation, thorn was rendered –_. In all other cases –*th* is used. The –*sh* construction is employed throughout the text, and equally at the beginning, middle and end of words. –*f* has been capitalised by a double form, and –*o* lengthened also by doubling. The presence of the soft –*c* is frequent, as in ‘city’, ‘certaine’ and ‘licence’. In several instances a –*y* or a dotted –*i* has been employed to distinguish the letter –*i* from other minims in an individual word, but no practice was consistently followed. The –*y* prefix is used in only two places: on fol. 24r, in the statement ‘that every man myght drynke ynow’;⁶ and in a marginal annotation on the same folio. The infinitive ending –*n* is never used, and the present participle always ends in either – *yng* or –*ing*.

In addition, several genitive inflections have also been employed throughout, and these are: –*s*, –*es*, and the single mark of suspension for the endings –*es* or –*is* in both English and Latin. The plural is shown by –*s*, –*es*, –*is*, –*z*, –*ez*, and the mark of suspension mentioned above. Occasionally a plural noun is written without any mark of inflection, such as ‘appurtenance’ on fol. 16v and ‘thing’ on fol. 20r. The former example was required by the verse rhyme, but the latter may simply be a scribal error. The usual forms of the third person pronoun in the plural are: ‘they’, ‘ther’, and ‘theym’, but the conventional modern spellings of ‘their’ and ‘them’ also appear. The

⁶ Julius B. XII, fol. 24r.

most common relative pronouns used are ‘which/e’ and ‘who/m’; ‘that’ occurs only rarely. The possessive pronoun ‘whose’ occurs throughout.⁷

The language of the memoir is heavily reliant upon French, and examples of derivation (‘recountered’) and appropriation (‘ouvert/e’) occur throughout. The scribal error at fol. 40r, where ‘chamber’ is preceded by the cancellation of *-s*, suggests that this word probably still retained the soft *-sh* sound favoured by French. In addition, the orthography of a very large number of words of French origin, from ‘Straunge’ to ‘observaunce’ and ‘attendaunce’, seems to suggest that these words were still pronounced, more or less, along French lines.

The precise status of the memoir is difficult to determine. Almost certainly originating with the body of heralds working for the English Crown during the 1480s and 1490s, the extant text displays characteristics both of eye-witness, journalistic reportage, and of an indifferent transcript of earlier material. Although it assumes a crude narrative form, the text makes little pretence at elegance or literary style⁸ and exhibits few signs of having been written to an overarching framework or plan. Rather, it appears to have been produced in stages as a piecemeal transcription of earlier material, and is more probably a work-in-progress or an unpublished office report for a five-year period. The extant text is almost wholly devoid of top-copy devices, shows signs of retrospective editing, and contains blank spaces for names, dates and other details. Moreover, certain statements, including the references to ‘a

⁷ For introductory material on Middle English grammar and dialect, see T.F. Mustanoja, *A Middle English Syntax*, part 1 (Helsinki, 1960) and C. Jones, *An Introduction to Middle English* (New York, 1972).

⁸ M.J. Bennett, *Lambert Simnel and the Battle of Stoke* (Gloucester, 1987), p. 10.

soteltie with writing of balades whiche as yet I have not' at fol. 40v, and to 'many more lordis and knightis whos names I have not' at fol. 51v, suggest that the author or scribe intended to include further information. Although later scholars have assumed – erroneously – that the introductory statement represents a title of sorts, no title was ever given to the work. This again precludes any greater likelihood that the memoir was written to a blueprint.

Moreover, the extant text was completed in three different hands and is clearly a fair copy, a circumstance suggesting the creation of a derivative text based upon earlier materials. As I shall presently discuss there is also significant positive evidence to suggest that the memoir derives from 'office memoranda' or draft reports. The first scribe (henceforth Scribe A) was responsible for the largest portion of the text, namely the account of the first provincial progress of Henry VII and the description of all entertainment and celebrations up to the feast of Saint George in 1488. A second scribe (Scribe B) took up the task approximately one quarter of the way down folio 51r, directly after an extended verse relating to the chapter of the Order of the Garter in 1488. A third scribe (Scribe C) continued the narrative from part-way through a description of the creation of Prince Arthur in November 1489 at fol. 60v, and brought the text to its conclusion. Scribe B provides an additional note at the foot of fol. 21v and an emendation against the work of Scribe A at fol. 42r; Scribe C's hand also occurs in a marginal annotation at fol. 23r, and in several minor corrections against the work of Scribe A, at fols. 24r, 25r and 41r.

Certain features of Scribe A's work support the notion that the memoir was created by the copying of earlier written materials, namely misprints resulting from eyeskip

(fols. 24v, 32r and 40v) and transposition (fols. 14v and 38v). Hence at fol. 14v, in copying out a passage of verse from one of the Worcester pageants, the scribe allowed his eye to fall upon the line directly above: he repeated the phrase 'this trespasse', but corrected his mistake before proceeding. Similarly, at fols. 38v-39r, he repeated the phrase 'byfor the Counstable', before canceling the latter example. Scribe A was again forced to correct his own work at 23v after mistakenly jumping from the phrase 'and all the prelates that wer ther kyste the saide relique or palle' over the intervening lines to 'al the religiouse people of that house': 'prelates' is written above the cancellation of 'people'. By contrast, an error resulting from eyeskip on fol. 41r remained unnoticed by the three scribes, and in consequence there remained the awkward sentence: 'And at the right ende of the table ther was ordeynede a stage for kinges of armes stode corownede, heraulde[s] and purservantes, whiche kinges of armes stode corownede and beheld that noble service the wise that they cowde...' ⁹

A peculiar circumstance on fol. 45v creates the sense that a case of eyeskip has resulted in the permanent loss of material regarding the celebration of New Year in 1488. In a passage relating to the customary crying of largess by the officers of arms on New Year's Day, the monetary gifts awarded to the heralds by each of the senior noblemen and women present have been recorded. ¹⁰ After each memorandum is recorded the heralds' cry of 'largess' and the style of the gift-giver. In the case of the Richard Fox, bishop of Exeter and Lord Privy Seal, the notice of his twenty-shilling gift is immediately and incongruously followed by the style of the queen's sister, the

⁹ Julius B. XII, fol. 41r. I have emended the sentence to: 'And at the right ende of the table ther was ordeynede a stage for kinges of armes, heraulde[s] and purservantes, whiche kinges of armes stode corownede...'

¹⁰ Julius B. XII, fols. 45v-46v.

Lady Cecily, Viscountess Welles: 'Largesse de noble princesse la seur de la reigne notre souveraigne dame et vicountesse de Welles'.¹¹ Neither the correct response to the bishop of Exeter's donation nor any record of Lady Cecily's gift are given. It appears that Cecily's style was mistakenly transcribed from later in the copy-text, and that the portion of narrative which belonged between the notices of the bishop's gift and Cecily's style was omitted during the copying. It is impossible to say how much information has been lost in this way.

In addition, the proliferation of minor errors and a greater untidiness of handwriting at certain points in Scribe A's portion of the narrative also give the appearance of a copyist reproducing large amounts of text at a time. Scribe A has fallen prey to word confusion (this/thus, fol. 39r) and letter confusion, writing 'poope people' instead of 'poore people' (fol. 9r) and 'and ster stode' instead of 'and ther stode' (fol. 38r). In several cases he has repeated 'of', 'in' and 'have', as well as 'after that' (fol. 40r) and 'shewed in the' (fol. 46v), and he has confused plural and singular forms (fol. 20r). On occasions he has also muddled English and French: on fol. 30v he wrote 'in la countie dEssex', a circumstance almost certainly indicative of the scribe's familiarity with French, or at least with the material contained in the French document he was copying. Conversely, on fol. 24r, he wrote 'al other lordez et ladies', and emended a similar error on fol. 38v. These errors are less easily explained, although it is possible that Scribe A worked from French sources on these occasions.

In the event Scribe A did not complete his commission: perhaps death claimed him. The work of his two successors in finishing the text differs only in a few minor

¹¹ Julius B. XII, fol. 45v.

matters. Scribe B's hand is more compact than that of Scribe A and has none of the flourishes of his predecessor's hand. On occasion, his script strays from the horizontal; at other times he makes use of ruled lines, and this is especially evident on fol. 53r, and where he creates lists of names in column format. Scribe B also prefers a slightly different orthographical style from that of his predecessor. Thus he writes 'mouder' and 'ouder', prefers the plural ending *-is*, and often writes 'off' instead of 'of'. His errors are relatively few and have, in most cases, been emended, leaving but two cases of repetition (fols. 53r and 57v), the misspelling of Stephen ('Sthephen', fol. 60r), and two examples of word confusion (on/an, fol. 62r and xij/xxij, fol. 53r). He makes only one serious error (fol. 52v), the reasons for which are not apparent, but which has been struck through.¹²

Scribe C appears to have worked on the memoir as both copyist and editor. His portion of text is markedly shorter than those of his predecessors and appears to have been rather less carefully executed. He uses no ruled lines, and spacing between words and lines varies enormously (esp. fols. 62r and 64r-64v). His orthographical style tends more toward that of Scribe B, with a preference for 'off' and the plural ending *-is*. Like Scribes A and B, Scribe C makes his own errors of transposition (fol. 62r), omission (fols. 65r, 65v), repetition (fols. 61r, 61v), and carelessness (fol. 62v). Scribe C's contribution also seems to be that of both proof-reader – he replaced an omission by Scribe A on fol. 25r – and editor correcting the work of Scribe A against draft notes. Thus, on folio 24r he modifies the conclusion of the account of Prince Arthur's christening. Where Scribe A had written that 'the king gave great largesse', Scribe C cancelled the sentence, inserted 'no' in the left margin, and placed

¹² Cancelled is the statement: '...and after, Clarenceux King of Armes and Master John Lacy, clerk of

the following statement in the right margin: ‘only but xx li for lake of advertiseme[nt] but ther ben president[l]y ynow to be shewede of C li or a C marces’. Scribe C may also have been responsible for canceling the mildly controversial comment, in Scribe A’s hand, at the foot of the same folio: ‘And on Newyeres day Thomas Lovell delyverde the kinges and the quenes larges, but for the quen so little a largesse wer any was yeven was ther non in our dayes sene, wherfor I passe over to set the service in boke’.

One further, rather curious scribal error merits discussion, for it is not confined to one scribe, but made on several occasions by both Scribes A and B. This is the heralds’ consistent error with the Christian name of the Richard Fox, Bishop of Exeter, a circumstance wholly unrepresentative of their general standard of accuracy. On fol. 25v, Scribe A has inserted the name ‘Richard’ above the cancellation of ‘John’ in his own hand. Similarly, on fols. 51r, 52v and 53r, in his own portion of text, Scribe B has inserted ‘Richard’ over erasures; in one instance at least, the erased word appears to have commenced with the majuscule letter –*J*. At fol. 29r and twice at fol. 45v, the incorrect ‘Lord John Fox’ was never altered. It seems likely that the fault lay with the original material from which the complete transcript derived, since the name ‘John’ was consistently copied into the text, before being altered to ‘Richard’ in four of the seven cases. One wonders if the former companion-in-exile and staunch ally of Henry Tudor temporarily changed his Christian name out of disgust with Richard III.

Of the three hands present in the extant version of the memoir, the last is the most easily identifiable: it is with little doubt that of John Writhe, Garter King of Arms

the prive seall to the king of Daunemark’.

from 1478 to 1504. Typically large and untidy, Garter Writhe's distinctive secretary hand, like that of Scribe C, is made up of sharp, angular strokes and incomplete letterforms, and it scarcely altered throughout his long career. As may be seen by the samples provided, there is a striking similarity between the hand of Scribe C and verified samples of Writhe's hand from manuscripts now housed in the British Library.¹³ [Fig 1.3]

Moreover, the existence of two important documents in Writhe's hand, held at the College of Arms and the British Library respectively, are further suggestive of John Writhe's association with the memoir or parts thereof. The first of these two documents, a manuscript entitled 'the Articles concernyng the Creacion of my Lord Prince', represents a two-folio script for the order of ceremony during Arthur's creation as Prince of Wales in 1489.¹⁴ The 'Articles' were evidently set down by John Writhe less than a week before the event, as he commences his list of details with the following memorandum: 'Furst the conveyance of my lord prince from Mortelake to Westmynster uppon Wensday next comyng'. The details provided in the 'Articles' correspond almost exactly to the order of proceedings recorded in the memoir for Prince Arthur's creation. The two documents are clearly closely related, and as John Writhe was then Garter King of Arms, we might assume that he was pivotal in the organisation and accomplishment of this triumphant event.

¹³ Other verified samples of Writhe's hand are contained in 'John Wrythe's Garter Book', an elaborate manuscript belonging to the duke of Buccleuch. This volume also contains samples of Thomas Wriothesley's hand.

¹⁴ College of Arms, MS. L8, fols. 17v-19.

The second document of interest is a British Library manuscript entitled ‘Writhe’s Book of Knights’ (now BL, MS. Additional 46354) and belonging to a multi-volume set known as *Wriothesley’s Heraldic Collections*. Writhe’s ‘Book’ mainly comprises lists of knights arranged chronologically under the occasion of their creation,¹⁵ together with a record of the fee-payment status of each knight. The names of those knights created between 1487 and 1494, and in the thirteenth year of the reign (1497/98), are in Writhe’s hand. In particular, folios 16r-19v contain lists of knights made at the battle of Stoke, at Coventry that same summer, at the coronation of Elizabeth of York, and at the creation of Prince Arthur. As the order in which the names are written and the notes regarding the knights’ payment status match almost exactly those preserved in the memoir, it seems very likely that one document was created from the other. Certain features of the lists in Writhe’s ‘Book’ suggest that this work was compiled later than, perhaps from, the relevant portion of the memoir. Thus, alongside the names Sir Humphrey Savage, Sir Thomas Grey, Sir William Tirwhit, Sir Amyas Paulet, and several others, Writhe has added extra notes of the knights’ payment status and additional information concerning several of the men. At the end of the list of knights created at the battle of Stoke, Writhe has added the name ‘Sir Henry Herbert’, not included in the memoir. In addition, Writhe’s list of those men dubbed during the same summer contains errors of omission (fol. 17v), eyeskip (fol. 17v), and transposition (18r), each of which appear to have been made in copying. He concludes this list with a memorandum, not present in the memoir, of the knighting of Sir Richard Nanfant during the week before Christmas 1489.¹⁶

¹⁵ With two exceptions – fols. 18v and 19r – where lists of names and memoranda have been inserted that are not strictly chronological.

¹⁶ BL, MS. Additional 46 354, fol. 18r.

Meanwhile, the hand of Scribe B appears to be that of John Writhe's son, Thomas Wriothesley, Wallingford Pursuivant from 1489 to 1504, and Garter King of Arms until his death in 1534. Unlike that of his father, Wriothesley's own hand varied considerably during his career as a herald, and is therefore rather more difficult to identify with certainty. Nevertheless, correspondence may be found between verified samples of his work and the hand of Scribe B of the memoir. **[fig 1.2]** More importantly, Wriothesley's monogram 'Jhc' appears at the top of fols. 53r and 53v, suggesting that this section was written by Wriothesley or – less likely – by his clerk.¹⁷

The hand of Scribe A has not been identified.¹⁸ **[fig. 1.1]** The more decorative appearance of this hand, particularly the proliferation of flourishes on ascenders and descenders, together with his apparent methodical foliation of those leaves on which he worked, suggest that Scribe A was a professional.¹⁹ The presence of a marginal annotation at fol. 24 and several minor corrections in Garter Writhe's hand, and of Wriothesley's additions and emendations at fols. 21v and 42r, suggests that Scribe A's portion may well have been produced under supervision. Both Writhe and

¹⁷ I owe a debt of gratitude for the identification of Thomas Wriothesley's monogram to Mrs Ann Payne, Manuscripts Librarian at the British Library.

¹⁸ The nearest match I have yet uncovered is in BL, MS. Cotton Julius B. I. This is a paper manuscript of 102 leaves, measuring 11" by 8", and written throughout in same hand, soon after the death of Edward IV. It is in large part a chronicle account, primarily copied from older versions. See *Chronicles of London*, ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1905), p. xiii.

¹⁹ I must again thank Mrs Ann Payne, Manuscripts Librarian at the British Library, for her suggestions regarding the possible professional status of Scribe A.

Wriothesley are known to have enlisted the services of scriveners.²⁰ It is almost certainly significant, moreover, that Scribe A was also responsible for two of the manuscripts preceding the memoir in Julius B. XII, and that items two, three and four each follows the preceding without the intervention of a blank leaf. Item two, entitled in a later hand: 'Names of those that came with the Conqueror into England', comprises fols. 5r-7r; item three, 'The ordering of a funerall for a noble person in Hen. 7 tyme', comprises fols. 7v-8r; and item four, the memoir, commences on fol. 8v. Perhaps Scribe A was engaged in the creation of a compilation of heraldic miscellanea. Indeed, the items preceding the memoir pertain to subjects frequently associated with the English heralds: items one and two are genealogical; item three is ceremonial and pertains to the early years of the reign of Henry VII. The early foliation scheme described above lends support to this view.

The picture that emerges seems to be one of a scribal transcription of earlier material, quite possibly draft notes, prepared piecemeal over a period of several years under the supervision of John Writhe, Garter King of Arms. The transcription was apparently begun by a professional scribe in Writhe's employment, as part of a compilation of materials relevant to the heralds' duties. For reasons lost to posterity, however, the scrivener did not complete the memoir, and it was left to Writhe's son Thomas, then perhaps an apprentice, and Writhe himself to complete: Wriothesley made several emendations to the work of Scribe A; Writhe's alterations can be seen against the work of both Scribe A and Thomas Wriothesley.

²⁰ As in the creation of 'Wrythe's Garter Book'. See H.S. London, *The Life of William Bruges, the First Garter King of Arms* (London, 1970), p. 14 and Appendix XVII 'John Wrythe's Garter Book', pp. 112-13.

* * *

If, indeed, the memoir was the brainchild of Garter John Writhe, then some clue to the manuscript's history prior to its incorporation into Julius B. XII must lie in the troubled history of the holdings of the College of Arms. At the time the transcript was completed, the officers of arms had neither library nor permanent corporate residence after the loss of their house at Coldharbour to Lady Margaret Beaufort in 1485. The heralds' occupation of Coldharbour had provided each of the principals among them with an individual workroom and a central library for the storage of common books, and during its brief period of operation, the house and its contents were supervised by John Writhe as Garter King of Arms. Upon the return of Coldharbour to the Crown in 1487, Writhe reportedly gathered together his own books and all those held in common. It is not certain whether the earlier portion of the memoir, or the draft notes used in its compilation, were among the manuscripts held in common or in Writhe's own collection all along.

During their protracted feud in the 1530s, Thomas Wriothesley as Garter King of Arms, and Thomas Benolt, Clarenceux, maintained a bitter difference of opinion on the fate of those items rescued by Writhe in 1485: both claimed that the manuscripts in question lay in the possession of the other. The warring Kings of Arms died in 1534, but only Benolt's will was ever located: his books evidently passed down the line of successive Clarenceux Kings of Arms. Garter Wriothesley's holdings, on the other hand, probably passed to his son Charles, before being dispersed upon the latter's death as Windsor Herald in 1562. Most were purchased by either Sir William

Dethick (York Herald 1570-87 and Garter 1587-1606) or his father Gilbert.²¹ From William Dethick, many of these manuscripts seem to have passed directly to Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631). As will be seen, the memoir was in Cotton's hands by the 1620s.

It is not improbable that the memoir, or the earliest parts thereof, were among those manuscripts originally gathered together by Writhe in 1487, that ended up in the hands of the notorious William Dethick a century later. A hand very like Dethick's own appears, in the margins of Julius B. XII, against the account of the Henry VII's first provincial progress. Moreover, by the time the heralds took possession of their new corporate residence at Derby House in 1564-5, their office library had come to include a number of manuscripts once held as private property, and it is possible that the memoir was among those manuscripts newly deposited into the common holding. As Garter King of Arms, William Dethick had his own quarters at Derby House, and it was here that he entertained fellow members of the original Society of Antiquaries, including Sir Robert Cotton. The overlap of heraldic and antiquarian interests at this juncture is critical, and many of the subjects investigated by the Society's diverse members correspond with matters recorded in the memoir: the forms of the creation of lords, the ceremonies observed at court, the rubrics governing the activities of the officers of arms and so on.²² Indeed, these interests are reflected in almost all of the material now contained in Julius B. XII.

²¹ Godfrey et al, *College of Arms* (London, 1963), pp. 169-70.

²² This issue is discussed in K. Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton, 1586-1631. History and Politics in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 17-48 and in C.E. Wright, 'The Elizabethan Society of

Evidence of provenance suggests that the binder of Julius B. XII was a seventeenth-century antiquarian associated with the library of Sir Robert Cotton. Cotton himself is one candidate. All of the constituent manuscripts had evidently made it into Cotton's possession by the early 1620s, during which years Julius B. XII was entered twice in the first substantial catalogue of the library's holdings. The first of these two entries, on fol. 130r of the 'Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca Roberti Cottoni, 1621' (BL, MS. Harley 6018, fols. 3-145), comprises a list of fourteen titles, all of which now are now among the contents of Julius B. XII.²³ The title 'Julius B.12' was later penciled into the margin alongside the entry.²⁴ It is very likely that this earlier version of Julius B. XII began life as the manuscript Cotton 394, from which Roger Dodsworth made notes around 1620.²⁵ The second notice in question (fols. 139r-140r) describes Julius B. XII in the form in which it exists today, and this is almost certainly the earliest extant reference to the present volume. Although it was begun in 1621, the 'Catalogus' was not completed in that year, but continued to be augmented during the 1620s.²⁶ During these years the composite volume Julius B. XII

Antiquaries and the Formation of the Cottonian Library', in F. Wormald and C.E. Wright (eds.), *The English Library before 1700* (London, 1958), pp. 176-212.

²³ The memoir itself also appears twice in the *Catalogus*: on fols. 130r and 139r. The first entry is a short title reference to the account of the progress only; the second refers to the progress narrative and all the other solemnities until 1490. Given that John Writhe made the final addition to the narrative over 120 years earlier, the first notice of the memoir must represent an abbreviated entry for the complete narrative.

²⁴ 'Julius B.12' can have been added to the *Catalogus* no earlier than the end of the 1620s, at which time the decision was taken to institute the arrangement of volumes under the names of Roman Emperors.

²⁵ Bodleian MS. SC 5086. See also F. Madden, et al, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford, 1937), pp. 958-9.

²⁶ T. Smith, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library*, 1696 ed. C.G.C. Tite (Cambridge, 1984), p. 3.

was probably compiled once and then re-constituted and entered again into the Cotton Library's first substantial catalogue.

Despite the absence of a direct link between Sir Robert Cotton and the binding of Julius B. XII in the 1620s, there is further circumstantial evidence to place him near to the scene of the volume's creation. The signature 'Robert Cotton Bruceus' on fol. 108r of Julius B. XII appears on the second leaf of an article entitled: 'Edward the 4th's grannte of divers mannors in Cornwall and Kent to his brother Richard Duke of Gloucester, and of divers lands and offices after in manye partes of England'. The signature coincides with a foliation scheme, now redundant, which took 'Edward's grant' as its starting point and encompassed all of the subsequent items to the end of the present volume. Cotton's signature and the foliation appear to be of the same hand. It is therefore clear that Cotton at least owned the 'signature volume' before it was bound into Julius B. XII, and he may well have compiled it. Since Cotton more commonly – though not exclusively – added 'Bruce' to his name after the accession of James I, and from the turn of the century, too, devoted his greatest attention to the augmentation of his library,²⁷ this volume was perhaps in his possession little earlier than 1603. Moreover, the 'signature volume' contains a number of the constituent manuscripts of the prototype Julius B. XII (or Cotton MS. 394), suggesting that it was compiled between the two versions of the extant volume. The acquisitive Robert Cotton almost certainly oversaw, if not executed, the compilation of all three manuscripts in question – the prototype Julius B. XII, the 'signature volume', and Julius B. XII itself – for most of the binding completed during his lifetime was either

²⁷ Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 2.

his own work or that of an employee.²⁸ While the genesis of Julius B. XII clearly ought to be studied in greater depth, Cotton's reputation for dividing, combining and rebinding manuscripts was nothing short of notorious.²⁹

The antiquarian, historical and heraldic import of the constituent parts of Julius B. XII is revealed in a series of marginalia entered in the volume around the time of its creation, and shortly after. Cotton's hand appears to be among these. To begin with the material in Julius B. XII was subdivided under headings corresponding to the volume's table of contents. Several of these sub-headings also serve as replacements for titles found on certain of the leaves, in an early Elizabethan hand, which were partially lost during the binding process; one of these titles, that above the account of Henry VII's progress contained in the memoir, was not damaged during the binding. Comparison of the same with samples from BL, Cotton MS. Faustina E. V, of the hands of members of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries, reveals a close resemblance between the early Elizabethan title above the progress narrative and the hand of Sir William Dethick.

The replacement subheadings, meanwhile, belong to at least one seventeenth-century hand, and at times this bears very strong resemblance to Cotton's own.³⁰ Cotton commonly headed manuscripts with new titles, marked them with marginal notes, and bound them with other papers on the same subject.³¹ While it is tempting to assign all

²⁸ Wright, 'The Society of Antiquaries', p. 204.

²⁹ Cotton viewed his library as a working collection and adopted a utilitarian approach to the arrangement of his manuscripts. Sharpe, *Cotton*, p. 68.

³⁰ The later heading 'The offices of John Nevill of Rabye Ano 12 Ri. 2', at fol. 262r, appears to be in Cotton's hand.

³¹ Sharpe, *Cotton*, p. 68.

of these replacement titles to the one hand, certain of them bear less resemblance to extant samples of Cotton's script and might be the work of an assistant or successor. However, neither Richard James, Cotton's librarian from c.1625, nor Cotton's son, Sir Thomas, can claim responsibility.³² In addition, there are a number of annotations of varying age and hand in the margins of Julius B. XII, some of which were probably already present at the final binding of the volume. Others are clearly the work of men through whose hands the complete volume passed. The most distinctive of these annotations, a collection of notes in red ink, on fols. 21v, 22v and 23r, betray an interest in the conduct, dress and fees of the officers of arms, and are most probably the work of a herald or seventeenth-century antiquarian with an interest in the office of arms.³³

The table of contents to Julius B. XII is also of interest. A register of all manuscripts contained in the extant volume, the table was clearly intended for Julius B. XII after its final stage of binding in the 1620s; the index to the constituent parts corresponds directly to the volume's penultimate foliation scheme. These numerals, now redundant, appear to have been inserted by the creator of the table of contents.³⁴ The table's title, 'Registrum Tractatum in isto Volumine', matches the titles on similar tables of contents in Cotton manuscripts. One such example belongs to Nero D. X, and was most probably produced by a scrivener in the employ of the Cottonian

³² For samples of Cotton's hand see *British Library Journal*, 18. 2 (1992), pp. 131, 151, 152.

³³ C.E. McGee, *A Critical Edition of the First Provincial Progress of Henry VII*, unpublished dissertation (Toronto, 1978), p. xcvi.

³⁴ There are two anomalies in this scheme: the numerals between 63-66 have been omitted and the numeral 69 repeated.

library.³⁵ The date at which table of contents was completed is uncertain, but the hand is of the late seventeenth century.

Other than Cotton's signature, there are no other marks of ownership on any of the manuscripts. However, in the late seventeenth century, Julius B. XII evidently passed through the hands of Dr. Nathaniel Johnston M.D. (1627-1705), who inserted a marginal corrigendum at fol. 304r, dated May 29, 1679, regarding the descent of the Savile family of Halifax, Yorkshire.³⁶ Some 53 years later, in 1732, the volume most probably came into contact with the men employed to assess the state of the Cotton collection after the fire at Ashburnham House in 1731, which consumed some of the most important of the Cottonian manuscripts.³⁷ In 1793, Joseph Planta commenced work on restoring the damaged volumes in the Cotton Library, and his descriptive catalogue of the Library's holdings was first published in 1802.³⁸ The foliation scheme referenced by Planta in 1802 was that corresponding to the table of contents, and it was perhaps he who inserted the following note, at fol. 314r, regarding the errors in this scheme: 'Cons fol. 314. Fol. 62=67 omitted. 69+ double'. Much later, the entire volume was refoiled in Arabic numerals; this last alteration may well have taken place in 1867, for the very last page of Julius B. XII contains a statement

³⁵ C.G.C. Tite, ' "Lost or Stolen or Strayed": a Survey of the manuscripts formerly in the Cotton Library', *British Library Journal*, 18.2 (1992), p. 134.

³⁶ Johnston wrote: 'Who ever writ this hath been misinformed; for the present Lord Marquis of Halyfax is linially descended from Henry Savile who was righful heir male to Edward Savile, son and heir of Sir Henry, as from original deed, as may be demonstrated by N: Johnston'. Although a practicing physician, Nathaniel Johnston's greatest interest lay in the antiquities and natural history of Yorkshire, and thirty years of study produced over one hundred volumes of collections. He is known to have borrowed other manuscripts for his own work.

³⁷ Sharpe, *Cotton*, p. 83.

of the number of folios (316) together with the date 20 June, 1867. On November 26 1969, the volume was rebound in half morocco.³⁹

³⁸ Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 9.

³⁹ McGee, *First Provincial Progress*, p. xcii.

1.2 Date

As has been discussed above, the heralds' memoir was probably produced from one or more documents, somewhat closer to the events described. If this is true, then the process of dating the manuscript is made more complex, because we are dealing with two closely related layers of production: that of the original report or draft notes, and that of the complete transcription.

To begin with, the process of note-taking, and thus of transcription, can have begun no earlier than mid-March 1486 and the commencement of the first provincial progress of Henry VII. The contribution of Garter John Writhe to the extant transcript, both as third scribe and – probably – as supervisor, indicates that the document was complete by his death in 1504. The *terminus ad quem* of the extant transcript might be narrowed down still further by knowledge of the dates of the decease of some of the leading court personalities, where the deaths of the same are not anticipated in the text. The earl of Huntingdon and Sir John Savage, both of whom died in 1491, are assumed to be living at the time of the transcription of the account of Prince Arthur's creation in 1489, toward the end of the completed text. Prince Arthur himself is assumed to be living at the time of the memoir's completion. The text cannot have been finished later than 2 April 1502, when the 16-year-old prince died, and was almost certainly completed some ten years earlier. The probable association of Writhe's son, Thomas Wriothesley, with the second portion of the transcript, enables the dating of the sections by Scribes B and C to a time when both father and son were active as heralds. If we assume Wriothesley's earliest heraldic activities to correspond to his pursuivantship, and as Wriothesley was not created

Wallingford Pursuivant until October 1 1489, it is unlikely that the portion of text in the hand of Scribe B, commencing at fol. 51r, was begun before that time. However, it is also possible that Wriothesley worked as an apprentice or assistant, perhaps to his father, prior to his appointment as Wallingford Pursuivant in 1489.

Within the narrative itself lie further specific clues to the dating of the memoir, and we are again left with the sense that the tract now contained in Julius B. XII was produced in several stages. To begin with, there are a number of references in the text to Sir Edward Woodville, and at least four of these references – at fols. 26r, 48v, 51r and 57v – are posthumous notices: in the first two cases, the invocation ‘whose soul God pardon’ directly follows the notice; the third contains a record of Woodville’s death at the hands of the Bretons around Whitsuntide 1488; and the last describes a requiem mass held in his honour in July 1489. On the other hand, the notice of Woodville’s participation in Prince Arthur’s christening in November 1486 (fol. 23r) does not imply his decease and, if not a scribal oversight, was almost certainly written down while Woodville was still living. It is therefore likely that the greatest portion of the extant transcript, that is all of the material subsequent to the first posthumous mention of Edward Woodville on fol. 26r, was copied into its present form *after* the Lord Scales’ death toward the end of May 1488.⁴⁰ The material from the commencement of the narrative to the non-posthumous notice of Woodville on fol. 23r was therefore probably written down before Whitsuntide 1488.

Similarly, when the report of affairs in 1486 and 1487 assumed its final form the slaying of the earl of Northumberland, by a fractious mob at Cocklodge near Thirsk

⁴⁰ The dates of Whit Sunday, Whit Monday and Whit Tuesday, 1488 were May 25, 26 and 27.

on April 28 1489, was not anticipated.⁴¹ Thus, on fol. 53r we find reference to Northumberland's death, and on fol. 57v mention of a requiem mass held in his honour in July 1489. All the material leading up to the coronation of Elizabeth of York on fol. 43r, at which time the earl is assumed still to be living, must have assumed its present form before 28 April 1489. If this is the case, and if the evidence described above holds true, then fols. 26r to 43r of Julius B. XII were almost certainly written into their present form between *c.* May 27, 1488 and April 28, 1489.

The question, of course, arises as to whether the clues to dating contained in the memoir are indicative of the several stages during which the transcript was completed, or of the writing of the draft fragments from which the memoir derives. I am inclined to suggest that the clues are evidence of the dates during which the complete document was transcribed, as the draft notes from which the memoir derives were almost certainly taken at the events described, or immediately thereafter, and are unlikely to contain information to assist the dating process. The remarks implying Edward Woodville's decease more likely represent the interpolations of the scribes or supervisor working on the transcript some time after Woodville's death.

From the details described above, the following pattern of transcription emerges: the entire document was transcribed between mid-March 1486 and 1502 at the latest; the portion between fol. 8v and the commencement of the progress description and fol. 23r, on which is given notice of Edward Woodville's participation in Arthur's christening, was completed between mid-March 1486 and Whitsuntide 1488; the text from the first posthumous reference to Edward Woodville on fol. 26r and fol. 43r,

⁴¹ Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 142, note 17.

when the earl of Northumberland was last mentioned alive, were written up between c. May 27, 1488 and April 29, 1489; from fol. 53r onwards the narrative was written after the death of the earl on April 29, 1489 and completed no later than the death of Prince Arthur in 1502. The diagram below reveals this pattern. [Fig 1.4]

Fig 1.4 *The Memoir*

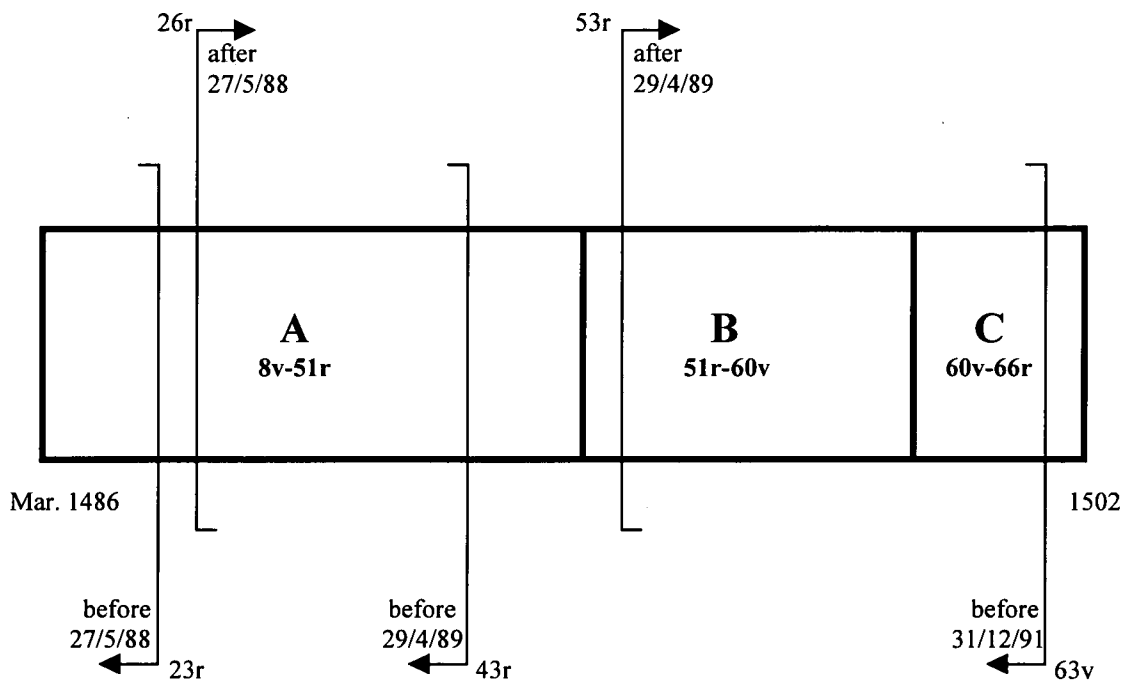


Diagram showing the piecemeal creation of the memoir.

1.3 Author

That John Writhe, Garter King of Arms, played a part in the transcription of the memoir has already been proposed, as has the possibility that his son, Thomas Wriothesley, Wallingford Pursuivant, also laboured on the production after November 1489. Evidence discussed above also suggests that Writhe oversaw the execution of Scribe A's transcription, and probably also that of his son. Garter Writhe is thus the common thread that binds the three sections of the complete transcription. It is possible that he was the architect and supervisor of a project that involved the compilation of several narratives of interest to the English heralds. This compilation included the memoir, an extensive and loosely narrated description of the events of the royal court during the years 1486-1490, and also several items of genealogical and ceremonial interest. To that end, perhaps the introductory notice that the progress narrative was written under 'licence and correction' refers to the *ex officio* power of correction held by John Writhe as Garter King of Arms.

Beneath the level of transcription, however, things are again made more complicated by the vexed question of the relationship between the original reporter or reporters responsible for the draft notes and the three copyists who worked on the transcription. That the extant narrative derives in large measure from an eye-witness perspective is evident not only in the extraordinary detail of description, but also in the author's explicit reference to his own eye-witness capacity. Hence, among other similar notices, it is written: 'But it was the best orderde and served fest that ever I sawe that myght be comparede to' and: 'al the Kinges chambres wer that day as richely beseen

and hanged as ever I sawe them'.⁴² The note-taker frequently displays a vested interest in the accuracy and detail of his reportage, and on one occasion announces his presence in, and departure from, the king's company.⁴³

Evidence from the text itself suggests that the material from which the transcription derives originated with one or more officers of arms in the service of the Crown. The text exhibits great preoccupation with the minutiae of largess and reward received by the royal heralds and recorded in 'our regester', and with the roles played by the heralds – especially Garter King of Arms – on great occasions of state and the like. We also find notice of the establishment of the office of Wallingford Pursuivant in November 1489.⁴⁴ One statement in particular shows a measure of personal involvement in the issue of the heralds' reward at Christmas 1487: 'thys Christemasse ther wer many lords moo in the court, some comyng and some going, whiche gave no rewards to the officers of arms'.⁴⁵ In addition, the text contains references to other sources in the possession of the heralds, including the pictorial records corresponding to the coronation of Queen Elizabeth, and the so called 'book off the kynges gystys', in which were recorded the names of those accompanying the king from Hertford to Dunstable following the murder of the earl of Northumberland.⁴⁶

⁴² Julius B. XII, fols. 25r, 64v.

⁴³ At fol. 13v is written: 'this doon, I had leve for to depart', followed by: 'At Wytsonne even...I came unto the kingis grace at Worcester, wher as I understande wer ordeynede certeyn paiants, like as ensuen, whiche his grace at that tyme harde not'.

⁴⁴ Julius B. XII, fol. 61r. Other references in the memoir to the function of the officers of arms at the solemnities described are found at fols. 17r, 24r, 25r, 28r, 30v, 36v, 38r, 38v, 40v, 41r, 41v, 45v, 46v, 47r, 47v, 48r, 50r, 50v, 51v, 52v, 53r, 57r, 58v, 59r, 61r, 61v, 62r, 63r and 64r.

⁴⁵ Julius B. XII, fol. 46v.

⁴⁶ Julius B. XII, fols. 36r, 38v, 53v.

The new roster for the heralds' waiting at court⁴⁷ almost certainly influenced the general attendance of the officers of arms at court from November 1487 onwards, and might have provided some indication as to who was on duty during which season, if not for the fact that the events described in the memoir are for the most part those at which the presence of all or most of the royal heralds were required at court. In those sections of the narrative covering events not graced by the attendance of all heralds, so little detail is given that it seems unlikely to have derived from eye-witness experience.

Unfortunately, it is far easier to eliminate those royal heralds clearly not present at events described in the memoir, than it is to be certain of who was responsible for the original information. Of those heralds for whom substantial information survives we know that Roger Machado, Richmond King of Arms and sometime Norroy, was on embassy in Spain and Portugal between December 1488 and July 1489.⁴⁸ He was therefore not available for duty at court during the celebrations of Christmas, New Year and Easter, or at the time of the King's decisive response to the murder of the earl of Northumberland. In fact, during much of Henry VII's reign Machado seems to have been so preoccupied with diplomatic missions, some of great delicacy, that he

⁴⁷ The roster system was as follows:

December and half January: Garter, Windsor and Bluemantle

Half January and February: Clarenceux, Carlisle and a pursuivant appointed by Clarenceux

March and half April: March, Chester and Rouge Dragon

Half April and May: Richmond King, York and Falcon

June and half July: Garter, Windsor and Bluemantle

Half July and August: Clarenceux, Carlisle and a pursuivant appointed by Clarenceux

September and half October: March, Chester and Rouge Dragon

Half October and November: Richmond King, York and Falcon

⁴⁸ 'Journals of Roger Machado' in *Memorials*, esp. pp. 157-99; Godfrey et al, *College of Arms*, pp. 79-80.

agreed for Garters Writhe and Wriothesley respectively to conduct his heraldic business at home.⁴⁹ It is therefore possible that he was never greatly available for the recording of domestic affairs.

For his part, Garter Writhe was sent on a diplomatic mission to the Emperor Maximilian before October 24 1486, when an order for his prompt payment was issued,⁵⁰ and was almost certainly unavailable for Prince Arthur's christening in early November. Indeed, while the account of Princess Margaret's baptism states that Garter processed ahead of the Constable, no reference at all to Garter King of Arms occurs in the description of Prince Arthur's christening.⁵¹ Writhe was likewise sent to Ireland in 1488 and Brittany in 1489;⁵² in the former year he was present at court for the celebration of Epiphany in January and the Feast of St George in April; in the later year he had returned to England by November, during which month he and others were admitted to the Queen's lying-in chamber.

In December 1488, according to the memoir, Richmond King of Arms, York and Carlisle Heralds, and Falcon Pursuivant were all sent on embassy to different countries, making them unavailable for domestic record keeping during the first few months of 1489.⁵³ Although originally created York Herald in February 1484, John Water was suspended from office at a date unknown – perhaps as a result of his fidelity to Richard III⁵⁴ – and only re-appointed on September 25, 1486. He is

⁴⁹ Godfrey et al, *College of Arms*, p. 79.

⁵⁰ Godfrey et al, *College of Arms*, p. 42; *Materials*, ii, pp. 45, 82.

⁵¹ Julius B. XII, fol. 62r.

⁵² Godfrey et al, *College of Arms*, p. 42; *Materials*, ii, pp. 296, 437.

⁵³ Julius B. XII, fols. 52r-52v.

⁵⁴ Godfrey et al, *College of Arms*, p. 183.

therefore unlikely to have accompanied Henry Tudor on his first provincial progress or to have been present at the christening of Prince Arthur on September 24. Following his reinstatement in 1486 Water was sent to France in November.⁵⁵ He was again on embassy in 1490.

Thomas Holme, Clarenceux King of Arms from 1476, was also out of both office and royal favour from 1485 until his reappointment in May 1487.⁵⁶ He cannot therefore have been present on the first provincial progress, at Prince Arthur's christening, or during the Stoke campaign. Some time after August 6, 1489, Clarenceux Holme was sent to Denmark to help arrange 'the terms of a perpetual league of peace and friendship between the kings of England and Denmark, and their subjects'. He was thus probably unavailable for the queen's confinement and the birth and christening of Princess Margaret, and for the creation of Prince Arthur as Prince of Wales.⁵⁷

Rouge Croix Pursuivant, one Richard Greenwood, appears to have served Henry VII at Bosworth in August 1485, and was appointed to his office shortly thereafter. His only recorded absence from England was in the fourth year of the king's reign (22 August 1488 to 21 August 1489), when he attended Lord Brooke in Brittany. Specific dates are not recorded.⁵⁸ During the Easter term of 1489, John More, Norroy King of Arms, was granted 46 s. for his expenses 'for conducting the ambassadors of Spain as far as Scotland'; he was then granted an extra 46s. 8d. after the completion of this duty.⁵⁹ Carlisle herald was granted 10 marks in advance of a mission to Bruges.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ *Materials*, ii, pp. 49-50.

⁵⁶ Godfrey et al, *College of Arms*, p. 183.

⁵⁷ *Materials*, ii, pp. 470, 472.

⁵⁸ Godfrey et al, *College of Arms*, p. 211.

⁵⁹ *Materials*, ii, pp. 438, 474.

It is possible that John Writhe was himself involved in some, but not all, of the original note-taking, and that his commitment to the complete transcription might have been borne of this original connection. But this is merely speculation. One last piece of information might be used to posit a link, albeit purely speculative, between one of the officers of arms of the Crown and an event recorded in the memoir. This is a note added by John Writhe to his list of knights created at the battle of Stoke in 1487: alongside the name William Tirwhit is written the additional statement ‘as he seythe to Norrey’.⁶¹ Norroy King of Arms was doubtless the source of the additional piece of information regarding Tirwhit, a knight from the north; yet how far the mobilisation of the northern contingent of the royal army might have fallen within Norroy’s domain, by virtue of his heraldic jurisdiction north of the Trent, is uncertain. In short, beyond knowing which of the heralds was away from court at any given time, little can be said of the original author or authors of the draft notes that formed the basis of the memoir for the years 1486-90.

⁶⁰ *Materials*, ii, p. 438.

⁶¹ BL, MS. Additional 46 354, fol. 17r.

1.4 Transmission

For several years after its creation, the memoir remained unaltered and uncopied in the possession of the royal heralds. By the first half of the sixteenth century, however, it had begun serving as a copy-text for other private collections. Some time after 1537, an individual scribe – perhaps a herald with an interest in ceremony and precedence⁶² – compiled a volume of ceremonials and heraldic proceedings of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (now BL, MS. Egerton 985). This volume was extended by a different scribe during the mid-seventeenth century. In addition to accounts of the coronations of Henry VII and of Anne Boleyn, of the christening of Prince Edward, son of Henry VIII, and of the creation of Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, the scribe has compiled a large amount of material from the memoir. These items include the narratives of the coronation of Elizabeth of York and the feasts of Christmas 1487, and Easter and St. George 1488. Since the memoir's descriptions of the first provincial progress and the rebellions of 1487 and 1489 lay outside the purpose of the Egerton volume, its scribe has omitted them from his transcriptions.

On the whole, the scribe of the Egerton manuscript has produced a fairly accurate transcription of his copy-text: his work is neatly written and carefully set out, and shows a general interest in preserving the content and layout of those passages selected from the memoir. The Egerton scribe was not, however, concerned to create an exact duplicate. Thus, on fol. 11v he rendered 'thirde' as 'iij^{de}' and – conversely – 'vj' as 'sixe', and inserted the word 'most' into the phrase 'Elizabeth his most deere

⁶² Christopher Barker (Richmond Herald 1522-36, Norroy 1536, and Garter 1536-50), was one such herald. Much interested in royal ceremony, especially coronations and royal entries, Barker is known to have transcribed a large amount of ceremonial material into his own collections.

wife'. On fol. 13v he changed 'the feste of Alholowes' to 'the feast of all Saintes' and 'the morne after' to 'the morow after', and he extended 'the maire' to 'maire of London'.⁶³ He randomly inserted or dropped minor words like 'the' and 'and' throughout, and on at least one occasion corrected a syntactical error made by memoir Scribe A.⁶⁴ At other times he retained blank spaces for names and further details omitted from his copy-text.⁶⁵ As his work progressed, however, the Egerton Scribe showed less concern for the layout of his copy-text, inserting line breaks where they were not present in the memoir, adding category headings to the lists of the knights of the Bath and their esquires on the eve of Queen Elizabeth's coronation,⁶⁶ and omitting the list of abbots, no longer relevant in the mid. sixteenth century, at the same event. He also transcribed from the memoir only five of the twelve claims to coronation service put forward by the peers of the realm in November 1487, altered their order of appearance, and omitted the end of the earl of Oxford's petition to serve as Queen's Chamberlain.

One further difference between the two texts is a matter of some curiosity: a significant cancellation in the memoir appears to have been reintroduced into the Egerton transcript.⁶⁷ If one were tempted to feel that the Egerton Scribe transcribed the relevant section from the memoir prior to the latter's completion by the Writhe-

⁶³ My italics. Julius B. XII, fol. 34r.

⁶⁴ Thus where Julius B. XII, fol. 30v has 'Whereupon therle of Oxinforde put in his clayme by bylle too *the* bee Chaumbrelayn [my italics], the Egerton Scribe has removed the error. In addition, where Scribe A of the memoir wrote 'they went from thens to Grenewiche to ther *a* beddes', [my italics], the Egerton Scribe has dropped 'a'.

⁶⁵ See Julius B. XII, fols. 35r-v/BL, MS. Egerton 985 fols. 14v-15r, and Julius B. XII, fol. 38r/Egerton 985, fol. 17v.

⁶⁶ Egerton 985, fols. 14v-15r.

Wriothesley team, the lapse in time between the last possible completion date of the memoir (Prince Arthur was dead by 1502 and John Writhe, by 1504) and the probable *terminus post quem* of 1537 of the Egerton MS, makes this unlikely. While I have suggested above that the cancellation was made by one of the three scribes working on the memoir, it is also possible that it was actually made some time after the completion of both the memoir and the Egerton transcript. This, however, seems less likely; for there is but one example only of independent interference with the text of the memoir after its completion.⁶⁸ It is probable that the Egerton scribe either disregarded the cancellation in his copying, or – more likely – that he had as his copy-text an intermediary work, itself made while the memoir was still under production. The whereabouts of such a text, if it ever existed, is unknown.

The ascendancy of the House of Tudor, meanwhile, seems to have generated considerable interest in the christening of Prince Arthur in 1486, and the narrative of his christening incorporated into the memoir spawned a number of derivative texts during the sixteenth century. Today these narratives are found in BL, MSS. Additional 6113 and Stowe 583; in College of Arms, MSS. M6 and 1.7; and in MS. Alnwick 467.⁶⁹ One further manuscript, Lambeth 306, contains a description of Arthur's christening which, as I shall presently discuss, is rather different from the transcripts just mentioned. The christening narratives contained in BL, MSS.

⁶⁷ Cf. Julius B. XII, fol. 41v and Egerton 985, fol. 21v, where the latter contains the statement: 'the kinges mynstrells played a song before the queene'.

⁶⁸ See the very bottom of Julius B. XII, fol. 58v where 'Principal' has been inserted into 'Garter King of Arms' in a seventeenth century hand.

⁶⁹ I have recently discovered the existence of further narratives of Prince Arthur's christening in Bodley MSS. Eng. Hist. C9, which may shed light on the pattern of transmission of this portion of text, but which must remain undiscussed in this thesis.

Additional 6113 and Stowe 583, and in College of Arms, MSS. M6 and I.7, are closely related and clearly derivative of the text contained in the memoir. Not one is an exact duplicate of the memoir narrative. Most notably, where the christening narrative contained in Julius B. XII is presented as part of the continuous text of the memoir, all four of the transcripts from the British Library and College of Arms have been converted into individual articles with a finite beginning and end.

The two christening narratives housed at the College of Arms were produced toward the middle of the sixteenth century, probably for the occasion of the birth and christening of Prince Edward, son of Henry VIII and Jane Seymour, in 1536. Both of the volumes to which these narratives belong bear association with Thomas Hawley (d. 1556, Clarenceux King of Arms). The narrative contained in MS. M6, a volume entitled *Interments of Queens. Tiltings. Tournaments and Ceremonies* has been identified as Hawley's own handiwork; MS. I.7, a collection of accounts of ceremonial of varying age and hand, was acquired by Hawley during his working life.⁷⁰ Of the two, the christening narrative in MS. I.7 is the more closely related to that of the christening narrative in the Julius B. XII, and appears to be a direct transcript of the memoir narrative, or something very close to it. The narrative in MS. M6 appears to have been transcribed from MS. I.7. The scribe of the latter manuscript has adhered to the word choice of his copy-text; Hawley's version has not. Thus where the memoir and MS. I.7 have 'unto', Hawley preferred 'untill'; where MS. I.7 and the memoir contain 'ensuith' and 'ensueth' respectively, Hawley wrote 'folowith'; Hawley also replaced 'ij' with 'two', 'was come(n)' with 'came', and 'bare' with 'bering'. One sentence alone does not fit this pattern: where MS. I.7

contains ‘borne... by henxmen, squiers, gentilmen and yomen of the coroune’, Hawley has written ‘born... by henshmen, esquyers and other gentilmen and yomen of the crowne’.⁷¹ In this case, Hawley’s transcript in MS. M6, and not the version in MS. I.7, duplicates the relevant sentence in the memoir.

On the whole, the MS. I.7 scribe has created a highly accurate transcript of the account of Prince Arthur’s christening contained in the memoir. Although he has inserted an introductory rubric and altered the opening sentence of the narrative, minor orthographical differences represent the most substantial divergence between the texts. The MS. I.7 scribe has closely mimicked the layout of the memoir, retained most blank spaces for names, and left incomplete the following sentence: ‘a poost with a... made of iron’.⁷² On the other hand, he has inserted the Christian names of two yeomen of the Crown – John Rake and Thomas Burle – and made several minor alterations to the text: ‘was at that time in Lanam in Suffolk’ became ‘was not at that time present’, ‘whiche shulde have ben’ became ‘which shuld be’ and ‘above his cremesyn clothede as by fore’ became ‘above him his crysome clothed as above is rehersid’.⁷³ As was the case with the Egerton manuscript, however, one statement deleted from the memoir reappears in MS. I.7, and hence in M6.⁷⁴ Again this begs the question of whether an intermediary text, produced while the memoir was still

⁷⁰ L. Campbell, et al, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the College of Arms* (London, 1988), vol. 1, p. 117.

⁷¹ My italics.

⁷² Julius B. XII, fol. 22r.

⁷³ Julius B. XII, fols. 22v; College of Arms MS. I.7.

⁷⁴ Julius B. XII, fol. 24r: ‘The king gave great largess’ deleted and altered in the hand of Garter John Writhe.

under production, functioned as the original copy-text of the transcripts we are dealing with.

The account of Prince Arthur's christening in Hawley's hand is a fair replication of the narrative in the memoir and, although at least one step removed from the latter, differs to no great degree. It is carefully written, neatly set out, and well-justified at the right and left margins. Only one error of transposition is evident, and the most substantial divergence between the memoir and M6 is in layout. Where the memoir's christening narrative and that replicated in I.7 are as continuous text, largely without paragraph indentation or line-break, Hawley has rendered his text as a series of consecutive memoranda: each piece of information begins on a fresh line and is introduced by the words 'Item' or 'And'. In addition, Hawley has inserted the following concluding notice: 'And thus Endith the Christenyng of the said noble Prynce Arthur'.

Another version of the christening narrative produced in the first half of the sixteenth century is that on fols. 76r-79v of BL, MS. Additional 6113, a composite volume entitled *Ceremonies, etc., Edw. III – Eliz. I*. This account is possibly in the hand of Thomas Wall (*d.* 1535 Garter), and may well have been produced for the occasion of the christening of Prince Henry, son of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon, in 1511. Indeed, the account of Prince Arthur's christening contained in MS. Additional 6113 is followed immediately by an account of Prince Henry's christening in the same hand. Once again, we are looking at a narrative clearly derivative of the memoir; once again, this narrative has a modified opening sentence and an introductory rubric not present in the memoir. The Additional 6113 narrative also exhibits significant

differences from those contained in the College of Arms manuscripts, however, for the body of the text contains information omitted from MS. I.7 and MS. M6, but present in the memoir. Where Hawley's two narratives state that the earl of Oxford 'was not at that time present', the Additional 6113 narrative, like that contained in the memoir, has: 'was at that time at Lanam in Suffolk'. Again, where the two College of Arms narratives note that the great gilt ball suspended from the font canopy was 'filled and fringed', the accounts in the Additional 6113 narrative and the memoir have: 'celed & fryngid' and 'celid and fringed' respectively.

However, there is evidence to suggest that the Additional 6113 narrative was not transcribed directly from the memoir, but from another text. The Additional 6113 account alone of the narratives described the christening font as supported by 'a post with a *pyn* of yron'; the relevant segment of text in the memoir and College of Arms manuscripts remains incomplete. Moreover, the Christian names of several participants in Arthur's baptism, omitted from the memoir, have been supplied in Additional 6113. The narratives contained in College of Arms, MSS. I.7 and M6 also supply the missing Christian names, but only the Additional 6113 narrative appears to bear correct interpolation. Thus where the Christian names of Rake, Burley, and Knyfton were omitted from the memoir, and where the first two names were supplied as 'John', 'Thomas' in the College of Arms narratives, Additional 6113 has 'William', 'John' and 'Nicholas' respectively. Recourse to contemporary documentary evidence suggests that Nicholas Knyfton and John Burley were almost certainly the men to whom the Additional 6113 narrative refers.⁷⁵ Rake's Christian

⁷⁵ *Materials*, ii, pp. 38-9, 499-500. The *DNB* sheds no light on these characters.

name presents more of a problem, however, for it seems to have been neither 'William' nor 'John', but 'Richard'.⁷⁶

Further, two significant differences between the memoir and the narrative in Additional 6113 provide interesting insight into the development of the latter. In the first place, the notice regarding the king's largess to the officers of arms, at Julius B. XII, fol. 24r, cancelled by Garter John Writhe, appears again in the Additional 6113, as in the College of Arms manuscripts. Second, the Additional 6113 narrative contains a final memorandum commencing thus: 'and when the queen shall be purified she must be rychly besene in tiers and & bees [*sic*] abowt hir necke & in maner of lynyn cloth upon hir bed of estate. And ther shalbe a duches or a countes to take hir down of ye bed...'⁷⁷ It also states that Arthur was born around one o'clock in the morning. The former interpolation is somewhat disturbing, as it incorporates material that is not eye-witness at all, but derived from the kind of prescriptive texts often used to regulate the ceremonial on these occasions. Perhaps Additional 6113 was itself compiled in the four weeks or so between the baptism and the ritual purification of the queen, or was based on another text produced during this period.⁷⁸ If the latter case were true, it is possible that the copy-text was a intermediary narrative created in preparation for Elizabeth's of York's purification in 1486, and transcribed from the memoir's narrative in the four weeks between Arthur's baptism and the queen's purification. Again, this is purely speculation.

⁷⁶ *Materials*, i, 405, 533 and ii, 295, 388; *CPR*, p. 31. No one by the names of either 'William Rake' or 'John Rake' exists anywhere in these sources.

⁷⁷ BL, MS. Additional 6113, fol. 78v.

During the seventeenth century another herald produced a version of the narrative of Prince Arthur's christening, and this is now found in the compilation of christening and funeral narratives in BL, MS. Stowe 583. That the Stowe version of Prince Arthur's christening was written up no earlier than the end of the sixteenth century is attested by the dating of the paper on which it was written. It is evidently not copied from the memoir or Additional 6113, but probably from one of the two College of Arms manuscripts, and most likely from MS. M6.

The memoir's christening narrative might itself be derived from the material now housed in MS. Lambeth 306, and numbered among the historical memoranda gathered by John Stowe during the second half of the sixteenth century. The Lambeth material does not belong to the family of christening narratives described above, but consists of two folios of simple and rather disorganised memoranda of the order of proceedings and the identity and roles of the principal participants in the baptism. While these memoranda also omit the Christian names of Rake, Burley and Knyfton, in all other detail they correspond exactly to the memoir. They also offer one or two notices omitted from the memoir. Although it is possible that this is an independent document produced by another of the royal heralds at Prince Arthur's christening, the similarity of detail and the omission of exactly the same information from both accounts, suggest that these might, in fact, have been the notes from which the account in the memoir derives.

⁷⁸ The memoir simply proceeds with the brief memorandum: 'after that the quene was purified... the king and quene, my lady the kinges moder, and al the court, remeved to Grenewhiche...'

During the eighteenth century,⁷⁹ long after the memoir had been bound into Julius B. XII, another interested party produced an abridged version of the memoir and included the same in a volume of heraldic ceremonies, now BL, MS. Harley 7048. The abridgement contains a portion of the progress narrative, together with the descriptions of the feast of Christmas 1487, the receiving of the cap and sword from the pope, the feast of Easter 1487, and the queen's taking to her chamber before the birth of the Princess Margaret. The scribe also included a subheading for the creation of Henry duke of York, a narrative located at Julius B. XII, fols. 88r-103r, directly after the memoir, but transcription was never made. Although he has produced a highly selective version of the memoir, the 'abridgement scribe' has largely followed the format laid out in the memoir. He made several minor textual alterations, adopted a later orthography, inserted subheadings not present in the memoir, altered the position of line-breaks, dropped portions of the text,⁸⁰ and in several cases substituted the symbol @ for 'and'. His transcript is also subject to the idiosyncrasies of eighteenth-century capitalisation.

The most substantial reproduction of the memoir is to be found in Thomas Hearne's eighteenth-century edition of John Leland's, *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*. The text generally attributed to Leland and printed by Hearne is a fair copy of the entire narrative: but for the omission of fols. 30v-33v and fols. 53r-56r,⁸¹ it is largely

⁷⁹ This scribe's hand belongs to the eighteenth century, although the paper he used – watermarked with a fool's cap – was found in England in the mid. seventeenth century.

⁸⁰ See for example fol. 252v, where the scribe ends the progress narrative with: 'and that same weke he removed unto Notingham &c.', before beginning a description of the christening of Prince Arthur. Fully 25 folios of memoir text corresponding to the king's progress have been omitted.

⁸¹ The latter set of missing folios are supplied by M.J. Bennett in an appendix to his article 'Henry VII and the Northern Rising of 1489', *English Historical Review*, 105 (Jan, 1990), pp. 34-59.

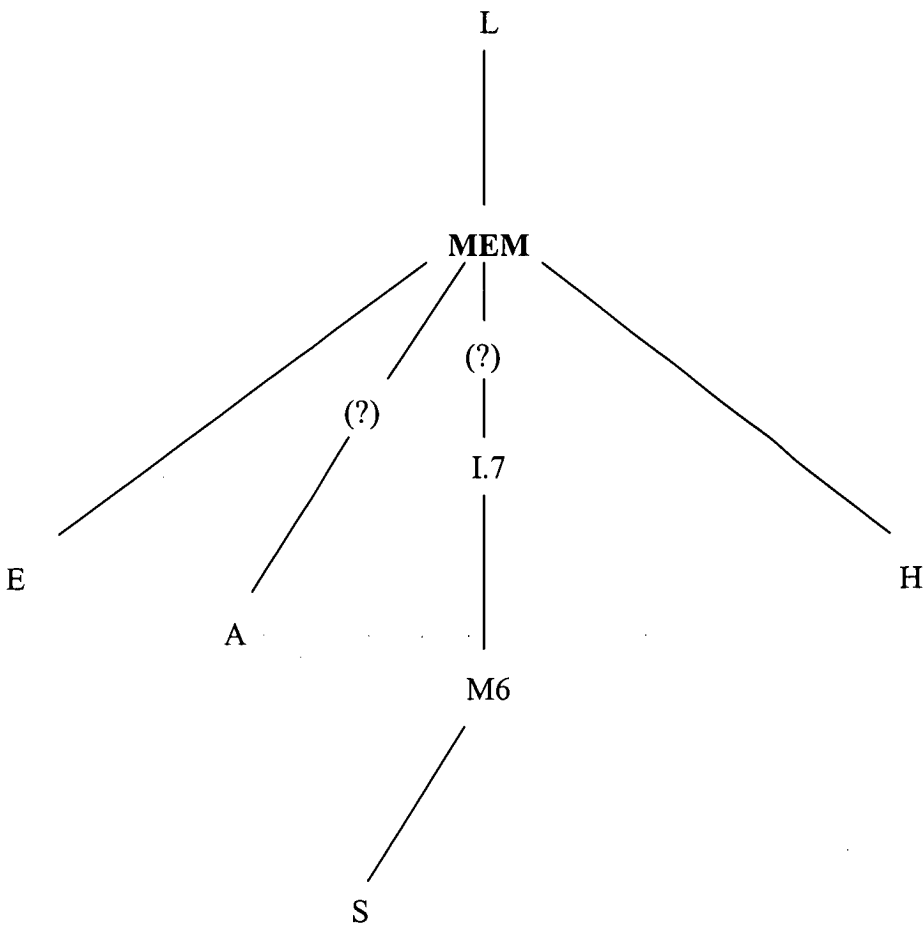
complete. This version is, however, marred by inaccuracies and eighteenth-century typographical mannerisms, the most striking of which is a random use of capitals. There has been little or no attempt to imitate the original orthography; editorial punctuation hinders, rather than assists, comprehension of the narrative; and the text has been broken into artificial, subtitled divisions. More worryingly, failure to interpret standard scribal abbreviations – compensated for by the use of italics – has resulted in serious errors in the text. Thus the abbreviation pⁱor, at Julius B. XII, fol. 23r, has been rendered ‘*Por*’, rather than ‘prior’; the scribal emendation ‘halhaloutyde’ [All Hallowtide] at fol. 24r has been printed ‘*Hahallutyde*’; and a great number of other words (including ‘*Pers* of Wreyton’, ‘*Amys*’, and ‘*onchez*’ [ouchez]) have been rendered in italics because their meanings were considered unclear.

Most intriguing of all is the fact that the memoir does not actually appear in the original volumes of Leland’s *Collectanea* housed in the Bodleian Library, despite Hearne’s inclusion of the same in his edition of the *Collectanea*. Indeed, one factor alone suggests that the version of the memoir was not compiled by Leland at all, but later and possibly by Hearne himself. A later emendation in a seventeenth-century, ‘post-Leland’ hand, at Julius. B.XII, fol. 58v, has been incorporated silently into the ‘Leland-Hearne’ edition of the memoir.⁸² In compiling the *Collectanea* Hearne appears to have used a generic title, but to have supplemented the core of Leland’s collection with material from elsewhere. This might also explain the lack of familiarity with fifteenth-century scribal abbreviations and word meanings displayed in the Leland-Hearne text, where one would expect Leland to have had few difficulties.

⁸² Leland, *Collectanea*, p. 249.

Fig. 1.5 *The Memoir*

Stemma showing the possible pattern of transcription of the memoir and narrative of Prince Arthur's christening.



Sigla: A – BL, MS. Additional 6113, fols. 76r-9r.

E – BL, MS. Egerton 985, fols. 10v-26r.

H – B.L. MS. Harley 7048, fols. 252vff.

I.7 – College of Arms, MS. I.7.

L – Lambeth MS. 306, fols. 53r-54r.

MEM – the memoir: BL, MS. Cotton Julius B. XII, fols. 8v-66r.

M6 – College of Arms, MS. M6, fols. 28r-30r.

S – BL, MS. Stowe 583, fols. 8rff.

(?) – hypothetical intermediary MSS.

1.5 The Text of this Edition

The aim of this edition has been to prepare a text representing, as nearly as possible, that contained in Julius B. XII, while also making it accessible to modern scholarship. Where possible the layout of the memoir has been retained, although extra paragraph breaks have been inserted to assist the reader. Cases of interlineation and minor scribal emendations have been incorporated silently into the text, but recorded in the footnotes. Significant scribal cancellations are also printed in the footnotes. All major abbreviations have been expanded in *italics*: editorial expansions are consistent, even where scribal orthography varies (e.g. the plural and genitive endings *es/is*). Meaningless marks of expansion and/or scribal flourishes are generally ignored. Foliation has been noted in the left margin, and is accompanied within the text by a forward slash (/). Since the narrative is extensive and covers several years, brief annotations to the text have been placed in the right margin. Minimal capitalisation is used, and punctuation has been moderised. The letters ‘u’ and ‘i’ have been replaced by ‘j’ and ‘v’ where this is modern practice, but otherwise the spelling of the original has been observed. Latin orisons have been *italicised*; the heralds’ cries of largess and other spoken phrases are placed in quotation marks. Ampersands are typically expanded, except where they appear at the end of a memorandum in the form ‘&c’. Roman numerals appear throughout in their original form. *ff* is rendered F where it is the beginning of a sentence or line of verse or a proper noun is used. All editorial emendations and additions are enclosed in square brackets, and editorial interference has been discussed in the footnotes where this has been deemed necessary.

Fig. 1.1

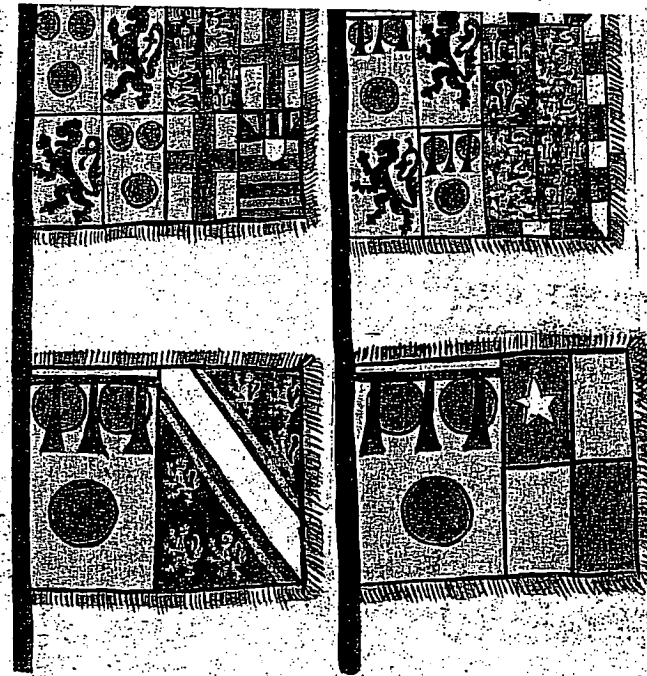
first Esmore knyghte and then the barons of the chesche
 and Inggel offere of dimes and then al thaboure and byssops
 in the chappell of robes of diamont al on the right side and the
 parsons in the robes and theles in the robes of diamont sitting
 the great chancelayn whiche was in his diamont robes was
 al on the left side And aft the mounthe the offit the duc
 and grete and the mounthe of london next by the constable
 and the hall and when the quene was come into the hall
 she went into the white hall and so to the chamber and in
 the meane tyme the knyght and myghty prynces of bedford
 and grete of clothe of golde richly furnished on a goodly coper
 richly trapped wth a tapper embroide wth red roses and borders
 golde furred wth a tapper embroide wth red roses and borders
 whiche was in his hand and richly clothed about his neck
 and theles of robes for the constable and constable of england
 also in a rich golde furnished wth silke and wth a tapper
 of golde many folde about his neck also his constable richly
 trapped and furnished that is to say wth golde in the first
 quart and by the gold having a manner of a bycokett of
 silke and in the next a bynd of silke and the tapper was richly
 curiously wroght wth the next of the mounthe by the
 bycokett furred wth a tapper furnished and by the staff of
 offit in his hand and theles of Manningham robes also in a mothe
 coper richly trapped in a tapper of clothe of golde furred
 wth a tapper of his staff of his offit in his hand
 thus they in great state rode about the hall and in the hall
 the marshal had great plenty of his furs wth a tapper
 wth the people for the prynces was so great and offit

The hand of Scribe A

BL, MS. Cotton Julius B. XII, fol. 40r

The first by the way after at Hertford where at that
 season the summer fairs is hold the lord of the shire
 under the divine service and on saint georges day also
 and on the morrow he sent the mar of regnour and
 of the brethren of the gutter their robes of all off
 of derby the lord Scope and sir richard (Campbell)
 The said then came in to the land a great ambassade
 frome the king of romaine that is to saye don ladron;
 de gnanon the procure of ymerselle a doctor
 called master loring And master pete le pmissant
 and also a noder ambassade in their companye that
 came frome the king of portingall wherefore the
 king sent for the lord John moston then archbishoppe
 of canterbury and chancelier of englonde for to
 have hit compleat and aduise And also they had had
 an ambassatour of the king of naples as long as the
 king had been at Hertford and at that season there
 was the quene The lady the kinges moder The
 of derby The countess of effe The countess of ormond Sir
 richard gifford Sir thomas Bray Sir Thomas Lowell
 Sir charles somerset Sir richard Gualie Sir John
 Knyvelly The kinges chamberlaine The kinges secretary
 And the lord bothwell a scottishman And also
 the same after the king of denmarke was called
 yonker gartard was frome the kinges pinnant
 And on saint nicolles day the xxijth day of aprell
 was the quene with of northmberlonde before
 the kinge his grace blafamor the countess of
 had the king sent answered all the ambassade
 ambassatours and on the xxvijth day of may departed
 frome Hertford towards the north and by that
 way it was able accompanied with the bishop

The hand of Scribe B



Where tapped attending for the corps dyed gently the
my order of fyres and the reversed fyres and set at eighteenth
went in good order to the black fyres hanging his standard his
helme and creft borne by gentlemen and certain gentlemen were
his fyres went following the standard & before the helme they
his creft of armes borne by banner bearer then the banner of his
armes then Norway King of armes then quarters King of armes
another then the corps hanging my banners of saints at the my
corners then the morters after certain gentlemen & companies
In the yivers in the said fyres was ordyned my branches garnished
pennells of dyvers armes and flags and very many branches was
set a bannerett of marriage of his black hilt as here above dothe

1. apogee

The hand of Thomas Wriothesley

Wriothesley's Heraldic Collections

Fig. 1.3

[illegible]

The hand of John Writhe

‘Wrythe’s Book of Knights’

BL, MS. Additional 46354, fol. 19r

9.14.7
w 1493

Item on the 1st day the wye of the Lyncey tynne at
Westmynst the Lyncey in his chamber doubled for wiff
of a yoke tynne wye of London brought in p^resent payd the
tax to the wiff off wney and for dⁿ of the
that was the doubled
Item the same day the lord gette of yreland
Item the Baron off Ray the same day

547² v 1489 or 1490 *Fingerprints made at the creation*
 says freely in his *of pure nature*
 (below) *first pure* *If Thomas*

of price about
 full price
 report off northumberland
 the lord markham
 the lord greystreyt
 the lord froton
 of thames west
 of john hyngham
 of henry vernon
 of john hyngham
 of william greystreyt
 of william hyngham
 of nicholas manning
 of william hyngham
 of mattheu hyngham

J. Thomas Dwyer
 J. Thomas Dwyer
 J. Thomas Dwyer
 J. Thomas Dwyer
 J. Thomas Dwyer
 J. Thomas Dwyer

Any of this made at
west of the river the
by a line the same into
the bay
of the main branch
of the river the
of the river the

The hand of Scribe C

BL. MS Cotton Julius B. XII, fol. 64r

HERALDS AT THE COURT OF HENRY VII, 1485 - 1490

Je li demandai: 'Quels hom ieste?'

'Quels hom je suis?' respont cil beste.

'K'en tient à toi? Je suis hiraus'.

Baudouin de Condé, *Li Contes des Hirauts*. Thirteenth Century.

2.1 Introduction

Few individuals could have been more different from the unpleasant vagabond herald described by Baudouin de Condé in the thirteenth century than the officers of arms of the reign of Henry VII. Energetic, ambitious and influential, the herald of the late fifteenth century had left behind his humble beginnings as a wandering crier of tournaments and sometime maker of minstrelsy. The early Tudor herald was a professional, his records and special skills clearly defined, and his armorial expertise a virtual monopoly.¹ As an active participant in court and city life, he worked as a royal diplomat and advisor to the king, as master of ceremonies at court, as custodian of genealogical knowledge and specialist in the science of armoury, and as the compiler of records both written and pictorial through which each of his activities was sustained. In the first part of this chapter I wish briefly to trace some of the key developments in the constitutional history of the body of English royal heralds during the fifteenth century and, in particular, during the eighty-five years to Henry Tudor's accession. I will then explore the heralds' place at the royal courts of Yorkist England and the development and character of their narrative records produced during the same period. In the final section I will examine the place of the royal heralds under

¹ S. Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London, 1992), p. 29.

Henry VII and creation of one of the most important of the heraldic narrative records of the fifteenth century: the memoir of the royal court for the years 1486-90.

2.2 English Heralds of the Fifteenth Century: some Constitutional Developments.

The fifteenth century witnessed a great many important developments in the nature and status of the English herald and his office, which were to have a profound effect upon his activities in both the Yorkist and Early Tudor periods. These changes were not merely confined to the heraldic body in England, but closely linked to the socio-political backdrop against which the officers of arms operated.² In July 1415, three months before the battle of Agincourt, Henry V founded the office of Garter King of Arms and appointed thereto one William Bruges, then Guyenne King of Arms.³ The energetic Bruges was soon to contend that he had been granted 'la Government et Correxion dedans l'office d'armes et de vostre obeissance comme premier et Chef en dict Office d'Armes', and he accordingly petitioned the king for the establishment of certain rights for the new office under letters patent.⁴ Most tellingly, Bruges asked that he be served in the king's hall 'with such commons and salt and other service as

² The best general history of the English heralds is in A.R. Wagner, *Heralds of England. A History of the Office and College of Arms* (London, 1967). See also A.R. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages. An Inquiry into the Growth of the Armorial Function of Heralds*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1956). For discussion of the establishment of the office of Garter King of Arms, see H.S. London, *The Life of William Bruges, the first Garter King of Arms* (London, 1970); London also provides appendices invaluable for the study of the early office of Garter King of Arms. For discussion of the English heralds' earlier activities, see N. Denholm-Young, *History and Heraldry, 1254 to 1310. A Study of the Historical Value of the Rolls of Arms* (Oxford, 1965). Brief, simple notes on the heralds' origins and development during the Middle Ages may be found in A.R. Wagner, 'Heraldry', in A.L. Poole (ed.), *Medieval England*, new edn., 2 vols. (Oxford, 1958), i, pp. 338-81, and H. Chesshyre, 'Heralds on Parade', *British Heritage* 5.6 (1984), pp. 44-51.

³ William Bruges was Chester Herald from 1398 to c.1413 and Guyenne King of Arms to 1415. He died in 1450 and was succeeded in the office of Garter by his son-in-law, John Smert.

⁴ London, *William Bruges*, App. IX 'William Bruges's Petition to Henry V', p. 89, and items 3 and 22, pp. 90 and 92.

were accorded formerly to the Kings of Arms Valliant, Marche, Lancastre and Faucon, because they were *premieres et chiefz de l'office* in their time in [England]'.⁵

The notion of primacy in the office of arms was thus not new to England in 1415. Rather, the novelty lay in Garter's absorption, on a permanent basis, of a position of superiority over the English heralds that had formerly rotated amongst the Kings of Arms according to individual seniority and/or royal favour.⁶ The creation of a principal King of Arms in England almost certainly owes something to French practice, for in France one Charlot, formerly King of Arms of Cyprus and Artois respectively, had been created 'Monjoye roy d'armes de France' during the reign of Charles V (1364-80). Montjoye king was subsequently made *ex officio* doyen of the French heralds after their incorporation in 1407.⁷ Garter Bruges was certainly aware of French precedents when he petitioned his king for the upper garment worn by a prince, duke, marquis or earl at his creation 'atribue en France a Monjoie Roy d'armes des Francois' and, similarly, for the granting of largess to the officers of arms

⁵ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 40. See also London, *William Bruges*, App. IX 'Bruges's Petition', item 7, p. 90.

⁶ Wagner, *HH*, 36; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 57. Froissart states that Richard II, after his coronation in 1377, 'fist Camdos le hirault roy d'armes d'Engleterre', suggesting that that Chandos was given precedence over the English heralds such as was accorded Garter King of Arms in 1415. See *Oeuvres de Froissart publiées avec les variantes des divers manuscrits*, par M. le Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove (Bruxelles, 1867-77), xvii, p. 566. In the years 1386 and 1394, March Herald is referred to as King of Arms of England. *Froissart*, xv, p. 122. See also London, *William Bruges*, App. X 'Doyen of the Office of Arms before Garter', pp. 92-4.

⁷ The French practice was not consistent, however, and the title of 'roy d'armes des françois' was frequently borne by Kings of Arms other than Montjoy. Wagner, *HH*, p. 37.

at the principal feasts of the year, 'even as largess is given at these four feasts at the Court of France'.⁸

William Bruges also maintained that he was made Garter King of Arms at a Chapter of the Order of the Garter⁹ and, indeed, the minutes of the Order compiled in chapter in 1423 state that the late King Henry V had created a 'servant of arms whom, for the dignity of the said order, he wished to be sovereign in the office of arms above all other servants of arms of the right noble realm of England'.¹⁰ At once doyen of the office of arms in England and special servant of the Order of the Garter, the new office of Garter King of Arms thenceforth played out a dual role unprecedented among the heralds of England or elsewhere. The creation of a King of Arms for the service of an order of chivalry was itself unparalleled in 1415.¹¹ In addition to the rights and privileges consequent upon his primacy over the English heralds, William Bruges and his successors in office acquired a number of duties related to the Order, including the undertaking of missions to invest foreign princes with the insignia of the Garter. William Bruges perhaps found precedent for his service of the Order in

⁸ London, *William Bruges*, App. IX 'Bruges's Petition', items 4 and 20. Item 20 is paraphrased in Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 49.

⁹ London, *William Bruges*, App. IX 'Bruges's Petition', preamble, p. 89.

¹⁰ [My transl.] See London, *William Bruges*, App. XIV 'Resolution of the Knights of the Order Granting Garter King of Arms Certain Annual Pensions, voted at St George's Feast, 1423', pp. 109-18. The texts of the 1423 minutes are in two sixteenth-century copies, in English and French, made for Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King of Arms. The statement that Garter was made principal King of Arms for the greater glory of the Order is explicit in both versions. According to Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 60 and London, *William Bruges*, p. 15, Henry V's creation of Garter King of Arms coincided with his revival of the Order of the Garter after a period of comparative neglect.

¹¹ In 1430 the Duke of Burgundy created Toison d'or for the service of his Order of the Golden Fleece. There is also some suggestion that the office of Bluemantle Pursuivant was instituted by Henry V for the service of the Order of Garter. Godfrey et al., *The College of Arms*, (London, 1963), p. 193.

the activities of Valliant or Vollant King of Arms, who is recorded as having presided at the Garter festival of 1358.¹²

Given Henry V's abiding interest in French affairs around 1415, it is not improbable that he sought to create a counterpart, both practical and symbolic, to the role played by Montjoye king in the complex theatre of war diplomacy.¹³ As chief messenger in the exchange of threat or entreaty and perhaps grand referee at the negotiating table, the King of Arms of Frenchmen appears at the very least to have performed a ceremonial and honorific function above that of the other heralds of France and unmatched in England before the creation of Garter King of Arms. The regular conversation with France made necessary by long term Anglo-French hostility, and by Henry V's campaigns in particular, arguably opened the way for the transfer of ideas regarding the body of men who were increasingly called upon to take part in the diplomatic interchange. It is intriguing that the decision to found the superior office was almost certainly taken during, or at the very commencement of, intensive negotiations between the English and French, held at Wolvesy Castle from July 2-6, regarding the English king's title to French territories.¹⁴ As far as the English heralds were concerned, too, the imitation of their French brethren – then more prosperous and successful – must have been a desirable course of action, and H.S. London has

¹² London, *William Bruges*, p. 93.

¹³ See especially J. Ferguson, *English Diplomacy 1422-61* (Oxford, 1972).

¹⁴ London, *William Bruges*, p. 43, has established almost beyond doubt that the office of Garter King of Arms was founded very shortly before July 4, 1415. On July 2 the French ambassadors – including the archbishop of Bourges, the new bishop of Lisieux, the count of Vendôme, and Charles lord of Ivry – commenced negotiations with the English that were to continue until July 6, but which ended in complete rupture. Henry V landed in France on August 14; the battle of Agincourt was fought on October 25. For a brief overview of these events see E.F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century, 1399-1485* (Oxford, 1961), esp. pp. 139-160.

suggested that William Bruges was a prime mover in the establishment of an office of principal King of Arms in England, in accordance with what he had observed on assignment in France.¹⁵ Indeed, Bruges himself had almost certainly been that Guyenne King of Arms recorded present on the campaign that culminated in the battle of Agincourt in October 1415.

The influence of French models upon the character of the new office of Garter King of Arms is arguably symptomatic of a unique internationalism that characterised the heraldic professions in England and France for much of the fifteenth century.¹⁶ In the opening decades of the fifteenth century, Anjou King of Arms and Sicily Herald respectively produced detailed accounts of the origins and duties of their order, and called for a return to the golden age of chivalry and of the now-sullied heraldic profession.¹⁷ Together their writings suggest that by 1400, if not earlier, the diplomatic status and immunity of heralds were widely recognised and that they regarded themselves in some sense as part of an international fraternity, bound by like interests and a common professional code.¹⁸ The development of *le noble office d'armes* as an efficacious international confederacy was in large measure consequent upon their employment on diplomatic and military excursions from the mid-thirteenth

¹⁵ London, *William Bruges*, p. 15.

¹⁶ Although there had been heralds all over Western Europe, most had disappeared by c. 1400. See Wagner, *HH*, pp. 27, 32, 34. Early German references to heralds were compiled by G.A. Seyler, *Geschichte der Heraldik* (Nürnberg, 1885). See also Wagner, *Heralds of England*, introduction, pp. xxiii-xxvi for brief discussion of the changing fortunes of English and Continental heralds.

¹⁷ Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson C. 399, fols. 76-80, as cited in Wagner, *HH*, pp. 41-5 and Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 42-46.

¹⁸ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 43.

century onwards, and likewise upon their role as 'professional exponents of an international code of manners, that of knighthood or chivalry'.¹⁹

For much of the fifteenth century, however, the heralds of both England and France appear to have been of widely varying status and reputation, and there was some feeling among the more critically minded officers at the time that their profession had fallen prey to the evils of abuse. This was particularly the case in France where the vagabond herald allegedly still thrived, and where Anjou and Sicily, in turn, felt compelled to decry the over-abundance of pursuivants in France and the permeation of the office by 'spies, liars and disloyal tale-tellers'.²⁰ It is possible, as Wagner has suggested, that the 'centrifugal tendency of French feudalism, aggravated by the Hundred Years War, had greatly increased the number of private heralds in France and thereby lowered their quality'.²¹ Perhaps, too, the greater number of private heralds detracted from the authority and reputation of the heralds in the employ of the French Crown.

In any case, the years 1407 and 1408 coincided with the promulgation of three documents concerning the professional conduct of the heralds of France.²² By the first, an agreement of January 9 1406/7, a representative body of four Kings of Arms and two heralds, entrusted by the Constable with the 'gouvernement del office des roix d'armes et héraulx du royaume de France', was awarded the use of the Chapel of Saint Antoine le Petit, within the domain of the royal palace of Saint Paul in Paris.

¹⁹ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 43.

²⁰ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 45.

²¹ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 46.

The chapel was to be held on the terms also set out.²³ In addition, an ordinance was passed for the upkeep of the same chapel and for the conduct of the heralds' office generally. It was agreed that in the absence of the King of Arms of Frenchmen, the governance of the office would be entrusted to Anjou King of Arms, that no herald would be made a King of Arms except by proper custom or authority, and that none could be made a herald or King of Arms, who had not been a pursuivant for seven years.²⁴ The third document of interest was a petition to the French king put forward in 1408 by Montjoye, Anjou and Berry Kings of Arms, Jerusalem, Alençon and Bourbon Heralds, and several other officers of arms of France, requesting the king's intervention in the reform of abuses of the heraldic office in France. Once again the notion of a seven-year pursuivantship was brought forward, as was the heralds' request that 'none shall be made a pursuivant but a clever young man, who is a clerk, and under twenty-five or thereabouts, of good estate and honest conversation'.²⁵

If the heraldic troubles in England embodied in Garter Bruges' petition to Henry V in 1415 were less by comparison to those in France, there is nevertheless evidence of a similar concern for the reform of the office of arms in England around this time. Although they were to wait more than half a century for their own legal incorporation, the English heralds were, even in 1415, a cohesive professional organisation,²⁶ which could not but have benefited from the example set by their French brethren. Bruges' own petition to Henry V insisted that minstrels be prevented

²² These were reproduced in full in Sicily Herald's account, c.1435, and are discussed in Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 46-48.

²³ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 46-7.

²⁴ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 47.

²⁵ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 48.

²⁶ A.R. Wagner, *The Records and Collections of the College of Arms* (London, 1952), p. 9.

from crying the praises of knights, an exclusive right of heralds; that only men of worthy character be made heralds; that none be admitted to the office without the king's own licence; that the existing officers have some say in the eligibility of candidates; that new-made officers take an oath; and, as mentioned above, that the king grant his 'noble and abundant largess' to his heralds at the principal feasts of the year, in imitation of the practice established in France.

Garter Bruges' petition was also greatly concerned with the privileges and authority attached to his principal status in the office of arms in England, and several of its articles were directly related to the issue of the primacy of Garter King of Arms. He requested that all newly-appointed English heralds be made to recognise Garter as their sovereign in office, and that they likewise be made answerable to his authority; that letters patent be granted confirming his claim to 'government and correction... as first and chief in the said office of arms' along with the other privileges asked for in the petition; that letters patent should also enable Garter to report to the Constable any officers who disobey his orders; that he be granted certain outward and visible tokens of sovereignty; and that he be given lodgings in Windsor Castle.²⁷ During the minority of Henry VI, Duke Humphrey further decreed that Garter should receive certain pensions annually, at the festival of the Garter, from the prelate, dukes, barons or bannerets, and bachelor knights in attendance.²⁸ The enhancement and definition of the position of Garter King of Arms was furthered in 1517 through the new statutes of the Order of the Garter set forth at the Chapter of St. George's Day in 1522,²⁹ in

²⁷ London, *William Bruges*, pp. 17-18.

²⁸ *The Antiquary. A Magazine Devoted to the Study of the Past*, 16 (July-December, 1887), p. 5.

²⁹ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 148. These statutes were first mooted by Henry VIII in 1517 and settled at a chapter in 1519.

accordance with which Garter was expected to be a man of means and standing, a native of England, and sovereign of all heralds belonging to the English Crown.³⁰

Despite Bruges' valiant attempts to secure great privilege and power to his new office, and despite the potential for the establishment, during the fifteenth century and later, of a senior herald with fixed and solid authority over the developing heraldic hierarchy in England, there appears to have been from the first difficulties in the position of Garter with regard to the other Kings of Arms in England. By definition non-provincial, the office of Garter King of Arms enjoyed a jurisdiction that was broad but dangerously ill-defined. While Norroy and Clarenceux drew support from their provinces north and south of the Trent respectively, Garter had only the dignity of his connection with the Order of the Garter and the House of Lords and 'a vague suzerainty over all England which he found difficult to make of any effect'.³¹ Garter's difficulties were exacerbated in 1530 when Henry VIII secured to the other Kings of Arms the lucrative right of making heraldic visitations. As Wagner wrote in the 1930s, the problem for Garter King of Arms was essentially this: 'If the details had been carefully thought out and formally determined, all should have been well. But Henry V had little time, and Garter in consequence had to fight with the provincial kings for three centuries before the disputed limits of jurisdiction could be fixed'.³²

The institution of the new office and Garter Bruges' petition to Henry V in 1415 were followed within a few years by a series of moves toward the reform and regulation of the heraldic profession in England. Perhaps Bruges was in some measure responsible

³⁰ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 148.

³¹ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 65.

³² Wagner, *HH*, p. 63.

for these moves, too, but at all events, as Wagner has noted, they probably derive in some way from the same initiative as his appointment'.³³ Thus, on June 2 1417, from Salisbury, Henry V issued a letter addressed to the sheriffs of Hampshire, Wiltshire, Sussex and Dorset forbidding the wearing of coats of arms by unqualified persons, on pain of exclusion from his expedition. This was followed by three documents associated with Henry's younger brother, Thomas of Lancaster, duke of Clarence, Steward of England and Constable of the Army.³⁴

The first of Clarence's documents, dated to before September 3, 1417, contained the resolutions, adequately rehearsed elsewhere,³⁵ of a dispute between the heralds and serjeants at arms over who should go nearer to the king's person when he rode abroad, or next before the Master of the household or the High Steward when meat was served at the king's table. The second document associated with the Duke of Clarence, also dated to early September 1417, represents a certificate, given at the request of Garter William Bruges and the other royal heralds, detailing the fees that the heralds were entitled to ask from a duke, earl, baron or knight on the raising of their banners.³⁶ The third document, an undated collection of orders and statutes for the reformation and good governance of the office of arms in England, is of especial interest for the light it sheds upon the heralds' record-keeping duties from the first quarter of the fifteenth century. In particular, it was ordained that the provincial Kings

³³ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 66.

³⁴ In his capacity as Steward of England, Clarence appears to have maintained a generous interest in the heralds, for in 1530 Clarenceux Thomas Benolt asserted that the duke had augmented those 'constituciones, actorytes & privileges graunted and geven to the sayde offyce of Armes by ryght noble princes in tymes past'. State Papers (1), 73, fols. 188-8b, cited in Wagner, *HH*, p. 94.

³⁵ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 66.

³⁶ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 66.

of Arms were to have knowledge of all noblemen and gentlemen of their respective provinces, and especially those who expected to bear arms in the service of the king, his lieutenant or commissaries, and to register correctly their names, arms and issue; that provincial kings were to record all newly granted arms in the register of the first King of Arms or that of the King of Arms of the march in which the arms were given; and that 'the first King of Arms generally and the others in their provinces are to hold chapters, and they are to resolve the doubts of heralds and pursuivants or, if necessary, refer them to the Constable'. The officers of arms were expected to keep good company and to apply themselves to the study of those things most important to heraldic endeavour, from manners and etiquette, to accounts of noble deeds, to the properties of 'colours, herbs and stones, that they may be able justly and suitably to assign to each person the arms that belong to him'.³⁷ Above all, it was decreed that 'the solemnities and the acts of noblemen in performing feats of arms are to be registered by the first or failing him, a provincial King of Arms, with the assent of the other officers of arms, and before any such solemnity notice of its nature is to be given in chapter',³⁸ and in this clause perhaps lies a key to the origin of the heraldic records of the latter half of the fifteenth century.

One further document from the reign of Henry V – the resolutions of the chapter of the Kings of Arms and heralds of England held at Rouen on January 15 1419/20 – demonstrate a very real tendency toward corporate existence within the community of English heralds more than sixty years before they received their first royal charter of incorporation. It is possible to see in the first two clauses of the Rouen resolutions,

³⁷ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 67.

³⁸ Wagner, *HH*, App. C 'Ordinances of Thomas, Duke of Clarence, for the Government of the Office of Arms', pp. 136-8.

ordaining that the officers of arms swear to uphold the resolutions and that a common office seal be made, a voluntary act of incorporation of the office of arms in England. Further clauses confirmed this by decreeing that all heralds thereafter appointed must first take an oath of obedience to the constitutions before sharing in the partition of largess, fees and other reward.³⁹ The tendency toward corporate existence exhibited in this document was sustained by three aspects of the heralds' activities: the partition of fees paid to the office as a whole; the regulation of professional conduct; and the preservation of their books of record. As Wagner has noted, the last two of these could hardly have been effected without it.⁴⁰

The gradual consolidation of the hierarchy of royal heralds in England was manifest in the ebb and flow of a large number of heraldic titles, and in the gradual working out of the patterns of territorial jurisdiction evident at the time of the heralds' incorporation.⁴¹ While the pattern of authority of the English Kings of Arms continued to reflect the original territorial division between the northern and southern provinces – distinguished by the titles 'of the Norroys' and 'of the Clarenceux' respectively and probably derived from the division of the king's demesne between escheators of the same two provinces⁴² – new divisions developed, and a non-provincial King was introduced to the Crown establishment in the office of Garter. Moreover, certain private titles, such as Lancaster and Somerset, moved to the Crown establishment, and in a select number of cases individuals made the transition from noble to royal employment: Thomas Whiting, Chester Herald, was formerly Nucelles

³⁹ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 69.

⁴⁰ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 69.

⁴¹ The scant surviving records of English heralds of the fourteenth and fifteenth century are largely in the form of payment to the heralds by the Crown, and chronicle accounts in which the heralds featured.

Pursuivant to Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales. As the century drew to a close, haphazard employment and seigniorial appointment were increasingly replaced by a growing heraldic professionalism and the hierarchy of royal heralds under Garter King of Arms.

On March 2, 1483/4, Richard III, who had been Constable of England from 1469 and *ex officio* co-supervisor of the heralds' activities,⁴³ granted the English heralds their first charter of incorporation.⁴⁴ The act of incorporation extended to all heralds of England, although its primary purpose appears to have been to qualify the twelve royal heralds for their corporate ownership of the manor house known as 'Coldharbour'. Formerly inhabited by royalty, Coldharbour provided a meeting place for the royal heralds, work rooms for the Kings of Arms, and a common library for all. Its grant to the English heralds was a mark of high royal favour and must greatly have encouraged them in the 'advancement and cultivation of their faculty'.⁴⁵ As principal King of Arms, moreover, Garter Writhe was granted the oversight of the house and the sizeable library held therein.⁴⁶ Now, too, the Anglo-French fraternity of

⁴² Denholm-Young, *History and Heraldry*, p. 61.

⁴³ In a petition lodged by the heralds in 1477 over the failure of four new-made knights of the Bath to pay their correct fees, Richard duke of Gloucester is described as 'Judge of the Office of Arms'. As Constable of England he is said also to have issued a set of ordinances for the reformation of the office, and himself owned two important and highly valuable rolls of arms. On his accession, Richard created Gloucester King of Arms with jurisdiction over Wales, and the following year, York Herald. Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 75, 68.

⁴⁴ *CPR*, Edward IV-V Richard III, i, 1476-85, p. 422. The original charter is in BL, MS. Cotton Faustina E. I, fol. 23.

⁴⁵ Wagner, *HH*, p. 95.

⁴⁶ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 131-2. Parallel has been drawn between the Ricardian charter and Edward IV's grant of a charter of incorporation to his eight royal minstrels in 1469, making them a guild with perpetual succession and allowing them the power to admit to their fraternity other minstrels throughout the kingdom. The guild was granted the governance of all minstrels in England, except in

heralds was in decline. English had replaced French as the language of polite society in England, and the balance of prosperity and had tipped dramatically toward the English heralds, who were now leaving their erstwhile role-models behind.⁴⁷

the county palatine of Chester. Like King Richard's heralds, King Edward's minstrels represented a group within the royal household erected into a body corporate, with its congeners throughout the country; the minstrels, however, were granted a greater degree of autonomy than the heralds. Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 130-1. Some similarity with the development of the Inns of Court in London during the fifteenth century is also evident. See esp. A.L. Brown, *The Governance of Late Medieval England, 1272-1461* (California, 1989), p. 136 and Wagner, *Heralds of England*, Introduction, p. xiii.

⁴⁷ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 34,70.

2.3 Royal Heraldry and the House of York, 1461-1485.

The English royal heralds of the period 1461 to 1485 were essentially liminal functionaries, who operated both within and outside the household structures, and who were able to move with relative ease between the institution's several departments. At court their ceremonial duties were paramount: they organised and supervised coronations and other royal proceedings, and presided over the celebration of the solemn feasts of Christmas, Easter, and the like. Away from court they worked as genealogists, and as surveyors and correctors of armorial bearings, and had frequent business in the Court of Chivalry under the Constable and Marshal of England.⁴⁸ In addition, the heralds of the Crown, and occasionally private heralds, were employed outside the structure of the palace in tasks which were nevertheless undertaken on behalf of the king or his advisors. These duties included diplomatic excursions, public proclamations, attendance upon the king on campaign and at the opening of parliament, participation in the funerals of noblemen and the gentry and, in the case of the creator or creators of the memoir of 1486-90, journeying with the king on his official tours of the realm. Moreover, the household books of John Howard, later first duke of Norfolk, reveal gifts and payment to the royal heralds, Garter and Clarenceux Kings of Arms,⁴⁹ while the quasi-royal household of the earl of Northumberland appears at times to have played host to officers of the Crown.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ For discussion of some of the business of the Court of Chivalry, see A. Ayton, 'Knights, Esquires and Military Service: The Evidence of the Armorial Cases before the Court of Chivalry' in A. Ayton and J.L. Price, *The Medieval Military Revolution. State Society and Military Change in Early Modern Europe* (repr. London, 1998), pp. 81-104.

⁴⁹ *The Household Books of John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, 1462-71, 1481-83*, new edn. with an introduction by Anne Crawford (Gloucestershire, 1992). On July 5 1464, December 1 1465 and March 6 1464-5, Howard paid Clarenceux King of Arms 3s. 4d. and 6s. 8d. respectively; on March 6 1464-5, he recorded an expense of 4d. 'at Claronsewes howse' (I 272, 317, 501). On the April 16 1481 the

In the search for a context for the activities of Henry Tudor's heralds, the relationship between the heralds of the Crown and the king and court of Yorkist England requires further investigation. As so much of the royal heralds' work during the fifteenth century was performed under the roof of the king's palace, it will be instructive in the first instance to examine the heralds' place in the royal household under the Yorkist kings. Unfortunately, modern commentators do not agree upon the precise location of the heralds within the royal household during the fifteenth century and earlier. Sir A.R. Wagner asserts unequivocally that 'heralds belonged to the Courtyard, the external department, with the bodyguards, the horses and the messengers'. He feels, moreover, that a general loss of function by the chief staff of the Courtyard, namely the Constable and Marshal, combined with the fact that the heralds' duties took them much abroad, gradually detached them from the general life of the court.⁵¹ On the other hand, writers like D.A.L. Morgan, Richard Green and David Starkey, locate the officers of arms of the fifteenth century in the Chamber, the innermost circle of the royal household, and the gateway to frequent and regular contact with the monarch.⁵²

record-keeper 'toke to Garter for my Lordes armys making' 4s and Norfolk afterwards gave Garter a gown of tawny velvet (II 181). Howard's household expenses for the years 1462-71 are also printed in *Manners and household Expenses of England in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Illustrated by Original Records*, ed. C. Turner (London, 1841).

⁵⁰ See *The Regulations and Establishment of the Household of Henry Algernon Percy, the Fifth Earl of Northumberland at his Castles of Wresill and Leginfield in Yorkshire. 1512* (London, 1827), esp. pp. 35, 38, 40, 44, 47, 84, 92, 154, 254, 344, 390.

⁵¹ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 125. Wagner follows the arguments of E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1923; repr. 1967), i, p. 33.

⁵² D.A.L. Morgan, 'The house of policy: the political role of the late Plantagenet household, 1422-1485', in D. Starkey et al, *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London

In fact, disappointingly little is said of the heralds in the extant literature of the late Plantagenet household.⁵³ The *Black Book* alone reveals that the heralds of the Crown had customary occasional duties at court, falling on the principal feast days of All Hallows, Christmas Day, Easter, St. George's Day and Whitsunday, as well as on the solemn occasions of coronation, baptism, marriage, creation and funeral, and even for their own induction.⁵⁴ For much of the fifteenth century, too, select heralds were seemingly in attendance at court at all times: the Ordinance of 1445 makes allowance for the continued presence of 'iiij herlantz'.⁵⁵ Since the Ordinance of 1478 is in large measure an amended version of the 1445 Ordinance, and was intended primarily to rectify defects in its predecessor, we might assume that the omission of the officers of arms from the latter document indicates the continuance, unchanged, of the heralds' waiting function.

Of these documents only the lengthier, discursive *Black Book* reveals any details of the heralds' activities inside the palace structure. In a statement curiously reflective of their liminal status in Edward IV's household, the relevant memorandum in the *Black*

and New York, 1987), p. 33; R.F. Green, *Poets and Princepleasers. Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages* (Toronto, 1980), pp. 34-7.

⁵³ The principal documents are: the household ordinances for the years 1445, 1454 and 1478; the provisions of 1471; and the *Black Book* of the household of Edward IV, dating to 1471-2. With the exception of the Ordinance of 1454, these documents are all printed in A.R. Myers, *The Household of Edward IV: the Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478* (Manchester, 1959). The Ordinance of 1454 belongs to *PPC*, vi, (1837), pp. 220-33 and to *HO*, pp. 13-24, where it is incorrectly dated to 1455. There also survive ordinances for the households of George duke of Clarence, Princess Cecily, mother to Edward IV, and Prince Edward, son of Edward IV in *HO*, VI, pp. 87-105, 25-33, 35-9, and for Richard III's household in the north in C.A. Halstead *Richard III as Duke of Gloucester and King of England*, 2 vols. (London, 1844), ii, p. 524.

⁵⁴ *Black Book*, item 51, p. 131, contains a memorandum regarding the keeping of 'that cup wiche the king doth create any king of armez or harold withall'.

⁵⁵ Myers, 'Ordinance of 1445', p. 70.

Book records that, on festival days, the royal heralds were required to 'wayte uppon the kinges person coming and goying to and fro the church, hall and chamber before his highness in thyre cotez of armes'.⁵⁶ If the king kept his estate in the hall, moreover, his heralds were expected to 'walke before the steward, theasurer and countroller, comying with the kinges seruyce from the serueying board at every course; and aftyr the laste course they crye the kinges largesse, shaking theyre grete cupp'.⁵⁷ Those heralds waiting at court on non-feast days were presumably expected to answer questions regarding ceremonial, precedence and heraldry, and to be ready at all times to perform messenger or diplomatic service.

The heralds' work in the king's palace during the fifteenth century also entitled them to certain special privileges and allowances at the expense of king and court. As early as 1415 William Bruges, in his petition to Henry V, made it clear that 'in and before his day, both on feast days and other days, the King of Arms of Englishmen sat at meat at a table apart in the king's hall, and that the general officers of arms sat at a table of their own together, the pursuivants at the varlets' table'.⁵⁸ In similar wise, the Crown heralds of the reign of Edward IV, 'comying to this royall courte to the wurshupp of thes v festes in the yere' were expected to partake of 'metes and soupers in the hall; and to begin that [*sic*] one end of the table togyder vpon dayes of astate, by the martyalles assignacion, at on mele'.⁵⁹ Kings of Arms received a knight's service at dinner,⁶⁰ Garter a baron's service.⁶¹ In addition to meats or supper in the

⁵⁶ *Black Book*, item 51, p. 130.

⁵⁷ *Black Book*, item 51, p. 130.

⁵⁸ London, *William Bruges*, App. IX 'William Bruges's Petition', articles 6-8, pp. 90-1.

⁵⁹ *Black Book*, item 51, p. 130.

⁶⁰ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 97.

⁶¹ *The Antiquary*, xvi, p. 5.

hall, officers of arms also received so-called 'bouche of court', a commons of bread and ale, candles and fuel, supplied to household officers of sufficient standing to be lodged within the palace itself.⁶² The *Black Book* states that the heralds were granted 'lyuerey for theyre chambre, day and nyzt, amonges them ij loues, j picher wyne, ij gallons ale; and for wynter season, if ther be present a king of armes, for them all a tortayis at chaundry ij candelles wex, iij candelles peris, iij tallwood'.⁶³ Kings of Arms also received provision for their horses. Evidently the entitlement of heralds to maintenance at the royal household was then of long history, for newly-created heralds of the Crown at this time were typically awarded an annual stipend 'and such livery as any herald had in the time of Edward III'.⁶⁴

It is curious, however, that the Great Council's 1454 promulgation of a household establishment, 'abregged and reduced to a resonnable and acompetent felisship', in the form of a list of those household officers entitled to 'bouche of court', does not mention the heralds.⁶⁵ Nor do the officers of arms appear in the provisions of 1471, a document outlining the king's immediate entourage. The latter case is almost certainly indicative of the fact that the heralds did not belong to the inner-most circle of the Chamber personnel,⁶⁶ but it is more difficult to explain their omission from list of 'bouche' recipients in 1454. Not until the time of Henry VIII do we have word from the heralds themselves that they no longer received provisions at court, and no independent evidence exists to suggest that heralds were removed, however briefly,

⁶² Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, ii, p. 51.

⁶³ *Black Book*, item 51, p. 130.

⁶⁴ See for example *CPR Edward IV-V Richard III*, i, 1476-85, p. 118; *Materials*, ii, pp. 33, 40-41.

⁶⁵ *PPC*, vi, pp. 220-33.

⁶⁶ Morgan, 'The House of Policy', p. 29. Nor are the heralds numbered in the *Black Book* among those belonging to the *Domus Regie Magnificencie*.

from the group of officers entitled to food and lodgings in the royal household. It is possible that the exclusion of the officers of arms from royal household documents like the Ordinance of 1454 is a result of the transient nature of most of their court postings, typically 'activated' only for specific, occasional events. Yet, it is difficult to determine the fate of the heralds exercising their waiting function under the Ordinance of 1454.

The assumption that the heralds belonged to the king's Chamber has some merit if it is allowed that their manifold duties in association with the royal household during the mid-fifteenth century at times resembled, even encroached upon, certain aspects of the work of the king's Chamber. Simultaneously the centre of power and the most direct expression of the king's style and personality, the Chamber was the great complex headed by the Chamberlain and centred around the king's dwellings. By the fifteenth century, it comprised a great number of specialist and individually articulated organisations – it is among these that Morgan sought to locate the heralds – and it had its central component in the non-affiliated personnel of the knights, esquires of the body, carvers, cupbearers and sewers, gentlemen and yeomen ushers, and yeomen, grooms and pages of the chamber.⁶⁷ The collective function of the Chamber staffs lay not merely in politics, but 'partly in the enactment of the show of ceremonial "magnificence", partly also in those group activities which fostered a sense of courtly culture with its distinctive mores'.⁶⁸ While the chamber's many businesses included the financial, political and administrative, it determined above all

⁶⁷ Morgan, 'House of policy', p. 33.

⁶⁸ Morgan, 'House of policy', p. 34. See also D. Starkey, 'Representation Through Intimacy. A study in the symbolism of monarchy and court office in early modern England', in I. Lewis (ed.) *Symbols and Sentiments. Cross-cultural Studies in Symbolism* (London, 1977), pp. 187-224.

the shadow cast by the king's household upon both the socio-political realm of England and the external world at large. Like the collective staffs of the Chamber, the royal heralds of Yorkist England were integral to the splendour, both inward and outward, of the royal household and dynasty. Indeed, by the second half of the fifteenth century, the heralds of the English Crown were revealing themselves to be among 'the most respected advisors on those minute details of etiquette and precedence with which the fifteenth-century courts of Europe were obsessed'.⁶⁹

The renewed thirst for splendour at the English court at this time almost certainly owed something to the settlement of an outwardly prosperous government upon a divided and disordered realm, and to the contrasting personalities of the rival English kings, Henry VI and Edward IV. While the latter king began his reign in 1461 under difficult circumstances, a German visitor to England only four years later felt he had seen 'the most splendid court that could be found in all Christendom'.⁷⁰ There was much that was novel in the ritual and ceremonial detail of Edwardian court life.⁷¹ The opposite was true of the manifest weaknesses of Henry VI, whose royal progress failed to impress the author of the *Great Chronicle*, and under whose rule the burgeoning financial insolvency of the royal household establishment incurred widespread contempt.⁷² In a broader context, the tensions between the craving for stability and the fact of change, between the competition and fluidity of fifteenth-century society and the desire of contemporaries to maintain respect for order and

⁶⁹ G.A. Lester, 'Fifteenth-Century English Heraldic Narrative' in *Yearbook of English Studies*, 22 (1990), pp. 201-12.

⁷⁰ *The Travels of Leo von Rozmital*, transl. M. Letts, Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., 108 (Cambridge, 1957), p. 45.

⁷¹ C.D. Ross, *Edward IV* (London, 1974), p. 312.

⁷² *The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley (Gloucester, 1983), p. 215.

degree, were potent forces in generating the kind of magnificence that characterised the courts of mid. to late fifteenth-century Europe.⁷³ Nowhere did these complex tendencies achieve fuller expression than at the courts of the Valois dukes of Burgundy, and nowhere was the imitation of Burgundian style of greater importance than at the court of Edward IV of England. Locked in a fragile *entente*, Yorkist England and the Burgundy of Charles the Bold indulged in the exchange of cultural artefacts, marriage alliance, mutual flattery, and a shared mistrust of France, while the positive influences upon English life and art were encouraged by a king whose own thirst for splendour mirrored that of his ducal counterpart.⁷⁴

Perhaps an increase in their own formal responsibilities at the Edwardian court, combined with the need to keep abreast of the difficult ceremonial and chivalric developments of the fifteenth century, were primary factors urging the English Crown heralds toward the keeping of detailed notes and descriptive accounts of the events in which they took part, and for which they received fee. As I shall presently discuss, such texts were typically used for later reference. Those narratives that have survived offer critically important insight into the duties and character of the English royal heralds during the time in which the accounts were created. Thus we learn of their prominent processional roles during the 1460s '70s and '80s, both in England and on the Continent. As the Lord Scales rode through the streets of London in 1467 before his combat with the Bastard of Burgundy, a herald and a pursuivant bore his coats of

⁷³ For an elegant description of the situation, see Myers, pp. 2-3. See also J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages. A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, transl. F. Hopman (repr. Middlesex, 1965), pp. 39-40.

⁷⁴ C.A.J. Armstrong, 'L'échange culturel entres les cours d'Angleterre et de Bourgogne à l'époque de Charles le Téméraire', *England, France and Burgundy in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1983), pp. 403-17. See also R. Strong, *Art and Power. Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650* (Suffolk, 1984), p. 15.

arms before him to the Bishop's palace of Ely in Holborn.⁷⁵ Similarly, the nuptial procession of Princess Margaret of York through the streets of Bruges on Sunday June 20, 1468 was attended by 'Kyngis of Armys and Heraldez of dyv[er]se realmez and nacions'.⁷⁶ On this occasion at least, the English heralds probably wore the coats of arms of King Edward, Princess Margaret's brother. At the creation of the Lord de Gruthuse as earl of Winchester in 1472, the officers of arms of the English Crown walked in the procession, Garter bearing the patent of the Lord de Gruthuse's creation.⁷⁷ Finally, when the youngest of Edward IV's offspring, Princess Bridget, was christened in 1480, the royal heralds processed from the place of birth to the church with their coats slung over their arms. At the time of the baptism, they put on their coats of arms and the tapers were lit.⁷⁸

Having assisted the marshal at coronations since the thirteenth century, English royal heralds were also prominent in the processions that accompanied the crowning of a fifteenth-century king or queen.⁷⁹ In the procession of Richard III and Anne Neville from Westminster Hall toward the Abbey on the day of their coronation in 1483, the 'harouldes of armes with the kinges cote armour upon theim' walked behind the

⁷⁵ 'Marriage of the Princess Margaret, Sister of Edward IV. A.D. 1468' in *Excerpta Historica*, p. 200.

⁷⁶ 'Margaret', *Excerpta Historica, or Illustrations of English History*, ed. S. Bentley (London, 1831), p. 232. See also 'Account of the Ceremonial of the Marriage of the Princess Margaret Sister of King Edward IV to Charles Duke of Burgundy in 1468', *Archaeologia*, 31 (1846), pp. 326-38.

⁷⁷ 'The Record of Bluemantle Pursuivant, 1471-1472', printed in C.L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 378-88; 383.

⁷⁸ P.E. Routh (ed.), 'Princess Bridget', *The Ricardian*, 3.49 (1975), pp. 13-14.

⁷⁹ While no mention of the heralds' role at the coronation of Elizabeth Woodville occurs in the surviving account, the contribution of John Smert, Garter King of Arms, and of his fellow officers, was well and liberally rewarded. PRO. Warrants for Issue, 5 Ed. IV, no. 75, cited in *The Coronation of Elizabeth Wydeville, Queen Consort of Edward IV on May 26th, 1465*, ed. G. Smith (London, 1935), p. 85.

trumpets and clarions, preceding the cross and the great parade of lords both spiritual and temporal.⁸⁰ The 'Little Device' for the ordering of the same coronation,⁸¹ itself possibly of heraldic authorship, states that, on the morning before the coronation, the officers of arms in attendance upon the king were to ride in the procession from the Tower to the king's great hall at Westminster according to the assignation of the Constable.⁸² They were, moreover, expected to marshal and supervise the creation of knights of the Bath prior to the coronation ceremony, and also took part in King Richard's triumphant return to his chamber at the palace of Westminster.⁸³

The royal heralds' appearance in procession, bearing the coat of arms of the king or nobleman for whom the occasion was held, not only integrated them into the ceremonial they were required to supervise, but symbolised the legitimacy of the procession and the authority of its principal protagonist. If the uniqueness of an individual's genealogical and heraldic identity was displayed on the heralds' tabards and elsewhere, it is also the case that the presence of the royal heralds signified the omnipresence of the English Crown. This was especially notable in the heraldic noble funeral, where the presence of the Crown heralds was a salient reminder of origins of

⁸⁰ BL, MS. Additional 6113, fols. 19-22v. This narrative has been printed in *The Coronation of Richard III: the Extant Documents*, ed. A.F. Sutton and P.W. Hammond (Gloucester, 1983), pp. 270-82. Another contemporary account of the coronation, from College of Arms, MS. I.18, has been printed in *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 379-84. For their work at coronations at this time, as later, the heralds received a largess of £100. Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 74.

⁸¹ The 'Little Device' for the coronation of Richard III and Anne Neville, while giving a detailed description of the manner of the king and queen's conveyance from the hall at Westminster to the abbey, does not mention the place of the heralds in the procession. See 'The Little Device for the Coronation of Richard III' in Sutton and Hammond, *Richard III*, pp. 216-218.

⁸² The account of the coronation of Elizabeth of York in 1486 indicates that the heralds rode in this procession directly behind the newly-created knights of the Bath and in front of the great estates of the realm. Julius B. XII, fol. 36v.

aristocratic power.⁸⁴ It is surely significant that the heralds' greater prominence in ceremonial processions in the latter half of the fifteenth century coincides with the Yorkist kings' concern with notions of continuity and legitimacy, and with the advertisement of the same in the public arena.

Rather more elaborate duties informed the English Crown heralds' participation in royal and noble funerals of the second half of the fifteenth century: their preeminent function was again to marshal the procession itself, and to carry the armour of the deceased.⁸⁵ The earliest extant record of the heralds' introduction into the funeral *cortège* appears to be that found in heraldic narratives of the re-interment of Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury, and his son Thomas, on February 15, 1463.⁸⁶ Such was the splendour of this event, that it entered books of precedent as the model for the burying of an earl in the latter half of the fifteenth century.⁸⁷ The chariot bearing the corpses toward the town of Bisham was accompanied by two heralds and two Kings

⁸³ 'Little Device' in Sutton and Hammond, *Richard III*, p. 227.

⁸⁴ C. Gettings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London and Sydney, 1984), p. 174.

⁸⁵ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 106. This duty appears to have belonged to noblemen and knights shortly before the introduction of the heralds to the funeral *cortège*. M. Vale, *War and Chivalry. Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages* (Athens, Georgia, 1981), p. 90.

⁸⁶ The accounts survive in sixteenth-century form: BL, MS. Harley 6069, fols. 34r-35r, Arundel 26, fol. 33r, Additional. 38174, fols. 21v-24v, Additional. 45131, fols. 22r-v; and College of Arms, MSS. I.5, fols 7r-v, I.11, fol. 35v and I.15, fol. 215v. One seventeenth century copy has been printed among 'Henry VII's Ordinances' in *OR*, pp. 131-3. They differ in some details. The printed source to which I refer is 'The Beryinge of an Erle', in *The Antiquarian Repertory*, comp. F. Grose and T. Astle et al, new edn., ed E. Jeffrey, 4 vols. (London, 1807-09), i, pp. 314ff. See also D. Rowland, *An Historical and Genealogical Account of the Noble Family of Neville* (London, 1830), p. 83

⁸⁷ A. Payne, 'The Salisbury Rolls of Arms, c. 1463' in D. Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century. Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium* (New Hampshire, 1987), p. 187. The account

of Arms, one at each corner of the hearse, in coats of Salisbury's arms. During the singing of the dirge Garter, Clarenceux, Windsor and Chester, along with many other heralds and pursuivants, stood about the hearse in Salisbury's coat of arms. The following day, these four bore the arms of the deceased from the vestry to the head of the hearse: Garter carried the coat of arms, Clarenceux the shield, Windsor the sword, and Chester the helm and crest, whence they took part in the complex ritual of the presentation and offering of Salisbury's funeral achievements.⁸⁸ It was also Garter and Clarenceux Kings of Arms who went to the west door of the church to admit a man at arms on horseback trapped, while certain other heralds and pursuivants preceded the man and horse to the choir screen for the presentation of the horse and trapper to the church. At the ceremony's end, the coat of arms, shield, sword, and helm and crest were born to the tomb and laid thereupon by Garter, Clarenceux, Windsor and Chester: the coat of arms was laid in the middle; the helm and crest at the head; the shield below the sword, hanging by the banner at the right side of the head; and the standard at the same side at the foot. Although the royal heralds now removed their coats of arms, the Salisbury's own herald stood before the hearse wearing the earl's coat of arms for the rest of the mass until the burial. [Fig. 2.1]

The reburial of Richard duke of York, and of his son, the earl of Rutland, in July 1476 saw the corpses escorted by the England Crown heralds March, Norroy, Ireland Kings of Arms, and Windsor, Falcon, Chester and Hereford Heralds, together with the Scottish Snowdon Herald, and the private officers of arms, Guisnes, Comfort, Ich Dien and Scales Pursuivants. Stationed along each side of the hearse, the heralds

was still being copied by English royal heralds in the first half of the sixteenth century. See especially the transcript – probably by Christopher Barker (d. 1550) – in College of Arms, MS. M6, fols 79v-80r.

⁸⁸ Described by Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 107.

wore their colourful coats of arms over the black mourning habits. The offering of the funeral achievements proceeded as above, with Norroy, March and Ireland Kings of Arms, and Windsor and Snowdon Heralds carrying the several items of regalia regalia. Other heralds escorted the man-at-arms riding the horse trapped to the ground in a coat of the full royal arms.⁸⁹

At the time of Edward IV's own death on April 9, 1483, the funeral of an anointed king also required the officers of arms of the Crown to walk beside the hearse to Westminster Abbey, dressed in the coat of arms of the deceased and, in this case, accompanying the knights and esquires for the body.⁹⁰ [Fig. 2.2] On the day of interment, each of the heralds present solemnly accompanied the dead king's coat of arms from the vestry: Garter stood with it at the head of the hearse until the time of offering. Garter, Clarenceux, Norroy, March and Ireland, together with Chester and Leicester Heralds also took part in the offering of the king's armour, and others admitted the man of arms mounted upon the horse and trapper at the church door.⁹¹ On this occasion, too, Garter, Norroy and Gloucester Kings of Arms,⁹² and Rougecroix, Guisnes and Harrington Pursuivants are named as taking part in the 'great wache' on the eve of the burial. It is possible, too, that the heralds were responsible for the composition of the so-called 'watch roll', in which were registered

⁸⁹ *The Reburial of Richard Duke of York, 21-30 July 1476*, ed. A. F. Sutton et al (The Richard III Society, 1996), pp. 14-15.

⁹⁰ 'Funeral of Edward IV' in *Letters and Papers illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, edited by J. Gairdner, 2 vols. (Rolls Series, 1861-3; repr. 1965), i, pp. 3-10. This account belongs to College of Arms, MS. I.7.

⁹¹ 'Funeral of Edward IV', pp. 9-10.

⁹² Incorrectly named Gloucester Pursuivant.

the names of those noblemen and servants selected to keep watch of over the corpse during successive nights before the burial.⁹³

Ample evidence also survives of the royal heralds' messenger service in the arena of war, a primitive heraldic function greatly encouraged by the ongoing civil strife of the middle decades of the century. Although the prominence of noblemen in England's internal warring meant that the Crown officers had often to compete with the likes of Mowbray Herald and Lesparre Pursuivant,⁹⁴ Garter John Smert became an active messenger and commentator under both Henry VI and Edward IV, and other royal heralds were frequently employed as battle-messengers, letter-carriers and the like during the civil conflict of the latter half of the fifteenth century.⁹⁵ According to one surviving narrative, 'Chester, the kinges heroude' and 'Warrewick the heroude' carried communications to and from the rebellious Lord Grey during the siege of Bamburgh in 1463.⁹⁶ Four years earlier, in 1459, heralds of the Crown had preceded the royal host marching from Worcester toward Ludlow, and proclaimed full pardons to all who would surrender within six days.⁹⁷ In addition – as guardians of knightly honour, and in respect of their association with orders of knighthood and chivalry in

⁹³ 'Funeral of Edward IV', p. 4.

⁹⁴ Mowbray Herald belonged to the duke of Norfolk and Lesparre Pursuivant to the duke of Exeter. Together with Buckingham Herald, Mowbray (then acting as the duke of York's personal emissary) and Lesparre were instrumental in the mediation between the Yorkist and royal forces at the Battle of St Albans in 1455. B.P. Wolffe, *Henry VI* (London, 1981), p. 292. See also 'An account of the First Battle of St. Albans from a Contemporary Manuscript', ed. J. Bayley, in *Archaeologia: or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity*, 20 (1824), pp. 519-23; Armstrong, 'Politics and the Battle of St. Albans, 1455' in Armstrong, *England, France and Burgundy*, p. 4.

⁹⁵ Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p. 132, 152, 164-5, 318.

⁹⁶ *Warkworth's Chronicle of the first Thirteen Years of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth*, ed. J. O. Halliwell, Camden Society, 10 (London, 1839), pp. 36-9.

⁹⁷ Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p. 319.

England – the English heralds were involved in the degradation of the defeated Lord Grey, a knight of the Bath, before his execution: as the king's master cook made ready to strike the spurs from Grey's boots, the heralds reportedly tore the coat of arms from his person.⁹⁸

In the political arena, the heralds' messenger service translated into an ambassadorial function, and the corpus of surviving heraldic narratives also accounts for diplomatic tasks carried out by the English heralds under the Yorkist kings. Although the distinction between heraldic diplomacy and their more traditional function as 'messengers of war and peace' is, in many cases, largely academic, true diplomatic responsibility had been added to the growing list of the heralds' legitimate duties during the reign of Edward III. It continued to inform the heralds' sense of identity until well into the reign of Henry VIII.⁹⁹ While basic messenger service or the accompaniment of an ambassador appear to have been the heralds' most common diplomatic duties during the fifteenth century,¹⁰⁰ evidence exists to suggest that they did, on occasion, have powers, instructions or letters of credence.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless,

⁹⁸ *Warkworth's Chronicle*, p. 39. A herald reportedly also conveyed to Henry VI the message of resignation and surrendered insignia of the Garter from François de Surienne in January 1450, while in 1468 Jean de Nevers conveyed his resignation from the Order of the Golden Fleece through a pursuivant. Vale, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 34, 50.

⁹⁹ Ferguson, *English Diplomacy*, p. 166. See also Wagner, *HH*, pp. 37-38.

¹⁰⁰ For example, in 1483, the Scottish 'Dyngevale' or 'Dingwelle' Pursuivant carried written communications between the kings of England and Scotland. *British Library Harleian Manuscript 433* ed. R. Horrox and P.W. Hammond, 4 vols. (Gloucester, 1983), iii, pp. 48, 50.

¹⁰¹ Instructions from the king to Richmond King of Arms may be found *Letters and Papers*, ii, pp. 292-7 and to Northumberland Herald, in *Harl. 433*, p. 71. For further examples of heralds' diplomatic powers see Ferguson, *English Diplomacy*, p. 167. For the question of the nature of the heralds' diplomatic duties, see Ferguson, *English Diplomacy*, pp. 166-7 and R. de Maulde, 'Les Instructions diplomatiques au Moyen-Age', *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, vi (1892), p. 433. See also N. Upton, *De studio militari*, ed. E. Bysshe (London, 1654), pp. 20-1, where it is stated that the heralds were to

when the unknown incumbent of the office of Bluemantle Pursuivant was sent, together with Lancaster Herald, on embassy to the duke of Burgundy in 1472, he appears only to have been attendant upon William Hatteclyff, the King's Secretary and Master of Requests. It was his special responsibility to ride ahead and warn the duke of the advance of the English party.¹⁰² At times, officers of arms were also expected to welcome or farewell visiting dignitaries, and so Garter King of Arms met the Bastard of Burgundy upon his arrival in England in 1467.¹⁰³ Indeed, it appears to have been at least partly in view of his specialisation in Anglo-Burgundian diplomacy, that Garter John Smert was sent to welcome the Bastard to England.¹⁰⁴

At this time, too, heralds continued to appear on the battlefield and to take down extensive lists of participants and casualties of war, as at the battles of St Albans in 1455 and Tewkesbury in 1471.¹⁰⁵ In addition, an heraldic list of the participants in Edward IV's French campaign of 1475, numbers four Kings of Arms, four heralds, and five pursuivants among those actually present in the king's retinue.¹⁰⁶ The principal reasons for a herald's presence on campaign were cited in one early fifteenth-century treatise as:

initiate 'negotiations for peace and matrimonial alliance between princes and to report faithfully his missions'. One late fifteenth-century illustration actually depicts the 'Ambassador of Britain' as a herald of the English Crown. Bruges: Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 15.

¹⁰² 'Bluemantle Pursuivant', p. 381.

¹⁰³ 'Bastard of Burgundy', *Excerpta Historica*, p. 197.

¹⁰⁴ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 70.

¹⁰⁵ 'First Battle of St. Albans', pp. 518-23; 'The Battle of St. Albans' in *The Paston Letters, A.D. 1422-1509*, ed. J. Gairdner, new complete edition, 6 vols. (London. 1904), iii, pp. 25-30; 'From the Chronicle of Tewkesbury Abbey' printed in Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, pp. 376-8.

¹⁰⁶ College of Arms, MS. 2.M.16, fols. 1v, 4r.

‘to inquire in the day of battle who has shown prouesse and courage, in act or in council, and to record the names of the dead and the wounded, and whether they were in the van or the rear... that there may be honour to whom honour is due’.¹⁰⁷

Elsewhere, heralds were instructed to observe banners and ensigns on the field; to exhort the lords of their own party to conduct themselves honourably; to withdraw to a safe vantage point to observe the battle; to announce the victory; to help bury the dead; and to carry prisoners’ requests.¹⁰⁸ By the reigns of Henry VI and Edward IV, English royal heralds were almost certainly among the compilers of news-letters dispatched from the battlefield in haste, often before the complete casualty-lists or the outcome of campaigns were known,¹⁰⁹ and the surviving accounts of the battles of St. Albans and Tewkesbury contain such lists. An alternative list of the principal combatants and casualties at St. Albans was found among the Paston papers in the early twentieth century.¹¹⁰ As the century wore on, too, the Crown’s absorption of the heraldic organisation meant that these lists became an increasingly valuable source for the Crown’s awareness and supervision of its potential public servants.¹¹¹ In the roll-call of names provided by the battle narratives that survive today, it is evident with what care the heralds were expected to record the particulars of noble and knightly persons in battle. There can be little doubt, moreover, that the heralds’

¹⁰⁷ BL, MS. Stowe 688, fol. 79v.

¹⁰⁸ College of Arms MS. M. 19, fol. 140r.

¹⁰⁹ See esp. Armstrong, ‘Politics and the Battle of St. Albans, 1455’ in *England, France and Burgundy*, pp. 1-5 and Armstrong, ‘Some examples of the distribution and speed of news in England at the time of the Wars of the Roses’ in *England, France and Burgundy*, pp. 97-122.

¹¹⁰ ‘The Battle of St. Albans’, in *Paston Letters* n.c.e., iii, pp. 29-30.

¹¹¹ C. Carpenter, *Locality and Polity. A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 92.

expertise in the science of armoury served them well in the aftermath of the combat, when the faces of the slain must scarcely have been recognisable.

The heralds' specialisation in armorial bearings, and in the genealogical concerns with which the science of armoury was linked, formed the basis of pictorial records which, as I discuss in Section 2.5, became more sophisticated toward the end of the century. Surviving rolls of arms date back to the reign of Edward I – the by-products of the heralds' engagement with the tournament and assistance at court ceremonies¹¹² – and in the early days especially, a great many of the officers of arms were likely to have been better at pictorial representation than written record. It has been suggested that the Neville funeral at Bisham in 1463 was the occasion of the creation of the so-called 'Salisbury Roll of Arms', a pictorial, genealogical record glorifying the ancestors and alliances of several earls of Salisbury.¹¹³ [Fig. 2.3] The Writhe-Wriothesley compilation to which the Salisbury Roll now belongs, *Writhe's Garter Book*, contains further pictorial and armorial records dating to the final decades of the fifteenth century.

The English heralds also continued to operate as messengers and marshals of the tournament, just as they had in their earliest days,¹¹⁴ and now, too, they presided over the complex chivalric spirit that governed mock warfare in the fifteenth century. The knightly, essentially feudal, culture which reached its apogee under the Valois dukes of Burgundy, exerted an irresistible pull on King Edward of England and the majority

¹¹² Denholm-Young, *History and Heraldry*, pp. 3-4.

¹¹³ Payne, 'Salisbury Roll', p. 188.

¹¹⁴ See Wagner, *HH*, Appendix B, 'Passages Illustrating the Early History of the Heralds', pp. 127-35; *Froissart*, vol. i, p. 394; vol. xv, p. 123.

of his courtiers,¹¹⁵ and was spectacularly manifest in the much publicised Anglo-Burgundian feats of arms of the 1460s and '70s. In 1467, the great Smithfield tournament between Anthony Woodville, brother-in-law to the king, and Antoine, the *grand bâtard* of Burgundy, served as a pretext for the conclusion of the marriage negotiations for Margaret of York and Duke Charles 'the Bold'. The following year the magnificent *Pas de l'Arbre d'Or*, was held in honour of the wedding. Such occasions were lavish, their ceremonial, ritual formalities, and minute rules of procedure supervised by those 'experts [from both sides of the Channel] pour déterminer les règles du combat et pour contrôler les armes et les armures des combattants'.¹¹⁶

Thus, just as an unknown English herald had reportedly carried the earl of Warwick's challenges to the knights of France back in 1415,¹¹⁷ Chester Herald, clad in a coat of the Lord Scales' arms, delivered the letters of the Lord Scales' challenge to the Bastard in 1465, two years before the combat.¹¹⁸ At the lists for the Smithfield combat, Kings of Arms and heralds presided: some recorded armorial accomplishments; others supervised proceedings; and still others watched from a scaffold 'to make reporte generall, and to marke all that shuld be doon in the seide

¹¹⁵ Armstrong, 'L'échange culturel' in *England, France and Burgundy*, p. 403; J. Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy. The Magnificent Dukes and their Courts*, transl. D. Weightman (London, 1962), pp. 222-6; Anglo, *Great Tournament Roll*, p. 33.

¹¹⁶ Armstrong, 'L'échange culturel' in *England, France and Burgundy*, p. 406; S. Anglo, 'Anglo-Burgundian Feats of Arms: Smithfield, June 1467', *Guildhall Miscellany*, 2 (1965), p. 272; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 67-8, 70, 85; R. Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy* (London, 1975), p. 177.

¹¹⁷ H.N. MacCracken, 'The Earl of Warwick's Virelai', *PMLA*, 22 (1907), pp. 597-607. Examples of this kind of activity are found elsewhere. In 1424 and 1436, Pembroke Herald, the herald of Humphrey duke of Gloucester and earl of Pembroke, carried Humphrey's challenge to the duke of Burgundy. Godfrey et al, *College of Arms*, p. 291.

¹¹⁸ 'Bastard of Burgundy', *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 171-212.

feelde'.¹¹⁹ Further duties were also carried out: Richmond Herald announced the names and titles of the combatants and the purpose of the tourney in the four corners of the field; Garter King of Arms announced the commencement of the joust; Clarenceux King of Arms held the Lord Scales' banner before his tent on the day of the hand-to-hand combat; and two further Kings of Arms prepared for the commencement of the fighting. On the heralds' judgement rested the awarding of the prizes.¹²⁰ Similar concerns doubtless informed the heralds' supervision of the *Pas de l'Arbre d'Or* in 1468 and, despite the absence of any explicit statement of the heralds' presence in the extent accounts of Princess Margaret's wedding, the herald-recorder's expertise in these matters is clear. Moreover, in January 1477, the articles for the jousts honouring the marriage of Richard duke of York and Anne Mowbray were reputedly set up in three places (the gate of the King's palace, the standard in Cheapside and London Bridge), and from each point the registration of the combatants was supervised by a King of Arms and a herald.¹²¹ [Fig. 2.4]

Not only were the English royal heralds integral to the success of the Anglo-Burgundian meetings described above, but these very same occasions almost certainly also facilitated the introduction into England of ideas regarding the heralds' own profession. French models, so important under Henry V, had now largely ceased to

¹¹⁹ 'Bastard of Burgundy', *Excerpta Historica*, p. 204.

¹²⁰ 'Bastard of Burgundy', *Excerpta Historica*, p. 210-11. Independent evidence from a member of the Burgundian entourage suggests that the heralds were also responsible for the care of the Bastard's injured horse. This account is in the University Library at Utrecht, MS. 1177, fols. 186-225.

¹²¹ F.H. Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and in France* (London, 1918), Appendix VI 'Extracts from the Harleian MS. 69', pp. xliii-xlv. In the first place, Clarenceux King of Arms with Windsor Herald gave attendance, in the second Norroy with Leicester, in the third March with Chester. See also W.H. Black, *Illustrations of State and Chivalry from MSS Preserved in the Ashmolean Museum* (London, 1840), pp. iv, 25.

guide the increasingly corporate-minded English heralds, who probably saw more that was instructive in the corporation of heralds serving the ceremonially avaricious dukes of Burgundy. The highly institutionalised court of Charles the Bold included a college of heralds, complete with five or six Kings of Arms (including Garter's counterpart, 'Golden Fleece'), seven or eight heralds, and four pursuivants.¹²² Closely associated with the Order of the Golden Fleece, the ducal heralds had, moreover, organised, supervised, and recorded court pageantry and chivalric display for some hundred years before Duke Charles's accession,¹²³ and in 1473 the famous meeting at Trier between the duke and Emperor Frederick III became the subject of a widely-disseminated narrative. This narrative was known in England less than twelve months later.¹²⁴ Moreover, the renewed importance of the tournament on a scale not seen in England since the reign of Edward III, made it crucial that the English royal heralds observe and/or mimic the chivalric and ceremonial expertise of the practised ducal heralds.¹²⁵ Perhaps, too, Garter John Smert, a specialist in Anglo-Burgundian diplomacy, took an especial interest in the affairs of the duke's heralds.

By the time the heralds of the English Crown received their first charter of incorporation in 1484, they had reached new importance and skill in their work for the English court. They were now were serving as the publicity and marketing officers for a court greatly concerned with its public image, and their own

¹²² Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, p. 97; R. Vaughan, *Charles the Bold* (New York, 1973), p. 193; Calmette, *Golden Age*, p. 229.

¹²³ In 1430 Jehan Lefèvre, a herald of Duke Philip 'the Good', wrote a detailed, quasi-official account of his master's marriage to Isabel of Portugal. Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, p. 177.

¹²⁴ Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, pp. 141-4; *Paston Letters and Papers*, i, p. 592 where, on July 25, 1474, John Paston III requests his 'book of the metyng of the Dwke and of the Emperour'.

¹²⁵ Anglo, 'Anglo-Burgundian Feats of Arms', pp. 272-4.

incorporation has elsewhere been linked with the importance of ceremonial to the Yorkist kings of England.¹²⁶ Royal heralds were the acknowledged masters of ceremonial in the practical sense, and they were also uniquely responsible for the genealogical and armorial knowledge from which stemmed those emblems and badges that signalled the ascendancy of the House of York.¹²⁷ From the latter half of the fifteenth century comes a striking contrast between the heralds' activities under the Yorkist kings on the one hand, and under Henry VI on the other, and the absence before 1461 of anything like the corpus of narrative accounts that had its genesis in the reign of Edward IV. Only one (perhaps two) of the extant heraldic narratives of those I have yet uncovered is of earlier provenance, possibly owing to its connection with the heralds' more primitive function as marshals and messengers of the battlefield, and to the increased internecine warfare in England during the middle decades of the fifteenth century. Most of the heralds' accounts, however, post-date the deposition of Henry VI in 1461, and from this time especially we see a marked increase in the number of accounts of the lavish royal ceremonial taking place at court. Indeed, it is difficult to escape the sense that the heralds of the English Crown belonged, after 1461, to a new renewed focus on ceremonial and pageantry to buttress the public image of the Yorkist regime and dynasty. The effect on the heralds' activities is manifest.

If it is still not clear by what 'administrative mechanisms' the heralds' manifold skills were 'harnessed to the needs of public image-making' at the Yorkist court,¹²⁸ there was nevertheless a clear need for the heralds themselves to establish a reliable body

¹²⁶ Armstrong, 'Inauguration ceremonies', p. 73.

¹²⁷ Anglo, *Images*, pp. 29-30.

¹²⁸ Anglo, *Images*, p. 30.

of materials for the regulation of court ceremonial and pageantry, and essentially to re-establish 'ceremonial memory' after the comparative decline in court splendour during the 1440s and 50s. The expectation that heralds would keep some form of written record of these events was evident in the duke of Clarence's statutes of 1417, and from that time, too, the heralds had been expected to apply themselves to the improvement of their skills of identification and observation. The nature of their duties during the fifteenth century, and their opportunities for travel, made heralds valuable reporters, and probably also enabled them to introduce into England ceremonial styles and methods of management. Under Edward IV, an archive of ceremonial narratives preserved the checks, precedents and guidelines needed to support the heralds' practical employment at court. Indeed, the heralds' concerns here were nothing if not pragmatic, and on carefully noted claims and duties depended much of their income.¹²⁹

The heralds' developing ceremonial expertise drew them into closer connection with the machinery of the household, and encouraged their identity as a cohesive, hierarchical organisation connected to, and working for, the royal court. Whether this entitled them to Chamber privileges is doubtful, but they were certainly valuable court functionaries, who had outgrown their original confinement to the Courtyard, and whose principal member, Garter King of Arms, dined as a baron at court. The heralds' first charter of incorporation and their acquisition of Coldharbour was a natural culmination of their development and consolidation during the fifteenth century, and it clearly aided the accumulation of the heraldic memoranda, rolls of arms and much more.

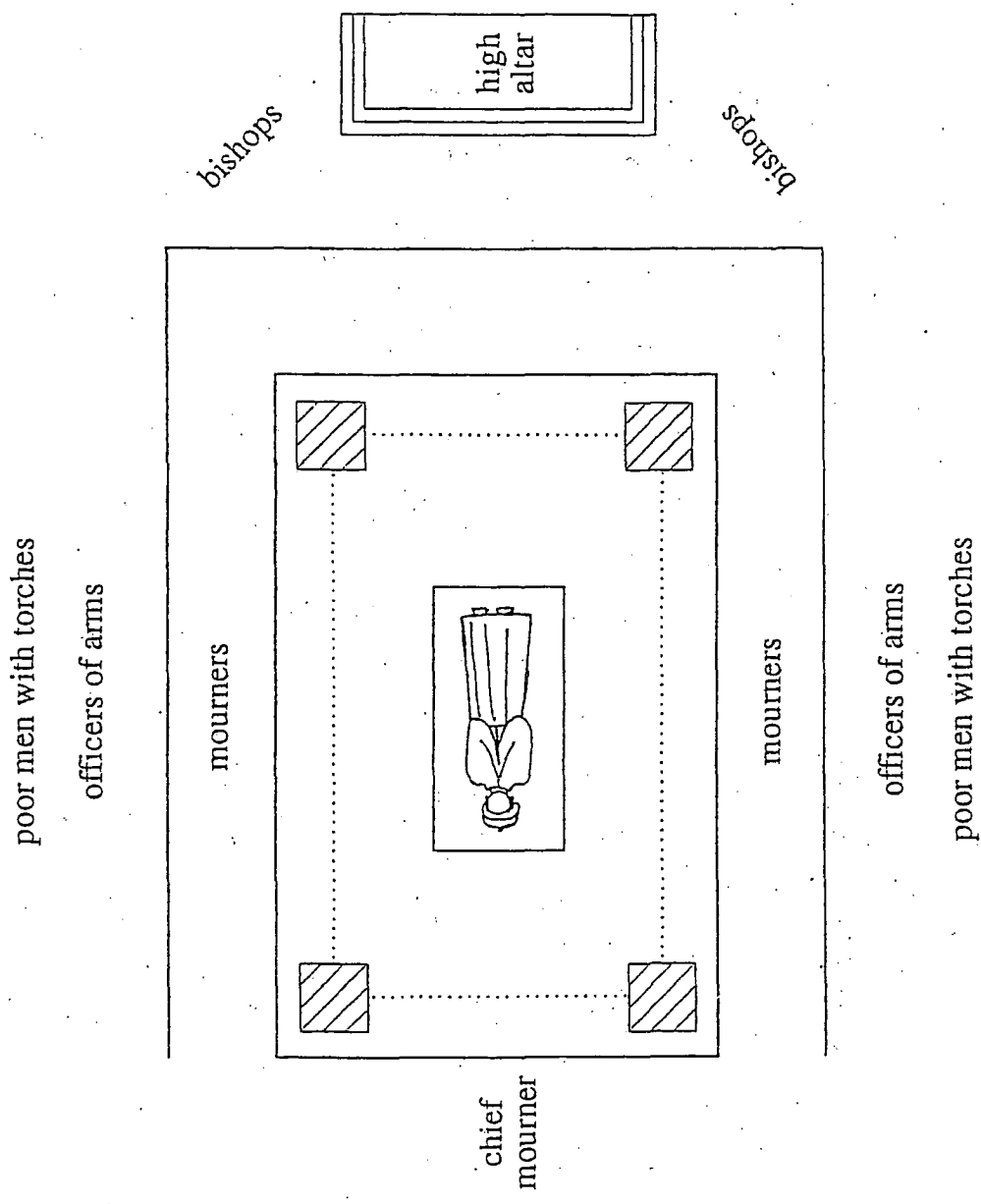
¹²⁹ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 72.

Fig. 2.1



From the engraved roll of the funeral of Sir Phillip Sidney in 1586. This image shows five heralds wearing mourning hoods and carrying the helm, spurs, gauntlets, tabard, sword and shield of the deceased.

Fig. 2.2



A plan of a hearse showing the position of the heralds
Printed in Sutton et al, *The Reburial of Richard Duke of York*
21-30 July 1487, p. 6.

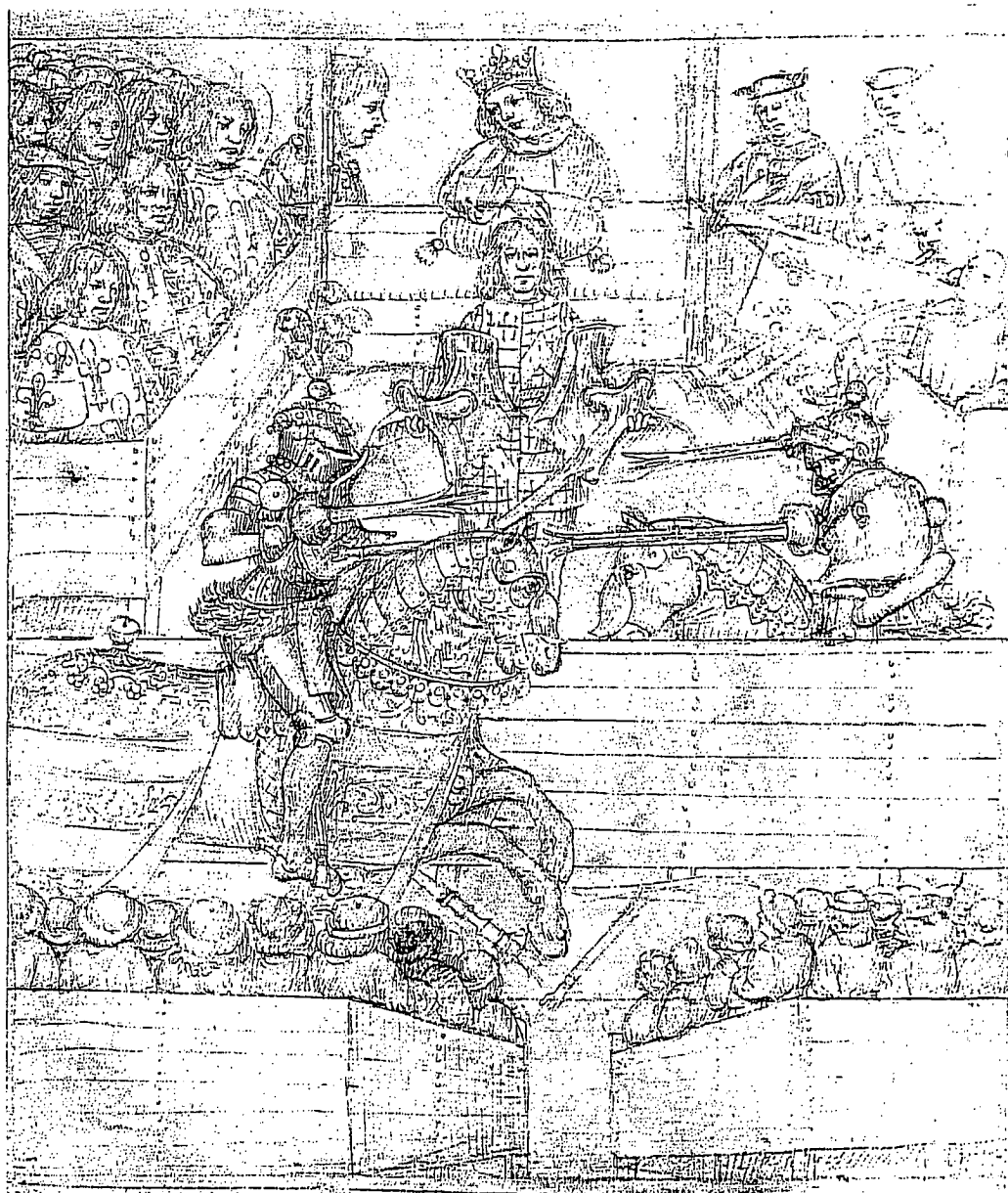
Fig. 2.3



William de Montagu, 1st Lord Montagu
Baron of Salisbury, 1st Earl of Salisbury
Baron of Lincoln, 1st Earl of Lincoln
Baron of Gloucester, 1st Earl of Gloucester
Baron of Hereford, 1st Earl of Hereford
Baron of Worcester, 1st Earl of Worcester
Baron of Exeter, 1st Earl of Exeter
Baron of Devon, 1st Earl of Devon
Baron of Cornwall, 1st Earl of Cornwall

William, 1st Lord Montagu
Salisbury Roll of Arms, c. 1463
BL, Loan MS. 90, p. 186

Fig. 2.4



BL, MS. Cotton Julius E. VI, fol. 15

The expectation that heralds, both private and royal, would supervise a late-fifteenth century tourney is attested by a pictorial record, from c.1485, of the life of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick (1382-1439). Beauchamp is depicted here titling at Guines in 1414 against Gerard Herbaumes, the *chevalier rouge*. The King of France presides from the middle scaffold; Warwick Herald, the earl's own herald, stands below. On the balcony to the left are the heralds of France.

2.4 Heraldic Narratives, 1461-1485.

The narrative records penned by English heralds of the fifteenth century belong to a distinct and important genre of which relatively little has been said by present-day scholars. While great interest was shown during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the historical utility of certain of the narratives, scholars have tended to adopt a dismissive approach to the writings collective, as was demonstrated in 1913 by C.L. Kingsford's reference to 'little [for the Yorkist period] of a strictly contemporary character, except some records of state ceremonies drawn up by heralds or court officials'.¹³⁰ To date I have found only two recent articles dealing with the subject of an heraldic narrative genre.¹³¹ Yet, the corpus of extant heraldic accounts of the mid. to late fifteenth century in particular represents not only a valuable source of materials for the study of court life and heraldic occupation at the time, but also a critically important context for our understanding of the court memoir edited below. It is for the latter reason especially that I will now examine the heraldic narrative corpus in more detail.

Typically little more than a series of memoranda written in the vernacular and bound by a loose narrative thread, many of the extant heraldic accounts appear to be 'unpublished', in-house reports not designed for a readership outside the body of English heralds and their associates, and housed in manuscripts that range from scribal fair copies to the roughest of note-books compiled in the herald's own hand.

¹³⁰ Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, p. 178. More recently, Maurice Keen touched on the subject of heraldic narrative records: M. Keen, 'Chivalry, Heralds and History', in Davies, R.H.C. and J.M. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages. Essays Presented to Richard William Southern* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 393-414.

Seemingly written into narrative form from notes made at the event, several of the accounts still contain blank spaces for names, dates and further details; others are supplemented by memory or hearsay; most are compiled in the unadorned, slightly repetitious language of minutes or journal entries; almost all appear to have functioned in the first instance as works of record or precedent in the 'complex and contentious world of ceremony and chivalry'.¹³² As one modern literary scholar has already pointed out, the extant corpus of heraldic narrative accounts may be divided into a number of different subject categories,¹³³ and these categories clearly derive from the manifold preoccupations of the English heralds during the fifteenth century and earlier.

The conditions under which the fifteenth-century heralds laboured to give effect to their record-keeping skills evidently varied. In most cases the officers attendant upon the events they described were well-placed to see, but there were those who had cause for complaint. William Ballard appears to have worked in conditions similar to those of modern-day journalists when he wrote of the jousts of the marriage celebrations of the Duke of York in 1478: 'The presse was soe great that I might not see to write the names of them that served; the abundance of the noble people were so innumerable'.¹³⁴ His frustration was echoed five years later by a herald at the funeral of Edward IV, who proclaimed himself unable to 'order how they offred, by cause the prese of the people was soo great bytwene them and me...'¹³⁵ The chronicler of the

¹³¹ Lester, 'Heraldic Narrative', pp. 201-12; G.A. Lester, 'The Literary Activity of Medieval English Heralds', *English Studies*, 71 (1990), pp. 222-9.

¹³² M.J. Bennett, *Lambert Simnel and the Battle of Stoke* (Gloucester, 1987), p. 10.

¹³³ Lester, 'Heraldic Narrative', pp. 202ff.

¹³⁴ Black, *Illustrations*, p. 131. See also Wagner, *Records and Collections*, p. 8.

¹³⁵ 'The funeral of Edward IV', p. 10.

marriage celebrations of Margaret of York in 1467/8 was frustrated both by a violent rainstorm that ‘cam so fast I myght not wryt the certeinte [*sic*] of the presentacions’, and by the subtlety of the same pageants, which he feared to describe ‘because all was cuntenaunce and no wordes’.¹³⁶

Several of the heralds’ narratives are closely associated with their duties on the field of battle. It is perhaps not surprising that a battle narrative numbers among those few surviving texts from the corpus that pre-date the first reign of Edward IV, for the exercise of the traditional battlefield duties by the English heralds was greatly encouraged by that ‘broken sequence of battles, murders, executions, and armed clashes between neighbours’¹³⁷ that beset fifteenth-century England. Among the heralds’ duties in war, as discussed in Section 2.3, was the recording of the names of participants and of the injured and dead, and on occasions such lists were worked into loose accounts of the battles for which they were compiled. In certain cases, the lists and accounts appear to have functioned as news-letters and hand bills dispatched from the field, even as casualties were still being identified. An account of the first battle of St Albans in 1455,¹³⁸ between the forces of Henry VI and those of the duke of York and the earls of Warwick and Salisbury, is characterised by the appearance of the dukes of Buckingham and Somerset, who assembled under the king’s banner ‘wyth other dyverse Knyghtes, Squyeres, and other gentilmen & yemen, to the Nounbr[e] of ij. M & moo’. Written up very soon after the event, the account comprises a summary of King Henry’s strategy, a list of those assembled on either

¹³⁶ ‘Margaret’, *Archaeologia*, pp. 331, 328.

¹³⁷ K.B. McFarlane, ‘The Wars of the Roses’ in K.B. McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century. Collected Essays*, introd. G.L. Harriss (London, 1981), p. 231.

¹³⁸ ‘First Battle of St. Albans’, pp. 519-523.

side, the text of letters carried between the contending parties, a version of the speech of the duke of York to his council of war, a summary of the skirmish itself, a list of the slain (including the duke of Somerset and the earl of Northumberland), a list of the injured with their injuries (the king, struck in the neck by an arrow), a brief list of the craven who fled the field (the earl of Wiltshire and others), and a notice of the resolution of the conflict.¹³⁹ This account might well have been compiled from the list of combatants and casualties at St. Albans, belonging to the Paston collections.¹⁴⁰

A comprehensive list of the battle-dead at Tewkesbury in 1471, together with precise account of their places of burial, found its way into the *Chronicle of Tewkesbury Abbey* soon after its compilation, and is almost certainly the work of a herald from the field. Among those killed was Prince Edward, ‘slayne and buried in ye mydste of ye covent quiere in ye monastery ther’. The list concludes with the names of those presented to the king and pardoned, including Queen Margaret, and was perhaps from the pen of a herald with Lancastrian sympathies.¹⁴¹ A third account tells of Edward IV’s suppression of rebellions in Northumberland in the year 1464. Little more than a series of memoranda, this account comprises description of the siege of Bamburgh and the deployment of ordnance, a verbatim account of the dealings of Chester and Warwick Heralds with the rebellious Ralph Grey, and a version – complete with gruesome detail – of the speech of the earl of Worcester, Constable of England, in condemning Grey to public degradation and execution.¹⁴² Moreover, during his

¹³⁹ ‘First Battle of St. Albans’, pp. 522-3. See also *Paston Letters and Papers*, ii, p. 116.

¹⁴⁰ ‘The Battle of St. Albans’, *Paston Letters* n.c.e., pp. 29-30.

¹⁴¹ ‘Tewkesbury Abbey’, pp. 377-8.

¹⁴² ‘Than, Sir Rauf Grey, this shal be thy penaunce, – thou shalt goo on thy feet unto the towneseend, and there thou shalt be laide downe and drawen to a scaffold maade for thee, and that though shalt

travels in Norfolk in December 1477 the antiquarian William Worcester managed to acquire from Walter Bellengier, then Ireland King of Arms, the names of the principal English combatants at Verneuil in 1424.¹⁴³ Perhaps the names derived from an original, early list, compiled by a herald in the Anglo-French wars under Henry VI; perhaps it was Ireland's own compilation from information preserved among the English heralds.

Peace-time matters were also the focus of English heraldic note keeping, and the record for the years 1471 and 1472, left by the unknown Bluemantle Pursuivant,¹⁴⁴ is of interest for its description of domestic and foreign affairs in England, and for the apparent intimacy of its compiler with the daily life of court. Comprising a number of brief memoranda together with passages of more detailed description, Bluemantle's record is chiefly concerned with the events at the court of Edward IV in 1471-2, with the sending of 'me, Blewmantell pursevant' on a diplomatic excursion to the court of Charles the Bold of Burgundy, and with the festivities at the reception of Louis de Gruthuse, Edward IV's erstwhile host in exile. The account commences with a series of very brief memoranda of the celebration of Christmas, New Year and Epiphany 1471, before tracing the departure from Winchelsea of the English ambassadorial party, in April 1472, its arrival on the Continent, and Bluemantle's own ride to forewarn the duke. It then describes briefly the lavish reception of Louis de Gruthuse

have thyne hede smite of thi body, to be buriede in the freres; thi heede where it pleased the Kyng.' *Warkworth's Chronicle*, pp. 36-9; 39. The original is in College of Arms, MS. L.9.

¹⁴³ William Worcester, *Itineraries*, ed. John H. Harvey (Oxford, 1969), p. 3. In addition, a fifteenth-century heraldic record of the siege of Calais in 1346, comprising a brief notice and a list of campaigners, is printed in *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, pp. 81-5.

¹⁴⁴ 'Bluemantle Pursuivant', pp. 379-88; Julius B. XII, fols 8v-66r. Four men are known to have held the office of Bluemantle Pursuivant in the time of Edward IV: Henry French or Franke, Richard Champneys, Thomas Hollingsworth and Roger Bromley. Godfrey et al, *College of Arms*, p. 193.

in England and his creation as earl of Winchester. Like the memoir of 1486-90, Bluemantle's record appears to be a piecemeal composition, written up from eye-witness notes taken over a two-year period, and it entertains a similar heterogeneity of subject matter and 'rawness' of reportage to that displayed by the memoir.

Clearly the most numerous of the surviving heraldic accounts from the latter half of the fifteenth century are records of individual ceremonies or public events. The extant funeral narratives typically commence with a brief notice of the date and place of the person's death, together a memorandum of the dressing, embalming and spicing of the corpse, and of its display to the lords of the realm 'by the space of ij. dayes and more if the weder will it suffre'.¹⁴⁵ Great detail informs the descriptions of the dressing of the body and the hearse, from the rich cloths and silken cords used to wrap the deceased, to the intricate heraldic devices proclaiming the dead person's station and pedigree. In the case of the several accounts of the re-interment of Richard duke of York in 1476, the focus is upon the effigy of the deceased and/or upon the exhuming of the bones.¹⁴⁶ In the solemn procession from the place of embalming to the place of burial, a journey which usually took several days, careful note was taken of the order in which the people processed, of those who took part in the watch and offering, and of the manner in which the procession came to the place of service. The day before Edward IV's burial, his corpse was reportedly borne into Westminster Abbey by diverse knights and esquires for the body, preceded by a great procession of bishops and archbishops, accompanied by the officers of arms and four knights carrying banners of the Trinity, Our Lady, St George and St Edward, and followed by a great procession of lords temporal. Alone of the surviving funeral narratives, at least

¹⁴⁵ 'Funeral of Edward IV', p. 3.

one account of the burial of Edward IV is prefaced by an excerpt from a contemporary prescriptive text for the regulation of funeral solemnities.¹⁴⁷

Similar attention to order of precedence and the identity of the chief participants occurs in the extant eye-witness descriptions of coronations during the Yorkist period. The account of the coronation of Elizabeth Woodville was chiefly concerned with the order of the secular processions and the function of the noble participants, and it bears little descriptive elaboration. From the accounts of the double coronation of Richard III and Anne Neville at the end of the period, we learn not only ‘the names of the Dukes Erelles Lordes and Knightes that were at the Crownacion of kinge Richard the iijde and Queene Anne’, but also the appearance of the principal participants, the order of the procession to the Abbey, with details of who carried the regalia and who performed which office, and details of the coronation, the coronation banquet and the ceremony of the challenge by the king’s champion. We are told that King Richard and Queen Anne went barefoot upon a new ray cloth to St. Edward’s shrine at Westminster; ahead walked first trumpets and clarions, then heralds in the king’s coat of arms, then a ‘royal procession’ of lords spiritual and temporal. Also evident are minor diversions from precedent and from the order of events set out in the ‘Little Device’.¹⁴⁸ By contrast to the great ceremonial detail, what little is said of the

¹⁴⁶ Sutton et al, *Reburial*, p. 13, 20, 31.

¹⁴⁷ ‘Funeral of Edward IV’, p. 3.

¹⁴⁸ Certain individuals carried different pieces of regalia from those prescribed, and the placement of the peers after the king, and the knights after the queen, was seemingly the reverse of orthodox practice. Sutton and Hammond, *Richard III*, p. 255. The memoranda set down by a herald at Elizabeth Woodville’s coronation in 1465 suggest that precedent was not always followed on this occasion either: due to the vacancy of the Bishopric of Bath, the bishop of Salisbury walked in procession on one side of the queen, while the minority of the hereditary Constable, the young duke of Buckingham,

crowning and anointing is imperfect and rather confused, almost certainly owing to the writer's lack of familiarity with, and/or disinterest in, the church proceedings.¹⁴⁹

The surviving account of the christening of Princess Bridget, on the other hand, is brief and singularly unadorned with description. Although it commences with a familiar style of introductory notice detailing the day and place of the event in question, the record comprises only a short list of the chief participants and their roles, set out in the order in which these people marched in the baptismal procession. The procession commenced with torches borne by the knights, esquires 'and other honneste Parsonnes'; next the Lord Maltravers carried the basin, the earl of Northumberland bore 'a Taper not light', the earl of Lincoln the salt, and so on. The godmothers at the font on this occasion were the baby's eldest sister and her paternal grandmother, Elizabeth of York and Cecily, duchess of York; the Lady Maltravers was godmother to the confirmation. Only one item of ceremonial description is offered: 'And in the Tyme of the christeninge, the officers of Armes caste on their cotes... And then were light' all the forsayde Torches.'

Rather lengthier and more detailed accounts have survived for the marriage festivities of Margaret of York in 1468, and Richard, duke of York in 1477. These two accounts are of great interest not only for their attention to ceremonial detail, order of proceedings, and the identity and appearance of chief participants, but also for their depiction of the fantastic *pas d'armes* with which royal marriages were typically celebrated during the reign of Edward IV. The former account, probably written by

left the way open for the discharge of dual offices by the earl of Arundel, hereditary Butler. The notorious earl of Warwick is conspicuously absent from the record.

¹⁴⁹ Sutton and Hammond, *Richard III*, p. 255.

one of the heralds who attended Princess Margaret, commences with Princess Margaret's departure from London on Saturday June 18 1468, and proceeds with her progress to Stratford Priory, accompanied by the earl of Warwick and a great following of noble persons. The Princess's public experiences during the weeks before her marriage are recounted in detail, as she made her devotions at Canterbury, resided at Margate, and sailed into the harbour at Sluys with a great fleet from the royal navy sufficient to conduct her entourage. At Sluys she was visited daily by the chivalrous duke of Burgundy, and on the morning of Sunday July 10, she was married in the town of Damme, before making a triumphant entry into Bruges. The herald-recorder also demonstrates his engagement with his editorial techniques, stating - among other things - that he would pass over the lengthy parable told by the Bishop of Tournai and move on to his first matter, and that he would forbear to write of the nine days of jousting, for it would take far too long and was adequately described in Garter's French account.¹⁵⁰ While the herald's account of the remarkable tournaments which followed Princess Margaret's marriage is considerably less than the full narration provided by Olivier de la Marche, grand master of the Burgundian royal household, he nevertheless describes in detail the tourney and jousts of the final day of celebrations.¹⁵¹ Indeed, the herald's account of the marriage celebrations complements an account of the same event penned by John Paston III in conveying the breath-taking magnificence of the Burgundian court and its effect upon the English visitors.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ 'Margaret', *Archaeologia*, pp. 330, 332, 337.

¹⁵¹ 'Margaret', *Excerpta Historica*, p. 338.

¹⁵² *Paston Letters and Papers*, i, pp. 538-9.

Where Princess Margaret's herald deliberately omitted details of the nine days of jousting at Bruges which formed part of the wedding celebrations,¹⁵³ the chronicler of the marriage of Richard of York and Anne Mowbray in 1477/78 dwelt at length upon the feats of arms performed by Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales, in honour of his nephew's marriage. This account demonstrates in large measure the influence of Burgundian armorial developments upon the English tournament, for Lord Scales arrived at the lists dressed as a hermit and riding in an elaborate pageant car in the form of a hermitage 'walled and covered with black velvet, windowed... in form of glasse, a crosse of Saint Anthony with a bell ringinge, and a paire of beades'.¹⁵⁴ Descriptive accounts such as these remain one of the chief sources of evidence for the spectacle and procedure of fifteenth-century English tournaments.¹⁵⁵

Perhaps the most compelling evidence for the association of the accounts briefly described above with the English Crown heralds is the great attention shown in all but two to the role of the officers of arms in the events depicted.¹⁵⁶ In certain cases only has the author explicitly identified himself as a herald; yet, elsewhere careful reference is made to the place of heralds in the funeral *cortège* and other processions, to the identity, by office title, of those heralds performing duties at a funeral,

¹⁵³ He explains that: 'to wryt of the Justs that daylye was, durringe the forsaide ix dayes, in the markett place of Briggis, is over longe a thinge to be wyttten in this abrevyatt: Garttier, the kinge of armes, hathe it in Frenche, and for that cause I leve to wrytt'. 'Margaret', *Excerpta Historica*, p. 337.

¹⁵⁴ This is the earliest known record of the use of a Burgundian-style pageant car in England. See G. Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (The Hague, 1977), pp. 123-25.

¹⁵⁵ S. Anglo, 'Financial and Heraldic Records of the English Tournament', *JSA*, 2 (1960-4), pp. 183-95.

¹⁵⁶ Neither the account of the coronation of Elizabeth Woodville in 1465, nor the short *Arrival* contains any mention of heralds.

coronation, christening and the like, to the institution of new heraldic offices,¹⁵⁷ to the rewards and payments received by the heralds, and to such specific details as ‘Mr Norry cryed ye larges in iij places of the hall, because Mr Garter had an Impediment in his tonge’.¹⁵⁸ Ceremonial accounts frequently include notices of the crying of largess, whom was cried, and in what style, and on occasion the precise amount paid to the heralds was also recorded. Indeed, amounts owed to the heralds were occasionally inserted in successive redactions of ceremonial accounts originally produced during the reign of Edward IV. This was case, for example, with the narrative of the burial of the earl of Salisbury in 1463.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, one or two accounts bear reference to other works probably prepared by the English heralds, including Garter’s French narrative of the jousts in honour of Princess Margaret’s wedding, and a watch roll, in which were recorded the identities of the peers and heralds set to guard King Edward’s corpse before its interment.¹⁶⁰

There can be little doubt that narratives described above were primarily working documents. Compiled as much for record and precedent as out of interest for their subject material, their proliferation after the mid-century was linked with the need, discussed in Section 2.3, to re-establish ‘ceremonial memory’ from the 1460s onward, and their increase in scope under Edward IV consequent upon the heralds’ developing

¹⁵⁷ ‘Bluemantle Pursuivant’, p. 384, notes Edward IV’s establishment of the office of Richmond King of Arms. See also the memoir at Julius B. XII, fol. 61r, and the account of the creation of Henry duke of York, Cotton Julius B. XII, fol. 93r, for notices of the institution of the offices of Wallingford Pursuivant and Dorset Herald respectively.

¹⁵⁸ ‘Bluemantle Pursuivant’, p. 384.

¹⁵⁹ A number of accounts of this event have survived. One of them, College. of Arms, MS. I.15, fol. 217v, includes the fees, allowances of blacks, and other duties and fees for Garter, Clarenceux and other of the heralds and pursuivants attending a noble funeral.

¹⁶⁰ ‘Margaret’, *Archaeologia*, p. 337.

expertise and practical responsibilities at court. Precision and detail were paramount, and those accounts that survive are strikingly derivative of eye-witness experience and the intimacy of the recorder with the events he describes. The account of the marriage of Prince Margaret and Duke Charles of Burgundy in 1468, is noteworthy for its abundance of descriptive detail, from careful account of the pageantry performed in honour of Margaret's arrival, to descriptions of the clothing worn by the princess and the duke's splendid appearance on the day of the wedding. The same chronicler also expressed delight at 'the richest juwell that I have seen' adorning the duke of Burgundy's horse harness, and proclaimed the wedding feast truly 'mervellous to me'.¹⁶¹ In his own record, Bluemantle Pursuivant offered an informed assessment of the duke of Burgundy's vanguard, noting down that 'to my Jugement ther was mor then a M. cartes charged w^t gonnes, tentes, vytalles, mylles, pauys, gunstones and innumerable necessaryes...'¹⁶²

For utilitarian reasons, too, the heralds' standard of accuracy with names, dates, the rank of peers and order of precedence, and with the minutiae of ceremonial and ritual was typically high. The surviving accounts maintain a certain uniformity of interest, arrangement of material and expression. Lists of names are commonly arranged in hierarchical order under the category heading of rank: later, as I shall presently discuss, one also finds knights grouped into retinues. Such lists could be used by the heralds themselves for the registering of the knights' fee payment on the occasion of their creation, or to provide clear information in a news-letter or similar dispatches from the field. Since ceremonial accounts were composed chiefly for ease of practical replication, questions of precedence or ritual, or notices on the omission of

¹⁶¹ 'Margaret', *Archaeologia*, pp. 335, 336.

information were often cited. Thus the list of the dead at the first battle of St. Albans, which included more people than had been identified at the time of reporting, concludes with the statement ‘and xxv. mo whych her names be not _et knowen’. The account of the funeral of Edward IV bears the memorandum ‘But there was a question whether the sonne and heier of an erle should go above a vicounte’.¹⁶³ It seems strange that such questions were raised in the narratives, and not at the time of marshalling, and it may be that these accounts also represented the very means by which procedural questions were raised and resolved by the heralds. At other times blank spaces were left in the text for names and dates, presumably for insertion later; some spaces remained unfilled.

Many of the extant accounts were also supplemented by oral report and hearsay, public proclamations, official or quasi-official written documents, and other works originating both from within, and outside, the body of heralds in the service of the Crown. The record of the first battle of St Albans contains texts of the letters carried between the contending parties, an exact account of the speech made by the rebellious Duke of York to his council of war, and a summary of the proclamation to announce the cessation of battle.¹⁶⁴ The account of the defeat of Sir Ralph Grey is allegedly based upon a report from Chester and Warwick Heralds, who were involved in the pre-battle communications with the rebel knight.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² ‘Bluemantle Pursuivant’, p. 382.

¹⁶³ ‘Funeral of Edward IV’, p. 9.

¹⁶⁴ ‘The first Battle of St. Albans’, pp. 519-23.

¹⁶⁵ *Warkworth's Chronicle*, p. 37. The nature of the ‘heroudes reporte’ mentioned in this account is unclear, but the wording of the statement suggests that Chester and Warwick Heralds possibly produced a written statement of their role at the siege of Bamburgh.

Moreover, great similarity between certain of the surviving ceremonial accounts and the details set out in contemporary prescriptive texts for the regulation of the same events, a number of which were also compiled or owned by heralds, suggests that the heralds' reports were, on occasion at least, compiled with the assistance of these documents. Numerous texts for the regulation of ceremonial generally or for the organisation of specific events circulated within the body of heralds at the latter half of the fifteenth century, and a number of originals or later redactions may still be found among the records and collections of the College of Arms of England.¹⁶⁶ The inclusion of samples of prescriptive text in the English narrative of the reburial of Richard of York and the account of Edward IV's burial, and a prescriptive statement incorporated – perhaps accidentally – into one report of the coronation of Richard III further suggests that the ceremonial accounts were compiled, at least partly, for guidance.¹⁶⁷ Indeed, the occasion of Richard duke of York's reburial in 1476 was prepared with a wealth of prescriptive texts, inventories and more, and a great number of these survive today.

The scope and ambition of heraldic record-keeping expanded markedly under Edward IV, and inevitably several of the herald's narratives assumed a more sophisticated form. Other works appear to have found their way into chronicle sources – as was the case with *The Chronicle of Tewkesbury Abbey* – and in some cases the line between chronicle and heraldic record is difficult to draw. It is scarcely surprising, given the internecine strife dividing fifteenth-century England, that another, quite possibly

¹⁶⁶ See for example 'The maner of makynge Knyghtes after ye custome of England in tyme of peace, and at the coronacion, that is to say, Knyghtes of the Bathe' in *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, pp. 106-13.

¹⁶⁷ 'Funeral of Edward IV', p. 3; Sutton and Hammond, *Richard III*, p. 254.

heraldic, account featuring reports of warfare is almost wholly propagandist.¹⁶⁸ Recalling the momentous events between 10 March 1471, when Edward IV began his return from Burgundian exile ‘in greate parrill and daungier’, and 26 May, by which time he was once again on the English throne, the short version of *The Arrival of Edward IV* belongs to a family of similar narratives, in both English and French, of Edward IV’s return to England. Today, it exists in two mid sixteenth-century transcripts housed in heraldic compilations in the College of Arms and the British Library. While the whole account is unquestionably favourable to the Yorkist cause – and seemingly penned for a non-English audience¹⁶⁹ – its propagandists import is primarily revealed in the concluding paragraph: ‘And so, with the help of God, Our Lady, Sainte George, and all the saintes, ys fynnysshed and determyned the reentre and perfyght recover, touching the iuste tytle and right of our souerainge lorde kinge Edwarde the iiijth in and of his realme of Englande...’¹⁷⁰ Containing a number of important details of Edward IV’s campaigns of 1471, including a detailed itinerary of Edward’s movement against his enemies and sound military detail, the short *Arrival*, was almost certainly derived from the notes of a Yorkist herald and member of Edward’s entourage.

On the Continent, the *Arrival* was principally known in an extended form, commissioned by the government to be written in England for a wide audience.¹⁷¹ As

¹⁶⁸ R. Firth Green, ‘The short version of *The Arrival of Edward IV*’, *Speculum*, 56.2 (1981), pp. 324-36. Green provides a useful history of the two known English manuscript versions of the short *Arrival*.

¹⁶⁹ For example, the author notes that Edward came to the River Trent, ‘whiche ys nigh the myddell of his realme’ Green, ‘Short *Arrival*’, p. 326.

¹⁷⁰ Green, ‘Short *Arrival*’, p. 331.

¹⁷¹ A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, II, c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1982), p. 252.

an 'official' history clearly compiled in close proximity to the royal administration, the long version of the *Arrival* was copied verbatim by Jean de Waurin into his romance style chronicle of British history. Moreover, newsletters like those compiled by heralds on the battlefield or from the royal entourage, frequently served the propagandist designs of chroniclers working for the government during the Wars of the Roses, and may, in fact, hold the key to the origins of the *Arrival*, and a companion narrative, the *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire*.¹⁷² On other occasions, the resemblance of passages in both English and Continental narrative sources, including Vergil's, *Anglica Historia*, Warkworth's *Chronicle*, and Molinet's *Chroniques*, appear very likely to have benefited from the record-keeping expertise of the Yorkist and early Tudor heralds.

It is interesting, moreover, that two extant heraldic accounts devoted specifically to feats of arms – an early fifteenth-century depiction of the tournament victories of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick and an account of the Smithfield combat between Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales, and the Bastard of Burgundy – are more consciously literary compositions than the accounts of tournaments already discussed. The former, apparently written up soon after the event,¹⁷³ describes in flattering terms Richard Beauchamp's victories against three French knights, whom he fought disguised as 'le Chivaler vert', 'le Chivaler gryse' and 'le Chivaler attendaunt' respectively. The account of the Smithfield combat, preserved in the *Grete Book of*

¹⁷² Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 252, 264; Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, pp. 173-4.

¹⁷³ For example, the heralds writes: 'And this day of Armys with my seide lorde set upon the xiith day of Cristemasse last...' and refers to Beauchamp throughout as 'my lord'.

Sir John Paston,¹⁷⁴ is still more complex. A ‘clever assemblage of documents’¹⁷⁵ produced over a two-year period, the account includes letters of challenge, the minutes of the meeting held in advance to decide the rules of combat, and detailed specifications for the construction of the lists, as well as the more typical descriptive memoranda and a roll-call of names of those ‘beying present at the touchyng of the emprise’. It commences by explaining the obligation placed upon Lord Scales to perform a deed of arms, and proceeds in some 34 pages through the delivery (by Chester Herald) and acceptance of the challenge, the detailed preparations, the processions to the lists, the combat and, according to Chester Herald, the victory of the Englishman.

If chivalric historiography did not generally flourish in fifteenth-century England,¹⁷⁶ both of the tournament accounts mentioned above nevertheless bear resemblance to the basic chivalric histories penned by the heralds of England, France and Burgundy during the fifteenth century, and clearly reflect those twin heraldic obsessions with martial prowess and the legendary heroes like Arthur, Roland and Gawain.¹⁷⁷ These were also factors that urged the staging of the elaborate tourneys in which, for example, Richard earl of Warwick, fought the Green Knight of Arthurian romance. With the flowering of the full-scale tournament during the fifteenth century and the proliferation of literary monuments by ‘expert courtiers and heralds’ celebrating these events,¹⁷⁸ it is not surprising that the English heralds occasionally worked their own eye-witness descriptions and the articles of challenge into more polished works that

¹⁷⁴ BL, MS. Lansdowne 285, fols. 29v-43r.

¹⁷⁵ Lester, ‘Heraldic Narrative’, p. 206.

¹⁷⁶ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 274, 288.

¹⁷⁷ Keen, ‘Chivalry’, pp. 405-7.

proclaimed the valour of individual knights or celebrated grand events. English heralds had, of course, turned their hand to literary compositions in times past, as was the case with Chandos Herald, but now the influence of the activities of Burgundian heralds upon the officers of arms of the English Crown almost certainly extended to the latter's record keeping prowess. The narrative account of the famous Trier meeting of 1473 was itself a likely example of a herald's use of draft notes to produce an account for general dissemination.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ Anglo, 'Anglo-Burgundian Feats of Arms', pp. 271-2.

¹⁷⁹ See also S. Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* (New Haven and London, 2000), pp. 18-9.

2.5 Heralds at Court, 1485-1490

The royal heralds of England enjoyed the use of Coldharbour for little more than a year. King Richard was butchered on Bosworth field in August 1485, and his body, ‘dyspoylid to the skyn, and nowgth beyng lefft abouth hym, soo much as wold covyr his pryvy membyr’, was trussed like a hog and borne, bloodied and filthy, to a church in Leicester.¹⁸⁰ The cancellation of King Richard’s acts by his supplanter, Henry VII, left the heralds once more without a corporate home,¹⁸¹ their common library in disarray, and several of the royal heralds without employment. Garter John Writhe, Clarenceux Thomas Holme and John Water, York Herald, were temporarily suspended from office at the beginning of the reign:¹⁸² it might have been due to Holme’s loyalty to Richard III that for him alone of the royal heralds no tabard was prepared for King Henry’s coronation.¹⁸³ Moreover, with the repossession of Coldharbour by the Crown the office of Garter King of Arms, to which the governance of the house and library had been attached, relinquished the only tangible expression of its authority.

It is possible, of course, that the heralds continued legally a corporation under Henry VII, despite the loss of their corporate residence, and that the Act of Resumption of

¹⁸⁰ *Great Chronicle*, p. 238.

¹⁸¹ Henry Tudor’s motivation for the repossession of Coldharbour is uncertain, although in June 1486 he commissioned building and repairs on the house, and in 1487 granted it to his mother, the Lady Margaret Beaufort. *Materials*, i, p. 406; PRO. E404/50 (328). A petition from the heralds to Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk and Earl Marshal in the 1520s states that Henry VII had mistaken Coldharbour for John Writhe’s private dwelling. Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 134.

¹⁸² On 13th February, 1486 Writhe had new letters patent confirming for life his original appointment as Garter by Edward IV and granting him in arrears his salary from the time of Henry VII’s accession. *CPR.*, Henry VII, i, p. 57.

¹⁸³ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 135.

1485 merely facilitated the *de facto* recovery of Coldharbour by the Crown.¹⁸⁴ Indeed, even as Garter Writhe and others temporarily fell from royal favour, Henry Tudor brought his friend Roger Machado, Richmond Herald, onto the Crown establishment and made him a King of Arms.¹⁸⁵ Henry Tudor was also responsible for the creation of the ordinary pursuivants Rouge Dragon and Portcullis, five new garrison pursuivants, and Wallingford Pursuivant for the Prince of Wales.¹⁸⁶ In 1487, he confirmed an agreement made in Chapter for the heralds' attendance at court in rotation, and he later established the appointment of heralds and pursuivants by patent, in the manner to which Kings of Arms were already accustomed.¹⁸⁷ By the 1490s the officers of arms of the Crown, and especially Garter Writhe, appear to have been high in the king's favour.¹⁸⁸

The surviving narrative accounts produced during the early years of the reign of Henry VII, together with supplementary sources, reveal no significant change in the heralds' ceremonial activities at court. The several extant versions of the 'Little Device' emended for the coronation of Henry VII,¹⁸⁹ while not strictly of the genre

¹⁸⁴ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 134-5.

¹⁸⁵ See also *Select Cases in the Exchequer chamber before all the Justices of England*, ed. M. Hemmant, 2 vols. (Selden Soc., London, 1948), ii, 1461-1509, pp. 98-99; Machado was employed that same year as 'the king's searcher in the port of Southampton and in all adjacent ports and places', with a commission to examine all vessels entering and leaving these ports. *CFR*, p. 85.

¹⁸⁶ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 56; Julius B. XII, fol. 61r.

¹⁸⁷ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 99.

¹⁸⁸ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 137.

¹⁸⁹ The version to which I refer is BL, MS. Eg. 985, fols. 1-11r, dating from early in the reign of Henry VIII. This document has been edited in Legg, *Coronation Records*, pp. 220-39. Other versions of the 'Little Device' for Henry VII include BL, MSS. Add. 18 669 (defective), Harl. 5111, fol. 77ff (of later date and also defective), and W. Jerdan, *Rutland Manuscript*, pp. 1-24. Another version, sometimes attributed to Henry VIII, but in fact also for the coronation of Henry VII, is BL, MS. Cotton Tib. E. VIII, fols. 90-100.

under discussion, nevertheless demonstrate the continued place of the heralds in the processions that accompanied a fifteenth-century coronation. Additional information not present in the Ricardian versions throws light on the heralds' involvement in marshalling the processional order of the knights of the Bath at their creation, two days before the coronation.¹⁹⁰ Extant accounts of the coronations of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, in 1485 and 1487 respectively, reveal similar detail.¹⁹¹

Two seemingly independent, eye-witness accounts of Prince Arthur's christening likewise show that the heralds maintained their place and function in the baptismal procession; an account of the baptism of Princess Margaret, three years later, specifies that Garter King of Arms walked ahead of the Constable.¹⁹² Heralds also took part in the processions that accompanied the creation of Arthur as Prince of Wales in November 1489, while the existence of a series of instructions penned by Garter Writhe less than a week before the event, and corresponding closely to the memoir's account of Arthur's creation, demonstrates the supervisory and organisational roles played by the heralds on these occasion.¹⁹³ On feast days and at feasts attached to specific court solemnities, the heralds were again found in the royal processions,¹⁹⁴ and at the conclusion of Queen Elizabeth's coronation feast, they drank ceremoniously at the cupboard of the earl of Arundel, Great Butler.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁰ E.g. MS. Eg. 985, fol. 1v. This statement is odd, as it clearly refers to 'Garter knight of tharmis', which does not make sense.

¹⁹¹ Julius B. XII, fols. 38r-40r; Eg. 985, fols. 41rff.

¹⁹² Julius B. XII, fols. 21v-24r; 'Christenyng', pp. 104-5; Julius B. XII, fols. 61v-63r.

¹⁹³ College of Arms, MS. L8, fols. 17v-19. Five years later, it was Garter Writhe's special duty to carry the patent of Prince Henry's creation, as had Garter Smert at the creation of the earl of Winchester in 1472. Julius B. XII, fol. 92r.

¹⁹⁴ In 1487, they processed to evensong on Christmas Eve ahead of the king; on the eve of Epiphany as the king went to evensong, the heralds walked before the treasurer and controller of the king's house,

Evidence from a prescriptive text in the heralds' possession concerning early Henrician funeral solemnities, indicate that heralds still followed the precedents set at the funeral of the earl of Salisbury in 1463: five officers were stationed around the hearse until the time of the offering, each holding an item of the armour of the deceased.¹⁹⁶ The annual offering of the armour of deceased knights of the Garter, on the eve of the feast of St George, was still carried out by the officers of arms of the Crown in the manner to which they were accustomed at funerals.¹⁹⁷ Almost certainly, the funerals of the marquis of Berkeley in 1492, Princess Elizabeth in 1495, and John Viscount Welles in February 1498/9 required the same of the heralds.¹⁹⁸

while Garter walked further back in the procession, before the Constable. On Candlemass Day, Garter Writhe and Lion King of Arms of Scotland walked before the Constable and Marshal, while the other heralds processed ahead of the treasurer and steward of the king's house.

¹⁹⁵ Julius B. XII, fols 41v-42r.

¹⁹⁶ See Julius B. XII, fols. 7v-8r, under the heading 'This is the ordynaunce and guyding that perteyneth unto the worshipful beryying of any astate to be done in maner and fourme ensuyng'. Thus: 'Item it is to bee ordeignede standing v officers of armes aboute the saide herse: that is to say, on byfor the saide herse bering the cote of armes worship and he standing at the hede in the mydewarde of the saide hers; the ijde standing on the right side of the herse in the fore fronte bering his swerde; the iijde standing on the lifte side of the saide herse bering his helmet and creste; the iiijth on the right side of the saide hers in the nether parte of the hers bering his baner of armes; and the vth standing on the lifte side in the nether parte, he bering his penon, so standing till the offering'.

¹⁹⁷ Julius B. XII, fol. 50r. Nor do the heralds' duties at royal funerals appear to have changed much, even by the turn of the century, for in 1502, 1503 and 1509 respectively, the heralds of the Crown processed alongside the hearses of Prince Arthur, Queen Elizabeth and Henry VII. They also took part in the nocturnal watches and rituals of offering on all three occasions. In the case of the funeral of Prince Arthur, moreover, the record contains notice of the heralds' customary receipt of 'certayn stolys for moreners coveryd with blak clothe', and of the black cloth that both covered the hearse and was laid under foot. Arthur's funeral, *Receyt*, pp. 83, 89.

¹⁹⁸ College of Arms, MSS. I.3, fol. 8, I.11, fol. 32v, I.14, fols. 15b and 108, and I.3, fols. 32-33. *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne*, ed. G. Kipling, EETS (Oxford, 1990), Book 5, pp. 80-93; 'Funeral Ceremonies of Queen Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV and wife to Henry VII', F. Grose and T. Astle et al, *The Antiquarian Repertory*, n.e., ed. E. Jeffrey, 4 vols (London, 1807-9), i, pp. 654-663; 'The

Notices of the making of proclamations by English heralds appear rather more frequently in the heraldic narrative accounts that survive from the reign of Henry VII, and it is possible that this was an heraldic duty for which King Henry found especial use in the early years of his reign. An officer of arms was required to issue a proclamation before the coronation of Elizabeth of York, ordering all who held land by serjeanty to come forward to register their claims,¹⁹⁹ and it is also possible that the disciplinary regulations, issued in the town and the royal host before the battle of Stoke, were proclaimed by an officer of arms of the Crown.²⁰⁰ As I discuss in Chapter 4, his same set of disciplinary regulations certainly demonstrates the importance of heralds to the maintenance of discipline in the army.²⁰¹

Henry Tudor clearly made much use of his heralds' diplomatic expertise during the early years of his reign, and most of the Crown heralds were employed at one time or another on domestic and international excursions.²⁰² Roger Machado, Richmond King of Arms and sometime Norroy, was employed, possibly as a fully accredited ambassador, on a number of delicate missions: in 1489, he travelled to Spain and Portugal to treat for a marriage between Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon; he later travelled twice to Brittany.²⁰³ In September 1486, Garter John Writhe was absent

manner of bringinge of Kynge Henrie the VIIth's Corps from Richmonde... unto St. Powles Church in London...', Leland, *Collectanea*, vol. iv, pp. 303-09.

¹⁹⁹ Julius B. XII, fol. 30v.

²⁰⁰ Julius B. XII, fols. 26r-26v.

²⁰¹ Julius B. XII, fols. 27r-27v.

²⁰² See generally Godfrey et al, *College of Arms*.

²⁰³ Julius B. XII, fol. 52v. Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 138; Wagner, *HH*, p. 38. For Machado's journal of his missions see Gairdner (ed.), *Memorials*, pp. 157-99. Letters of instruction, in French, for his mission to Brittany in 1494 are printed in *Letters and Papers*, ii, pp. 292-6.

from court on a mission important enough to call him away at the time of Prince Arthur's christening. Indeed, the memoir of 1486-90 alone mentions four separate international embassies on which English royal heralds were present, and also contains several notices of the arrival of foreign herald-diplomats. Elsewhere we learn that Windsor Herald was one of the messengers employed to convey tidings of the developments in North Yorkshire during May 1489.²⁰⁴

There is, moreover, striking evidence to attest to the early Tudor heralds' compilation of pictorial records of important court ceremonials to supplement and clarify the information provided in their narrative accounts.²⁰⁵ In recounting the creation of knights of the Bath on the eve of Queen Elizabeth's coronation in 1487, the memoir makes reference to a pictorial record of the same event. Similarly, the queen's coronation procession is said to appear 'in the bok of picture therof made'.²⁰⁶ The former document has been tentatively identified as the elaborate series of illustrations which survives in a manuscript bequeathed by Garter Writhe to his son, Thomas Wriothesley, and which depicts the many stages of the ceremony of creation for the knights of the Bath. The heralds themselves are shown taking part in processions and performing certain duties in association with the knights' creation.²⁰⁷ [Fig. 2.5] While the compilation of armorials and other pictorial and diagrammatic records was among the English heralds' earliest functions, few, if any, illustrations of court ceremonial pre-date the reign of Henry VII.

²⁰⁴ *Paston Letters and Papers*, i, p. 658.

²⁰⁵ Anglo, *Images*, p. 30.

²⁰⁶ Julius B. XII, fols. 35r and 38v.

²⁰⁷ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 138, note to plates X to XII.

One further, critically important insight into heraldic activities derives solely from the memoir: the conduct of the herald-recorder on campaign or progress. Since, as I shall presently discuss, the memoir is a uniquely lengthy and composite narrative, containing the only eye-witness account of a royal progress that I have been able to locate, it is difficult to determine the extent to which the heralds' 'on-road' duties had actually developed since the reign of Edward IV. Nevertheless, on two occasions one or more heralds were commissioned, or – less likely – took it upon themselves, to compile descriptive, circumstantial accounts, from within the royal entourage. From these accounts it is evident that the early Henrician heralds were well-placed to observe events; were probably present at pre-battle councils; and were occasionally privy to personal report from civic dignitaries. Indeed, the 'field journalism' of heralds is nowhere more evident than here

It is clear, too, that the heralds of the English Crown continued very much a part of the royal household during the early years of Henry Tudor's reign, and for their work at court they still received an allowance and livery as they had at the Yorkist court and earlier.²⁰⁸ Indeed, Henry VII can have had no small need of his heralds' ceremonial expertise, for his was reputedly one of the more splendid courts in Europe at the time.²⁰⁹ A.R. Myers rightly noted that 'to impress the beholder with a display of magnificence based on strict supervision of expenditure seems to have been an example set by Edward IV to his successors',²¹⁰ and, despite Professor Elton's

²⁰⁸ *CPR*, Henry VII, i, pp. 137, 177.

²⁰⁹ M. van Cleave Alexander, *The First of the Tudors. A Study of Henry VII and his Reign* (London, 1981), p. 156; Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 306.

²¹⁰ Myers, *Black Book*, p. 48.

assertions to the contrary,²¹¹ Henry VII's court appears to have been from the first the model of measured splendour that the court of Edward IV had been. That magnificence was not only fitting but a necessity for Henry Tudor's court can be seen in the act of Resumption of 1485, where it was stated that: '...your Honorable household... must be kept and borne Worshipfully and Honorably, as it accordeth to the Honour of your Estate and your said Realme, by the whiche your Adversaries and Enemyes shall fall into the drede wherin heretofore they have byne'.²¹²

Only one document exists from the years 1485-90 to suggest any modification of the heralds' traditional attendance at court: in November 1487, the Kings of Arms and heralds, meeting at the chapter house at Windsor resolved that 'at every principal feast, great council and great business all the Kings, heralds and pursuivants should attend at court and that at other times a King, herald and pursuivant should always be in attendance together in a rotation then fixed, but none might sue to have a voyage during the waiting season of his fellows'.²¹³ Henry Tudor signed a bill requiring this ordinance to be kept. While the actual pattern of the heralds' attendance at court prior to the promulgation of this decree is unknown, it is unlikely that a fixed roster had been in place before 1487, and more probable that only a general pattern of attendance had been followed. Under Henry VI, as we have seen, this pattern appears to have comprised four (unspecified) heralds at any given period.²¹⁴

²¹¹ G.R. Elton, 'Tudor Government: The Points of Contact. III. The Court', *TRHS* (1976), p. 212.

²¹² *RP*, VI, p. 336.

²¹³ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 97.

²¹⁴ 'The Ordinance of 1445' in Myers, *Household*, p. 70.

Nor can we be certain from whose initiative the roster derived. It might have been imposed upon the heralds by Henry Tudor, either to ensure the more efficient execution of the heralds' waiting function, or in direct response to a crisis of discipline in the office of arms in England: it is impossible to know whether he devised the roster himself or commanded Garter Writhe to do so. On the other hand, the initiative might have belonged to the heralds, as an aspect of their corporate identity, or even as a means of ingratiating themselves with the new king, whose favour they clearly had to earn during the early years of the reign. At any rate, the new arrangement reflects the kind of omnipresent efficiency with which the bureaucratic Henry Tudor launched the new regime, and the roster's implications are clear. Now, as never before, the heralds' duty of waiting at court was fully systematised, and from this arrangement must have come the potential for the better regulation of court ceremonial, and for more systematic and thorough record-keeping than had hitherto been possible.

Thus, it may at first appear curious that the number of individual surviving documents corresponding to the earliest years of Henry Tudor's reign are very few indeed: a single account of King Henry's coronation; a short compilation of memoranda for Prince Arthur's christening; one or two lists of knights and loyalist combatants from Stoke Field; and the memoir. In fact, the key to the general paucity of independent, heraldic accounts for the early years of the reign lies in the very existence of the memoir. By far the most extensive and heterogeneous of all the surviving heraldic narratives of the fifteenth century, the memoir covers the king's activities from spring 1486 to the opening months of 1490, and is unique in its incorporation of virtually all of the narrative topics described in Section 2.4. It opens with an extended account of

the king's progress into the northern and western provinces of the realm in March 1486, and follows with descriptions of the occasional and seasonal celebrations at the English court, embassies to and from court, rebellions, and even the king's recreational pursuits. So extensive is the memoir that it is difficult to escape the sense that this document represents the deliberate amalgamation of almost all of the materials gathered by the officers of arms during the years in question. Written under some form of editorial policy, it may have been intended as a new-style, systematic compilation, and perhaps derives in part from the same initiative as the roster system of 1487.

The text of the memoir was written up in stages from notes or draft-reports compiled – by more than one herald in the service of the Crown – at the events depicted, and the whole thing was probably complete within a year or two of the last date recorded. As was the case with the heraldic narratives of the Yorkist heralds, the eye-witness character of much of the memoir's material is evident in the both the lavish detail of description, and those statements which reveal explicitly the herald-recorder's proximity to the events described. Thus, a herald in the royal entourage in 1486 signalled his departure from the king's company at York; the chronicler of the feast held for the installation of Archbishop John Morton, in January 1487, pronounced it the best ordered and served of all the feasts he had seen;²¹⁵ a colleague expressed pleasure at the celebration of Christmas in 1489;²¹⁶ and an officer of arms at the Stoke campaign made the (somewhat trite) statement that 'it was great joy to see how sone the King was redye, and his trwe men in array'.²¹⁷ Indeed, a herald-recorder in the

²¹⁵ Julius B. XII, fol. 25r.

²¹⁶ Julius B. XII, fol. 64r.

²¹⁷ Julius B. XII, fols. 28v, 64v.

royal entourage during the first provincial progress was able to relay the mayor of Bristol's spoken expression of gratitude: 'And the meyre of the towne towlde me they harde not this hundred yeres of noo king so good a comfort'.²¹⁸

The working nature of the memoir, despite its unusual size, is again evident in procedural and ceremonial issues raised in the text, from the minutiae of detail; to the extensive lists of lords and retainers, or knights going to their creation; to explicit questions regarding order of precedence and the like. The chronicler of Elizabeth of York's coronation feast in 1487 noted that the dishes conveyed to the archbishop of Canterbury were chiefly borne by esquires, as was fitting; another stated that on St George's Eve 1486 the fur of estate on the king's gown 'sufficiently shewed'.²¹⁹ Changes of procedure, such as the redirection of the baptismal procession at Prince Arthur's christening,²²⁰ represented important notices of individual anomalies or new precedents, and, on certain occasions, instructional memoranda were included in the text: 'Item the Secretary yave vjs. viij*d*. and he was not criede, for it is not the custume to crye noman of the chirche, nor no lower degre than a vicount, withoute it bee the Stewarde or the Chambrelayn'.²²¹ At the coronation of Elizabeth of York, a number of heralds reportedly opined that the horse of estate should have followed the henchmen in procession, and *not* the other way round, as occurred in practice. The presence of this statement, not unlike that raised in the account of the funeral of

²¹⁸ Julius B. XII, fols. 21r.

²¹⁹ Julius B. XII, fols. 37v, 41r.

²²⁰ Julius B. XII, fol. 23r.

²²¹ Julius B. XII, fol. 46v.

Edward IV,²²² again begs the question of whether the heralds' narratives represented the very context for the raising and resolving of procedural questions.

Great attention is naturally also paid throughout to the heralds' activities; to specific details like the creation of a new pursuivant for the Prince of Wales,²²³ and to the minutiae of largess and reward received by the officers of arms for their services at court. A passage describing the celebration of New Year 1488 contains notice of the monetary gifts to the heralds from each of the peers, together with the heralds' cry of 'largess' and the style of the gift-giver,²²⁴ and all lists of new-made knights of the Bath and Garter are set out systematically, at least partly because they represented the persons from whom the heralds received fee after a knighting. On the other hand, the displeasure of at least one herald-recorder is evident in a memorandum for Christmas 1488, when it was noted that 'ther wer many lordes moo in the courte, some comyng and some goyng, whiche yave no rewardes to the officers of armes'.²²⁵ Likewise, Sir James Harrington was condemned for neglecting to pay his fee to the heralds on the occasion of his creation, while a rather more controversial complaint against the paucity of the Queen's largess on New Year's Day 1487 was later cancelled.²²⁶

The memoir also contains a number of references to supplementary works created or owned by the English heralds, from 'Our Regester', in which were recorded the on New Year's Day gifts in 1487; to the pictorial records corresponding to the coronation of Elizabeth of York; to the books containing, respectively, a lengthy

²²² 'Funeral of Edward IV, p. 9.

²²³ Julius B. XII, fol. 61r.

²²⁴ E.g. Julius B. XII, fols. 24r, 25r, 45v-46v.

²²⁵ Julius B. XII, fol. 46v.

description of the feast of the installation of John Morton and an account of the king's military response to the killing of Northumberland. In addition, the memoir also bears material from sources originating outside the office of arms of England. The account of the queen's coronation includes a copy of the Latin commission for the discharge of the office of Steward of England, immediately followed by transcripts, in both English and French, of the petitions of the great estates of the realm to perform coronation services. Also copied into the memoir were a verse composed for the celebration of the feast of St George in 1488, the texts of the civic pageants devised by York, Worcester,²²⁷ Hereford and Bristol, and the proclamation against vagrancy issued by the king prior to the commencement of the Stoke campaign, and quite possibly announced in the royal host by an officer of arms. Perhaps, too, the names of some 50 dishes consumed at the Queen's coronation feast derived from a written or oral source.

Like the account of the Smithfield combat in 1467, the memoir might similarly be termed 'a clever assemblage of documents', so diverse are the sources and experiences that contributed to the extant text. Unlike the former account, however, the latter is not a polished narrative. Retaining blank spaces for names, dates and other details, as well as the marks of alteration and annotation, the memoir bears all the characteristics of an internal office report, which represents the 'establishment' only in as far as it was produced by an organisation attached to the Crown. Scarcely suitable for publication, the memoir was compiled for record and precedent and doubtless used as a 'job manual' for other members of the office of arms of England.

²²⁶ Julius B. XII, fols. 29r-29v, 24r.

²²⁷ The civic pageantry devised by Worcester was never performed, suggesting that the herald acquired the texts of the pageants from a civic source.

While it might have represented the raw material for use in publishable accounts – indeed, several, more polished narratives of Prince Arthur's christening were compiled – the memoir clearly represents the most important of the heraldic narrative records compiled during the latter half of the fifteenth century.

Fig. 2.5



The heralds' compilation of pictorial records of ceremonial is attested by the series of pictures, detailing the creation of knights of the Bath, contained in *Writhe's Garter Book*. Here the squire is led into the king's hall, preceded by a herald, clad in a tabard of the royal coat of arms.

2.6 Conclusion

The study compiled so far only touches upon the topic of the late fifteenth-century royal heralds, and their compilation of narrative accounts under the Yorkist and early Tudor kings. Further investigation needs to be undertaken into the nature and utility of the manifold narrative categories that goes beyond the general observations offered above. Such a study would clearly profit from a greater understanding of the relationship between the record-keeping skills of English, French and Burgundian heralds at this time. Almost certainly, too, further unpublished English narratives will continue to come to light.

The chief trends that emerge from this chapter demonstrate the growing association of the heralds of the Crown with the public face of the royal court, and the machinery of its ceremonial, under the Yorkist kings. This association appears all the more striking after the lack of measured splendour in the royal household of Henry VI, and the general absence of written documents explicitly linking the heralds with court ceremonial. The growth in the heralds' skills under Edward IV and Richard III was accompanied by an increasing body of materials that buttressed and perpetuated this development, and provide critical insight into the manifold duties performed by the heralds at, and on behalf of, the royal court.

When Henry Tudor wrested the Crown from Richard III on Bosworth Field in 1485, he found an organisation of men with all the skills he required to promote his image and the splendour of his court. The heralds were by then a professional corporation, and evidence suggests that Henry VII further harnessed their expertise in the areas of diplomacy and ceremonial, and perhaps also through the roster system of November

1487. Slight increase in the length and intricacy of their narrative accounts. The memoir is a testament to their manifold skills during the early years of the reign of Henry VII, and one of the most valuable sources for the study of the first domestic policies and practices implemented by Henry Tudor.

POLITICS AND THE PROGRESS

*After Henry had well regulated his affairs in London he set out for York in order to keep in obedience
the folk of the North, savage and more eager than others for upheavals*

Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*.

3.1 Introduction

In mid-March 1486, four and a half months after his coronation, England's new king set off from the magnificent priory of St. John of Jerusalem¹ and made toward York. Riding with him was a distinguished and sizeable company of peers, several government officials, and an officer of arms charged with keeping a record of the progress during the three months on the road. From London this grand company rode first via Waltham Holy Cross to Cambridge, before proceeding by Huntingdon and Stamford to Lincoln for the celebration of Easter. From Lincoln, King Henry pressed on to Nottingham, then northward via Doncaster, Pontefract and Tadcaster to York. After little more than a week in York, the king made his way back down through the west Midlands and back toward Westminster and London. Returning triumphant, Henry Tudor concluded his 'triangular' journey through the principal regions of his kingdom.

The true nature of Henry Tudor's first official progress to the northern capital of England has never been adequately explained. While several contemporary commentators have examined the dramatic, poetic and politico-diplomatic appeal of

¹ A brief history of the priory of St. John of Jerusalem is given in W. Besant, *Medieval London*, 2 vols. (London, 1906), ii, pp. 270-84. This magnificent priory was still under construction at the time of the progress, and was not completed until later in Henry VII's reign.

the civic pageantry devised for the occasion, the manifold facets of the journey still require systematic analysis. Indeed, the principal questions arising from a study of Henry Tudor's expedition of 1486 – the aims and nature of the tour, its planning, and its achievements – are issues which, given the paucity of the sources for the early years of Henry VII's reign, might never be fully resolved. Moreover, this is a debate that must necessarily be informed by ideas of royal progress and, more specifically, of the ways in which monarchical peregrinations differed during the fifteenth century. In the summer of 1483 Richard III had undertaken a similar journey following his coronation: he rode ceremoniously first westward through Oxford toward Gloucester and Worcester, then north-east to York and back down to Lincoln, before moving swiftly against the rebellion launched by the duke of Buckingham.² Richard's journey is, in turn, comparable to Edward IV's 1461 progress into the north and north midlands soon after his coronation.³ In this chapter I intend to examine in detail Henry Tudor's first tour of the northern provinces in 1486, paying particular attention to the report left by the herald or heralds travelling in the royal entourage, and to evidence that corroborates or supplements the heraldic reportage. In section 3.2 I will discuss the journey in detail. At 3.3 I will reassess some of the themes and outcomes of the tour that emerged in section 3.2, and the extent to which the journey was, in fact, a royal progress. This in turn should shed further light on Henry Tudor's actions in the spring of 1486.

² R. Edwards, *The Itinerary of King Richard III, 1483-1485* (London, 1983), p. viii; M.J. Bennett, *The Battle of Bosworth* (repr. Stroud, 2000), pp. 40-1.

³ C. Ross, *Edward IV* (London, 1974), pp. 45-8.

3.2 Journey to the North

On one level, Henry Tudor's progress in the spring of 1486 afforded an invaluable opportunity for public appearances by the new king, of especial importance in those regions more isolated and less eager to accept his rule. This was a vital chance for the new and untried monarch to demonstrate his adherence to the requisite princely qualities of piety and magnanimity, and to devote himself publicly to the duties of his office. Above all, the new king could reassure his people of his willingness to emulate the virtues of past kings of England: the saintly reputation of the new king's half-uncle Henry VI, a recurring theme under the new regime, was perhaps an effective model. In a manner that recalled Richard III's progress three years earlier, Henry Tudor now staged a series of public and semi-public appearances in the towns and cities along the road to York. He must surely have been aware of the piety of King Richard's tour and the generosity with which he had received the suits of the poor and disaffected.⁴ Henry Tudor now performed his Easter devotions in the Minster of Lincoln, rather than in a private chapel, and passed the week in daily rounds of services led by Bishop John Russell, former Chancellor of England. On Maundy Thursday he washed the feet of 29 poor men: one for each year of his age. On Good Friday he performed the hallowing of the cramp rings. Nor was he parsimonious in alms giving, for on both Maundy Thursday and Good Friday, he dispensed 'merveolous great summes of mony in grotes' to paupers, prisoners, lepers and the like.⁵ In York, as in Lincoln, he made a point of hearing divine service in the Minster,

⁴ Bennett, *Bosworth*, pp. 47-8; Edwards, *Itinerary*, p. 40.

⁵ Julius B. XII, fol. 8v. Groats like those distributed as alms by Henry VII are shown in S.B. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, new edn. (New Haven and London, 1999), plate 10.

and on the return journey he attended regular mass and evensong in Doncaster, Worcester, Gloucester and Bristol.⁶

Henry Tudor's actions during his tour must have been motivated, at least partly, by a desire to highlight the reciprocal obligations owed to him by his subjects. In return for the fulfilment of his own duties, the new king could reasonably expect the support and reverence, both of the common folk who lined the streets to watch the passing parade, and of the magnates whose attendance he required at various stages in the progress.⁷ In view of his former obscurity and the circumstances surrounding his own accession, King Henry doubtless recognised the need to harness the sympathies of the people of England as fully, and as early in his reign, as possible. Monarchical piety had a special resonance, and it was a tool well used on progress by Henry V and Richard III in 1421 and 1483, respectively.⁸ Moreover, as Anglo has pointed out, the implications of the ancient healing ritual, so closely associated with the most sacred aspect of kingship, was an important and oft-exploited element of Henry VII's concern for his public image.⁹ Whether or not Henry Tudor undertook to touch for the King's Evil at Lincoln that year, the hallowing of cramp rings on Good Friday was a powerful allusion to the divine sanction behind his rule.

Nor was the importance of the 'trappings and qualities of kingship' in securing acquiescence in the crown's demands lost upon Henry Tudor. The experiences of past kings, both on progress and in the public eye generally, must have taught him much

⁶ Julius B. XII, fol. 8v.

⁷ J.A. Doig, 'Propaganda and Truth: Henry V's Royal Progress in 1421', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, xl (1996), p. 171.

⁸ Doig, 'Propaganda and Truth', p. 117; Bennett, *Bosworth*, p. 47.

about the power of personal intervention in influencing public opinion, and he and his advisors presumably took great care with the royal appearance that spring. Henry Tudor might have learned from the unhappy experience of Henry VI, who had reportedly appeared in public on successive days, in 1470, in the same tired blue gown. His progress had seemed to the author of the *Great Chronicle of London* as ‘more lyker a pley then the shewyng of a prynce to wyne mennys hertys’.¹⁰ We can well assume that Henry VII, by contrast, cut a splendid and regal figure as he rode out from London at the head of a grand company of lords, bishops and knights, although no description of the departure appears in the herald’s account, or indeed elsewhere. Closer to York, the herald describes his sovereign as ‘richely besene in a gowne of cloth of golde furred with ermyn’, and the royal henchmen as resplendent in ‘golde smythes werk’.¹¹ In York, on the eve of St. George, the king appeared crowned in the morning, and dressed in his Garter robes and cap of maintenance at evensong. On the return journey, he wore a ‘gown of cloth of golde lyned with blake satene’ at Whitsuntide.¹²

At the time Henry VII began his journey, the royal wardrobe already contained many striking and costly robes of various colours, created for his coronation the previous October. Yards of scarlet, russet, black and ‘fyne blue’ cloth, red worsted, furs, hose and black velvet had been purchased to a total cost of £1506, 18s. 10 ³/₄ d.¹³ Several of the king’s garments of spring 1486 resemble his coronation robes, and it is possible

⁹ S. Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London, 1992), p. 20.

¹⁰ *The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley (Gloucester, 1983), p. 215.

¹¹ Julius B. XII, fol. 10v.

¹² Julius B. XII, fols. 12v-13, 17r.

¹³ See ‘Empcions and provisions of stuff made by Robert Willughby, knight, ageynst the coronacion of our souveraine lorde king Henry the VIIth, as herafter it apperethe’ in *Materials*, ii, pp. 3-29.

that the more spectacular were worn again on progress. More probably they simply exemplify the style, quality and abundance of clothing typically commissioned by Henry Tudor for public and semi-public occasions. Indeed, extant wardrobe orders for the early years of the reign demonstrate continued concern for the quality of materials and attire used by the king and those around him, and this almost certainly translated to an interest in the royal appearance during the tour in 1486.¹⁴ On the other hand, the satin-lined gown of cloth of gold described above might have been made expressly for the Whitsunday appearance, for ‘twelf yerdis of blake satten to lyne a gown of cloth of golde’ were ordered from Doncaster on April 30 1486, as the king rode away from York.¹⁵

Unfortunately, no records of Henry VII’s privy purse expenditure have survived for the period of his first provincial progress, and so the value of these accounts as a means of determining the king’s magnificence on tour is necessarily limited. Nevertheless, one or two clues do exist. Printed extracts of the privy purse expenditure for the seventh to the twentieth years of Henry VII’s reign indicate a general preparedness to spend lavishly during these years.¹⁶ More than 110 000l was spent on precious and semi-precious stones between 1491 and 1505, and further

¹⁴ There are numerous surviving wardrobe orders which help to shed light upon the king’s cloth purchases in the early years of his reign, although many are now illegible. For example, on April 23, 1488, the king ordered that ‘a holle yere of the fyne[st] scarlet ye can yeve’ be delivered to the earl of Desmond. Likewise, on March 21, 1487, he placed an order for a large number of items of clothing for Sir Francis Dennis. PRO E101/412/20.

¹⁵ *Materials*, i, p. 419.

¹⁶ BL, MS. Additional 7099. Published, if incomplete, records of the king’s privy purse expenditure appear in ‘Extracts from the Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry the seventh, from December A° 7, 1491, to March A° 20, 1505’ in *Excerpta Historica or Illustrations of English History*, ed. S. Bentley (London, 1831), pp. 85–305.

expenditure was recorded for valuable metals, cloths, individual gems and other items for the purpose of personal decoration.¹⁷ The effect to which Henry Tudor employed these purchases in the years after Bosworth is evident in the observations of the Milanese ambassador in 1487: 'His Majesty... was adorned with a most rich collar, full of great pearls and many other jewels in four rows, and in his bonnet he had a great pear-shaped pearl, which seemed to me something most rich'.¹⁸ The king was similarly attired several weeks later when he received the Venetian ambassador.¹⁹

Henry Tudor clearly also made use of several symbols of office to enhance his regal dignity in the public arena during his first provincial progress, and to impress upon the northerners the reality and strength of his authority, which at times must have seemed very remote indeed. The herald's report reveals that the new king celebrated the holiday of St. George, in York, with all the paraphernalia of his dual role. On this occasion he was not only king, but also host of a chapter of the illustrious Order of the Garter:

'On the Satirday next folowing, whiche was Seint Georges Even, the King harde his evensong in the mynster chirche, having a blew mantell above his sircote and on his hede his cap of maintenaunce, for he was corowned on the morn, having thabite of the garters above al other robes of estate... Also in the morne the trayne

¹⁷ See especially *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 90, 93, 100, 103. See also Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 217.

¹⁸ *Cal. S. P. Milan*, i, p. 332.

¹⁹ *The Reign of Henry VII from Contemporary Sources*, ed. A.F. Pollard, 3 vols. (London, 1913), i, pp. 161-2.

of the mantell of the garters coverede the trayne of the mantell of astate, and the furre of the estate sufficiently shewed.²⁰

The cap of maintenance and the crown were powerfully symbolic of kingship; the blue mantle was the garb of the Garter knights, decorated to distinguish the king from his Garter brethren.²¹ On the same occasion, John earl of Oxford, newly created knight of the Garter, wore his Garter robes over his own robes of state as he gave attendance upon his sovereign.²² Few present could have faulted the dignity with which the king and his court observed the solemn Garter festivities on this occasion.

And yet, as the herald-recorder himself must also have been aware, the first provincial progress of Henry VII was by no means merely a vehicle for royal publicity. By mid-February 1486, one month before the commencement of the progress, word was already circulating among contemporary correspondents that ‘the king purposyse northward hastyly after the Parlement, & it is sayd he purposses to doe execution quickly ther on such as hath offended agynst him’.²³ The same letter, dispatched from London on February 15, further suggested that Henry Tudor intended to lead a ‘great company’ of ‘x hundred men in harnesse’, together with ‘mo then v or six schore lords and knights’.²⁴ There also survives enough evidence of disturbance in England in the aftermath of Bosworth to indicate that Henry Tudor was fully aware of

²⁰ Julius B. XII, fols. 13r-13v.

²¹ L.G.W. Legg, *English Coronation Records* (Westminster, 1901), p. lxxxii; G.F. Beltz, *Memorials of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1841), pp. 1-1ii.

²² Julius B. XII, fol. 13r.

²³ *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, ed. J. Kirby, Camden Soc., 5th ser., 8 (1996), p. 64; *Plumpton Correspondence*, ed. T. Stapleton (London, 1839), p. 50.

the necessity and implications of a foray into the Yorkist heartland. In September 1485, Robert Thockmorton, recently appointed sheriff of Warwickshire and Leicestershire, petitioned the king for a pardon of fines and arrears touching his office on the grounds that there 'was within this your realme suche rebelloun and troble, and your lawes not stablysshed' that he had been unable to raise the customary revenues during his brief period in office.²⁵ Correspondence dated to December 1485 indicates that the king and his advisors feared a major outbreak of strife around that time, and, as early as October 17, King Henry himself had written of his 'knowledge that certeyne our rebelles and traitours being of litell honour or substance confered with our auncient ennemyes the Scottes... made insurreccion and assemblies in the north portions of our realme'.²⁶ On October 20, John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, also notified John Paston, sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, that rebels in the northern parts had been conferring with the king's Scottish enemies, and instructed him to have men of the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk at the ready for action at short notice.²⁷ The threat posed by former retainers of dead King Richard, who had openly resisted the new regime during the autumn and winter of 1486, together with the possibility of invasion from Scotland, must have been a decisive factor in drawing Henry north that spring at the head of a formidable retinue. In addition, the king's own journey

²⁴ *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 64; *Plumpton Correspondence*, p. 50.

²⁵ *Materials*, i, pp. 282-3.

²⁶ P.W. Hammond, 'Opposition to Henry Tudor after Bosworth', *The Ricardian*, 4.55 (1976), p. 28. In September, 1485, the king also issued commissions of array to the Borders to guard against Scottish invasion. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 70.

²⁷ *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. N. Davis, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1976), ii, pp. 445-6.

coincided with precautionary inquiries in Wales led by his uncle, the duke of Bedford.²⁸

When the royal entourage left London, however, the king and his men do not appear to have been responding to an outbreak of violence in the north, or to have anticipated any immediate trouble. Nor, in fact, did the king believe initial reports that the notorious Ricardian Lovell had broken sanctuary and was plotting a revolt, preferring instead to accuse the news-bearer, Hugh Conway, of falsehood and self-seeking.²⁹ Yet the royal confidence was shaken in Lincoln over Easter, where it was learned that Viscount Lovell and Humphrey Stafford had, indeed, disappeared from Colchester: Lovell had headed for Yorkshire, the Stafford brothers for Worcestershire. It was not immediately apparent that the fugitives planned to lead an insurrection, but subsequent intelligence was to prove still more troubling, and King Henry was now compelled to lead his company urgently toward Nottingham. There he was joined by men whom he had summoned upon learning of trouble, almost certainly during the Easter holiday. A letter dispatched from Lincoln on Monday April 3, suggests that George Stanley, Lord Strange, had joined the king in Nottingham on Friday March 31, after passing the Easter week in Suffolk.³⁰ John earl of Oxford, Sir William Stanley, and 'diverse other estates' appear to have caught up with the royal entourage around the same time.³¹ According to his own testimony of April 3, the earl of

²⁸ *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 64; *Plumpton Correspondence*, p. 50; *Materials*, i, 298.

²⁹ *LPR*, i, pp. 234-5.

³⁰ *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 65; *Plumpton Correspondence*, p. 51.

³¹ *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 65; *Plumpton Correspondence*, p. 51. The editor, T. Stapleton, makes the assumption that the royal entourage was still in Lincoln on April 3. In fact, the king appears to have left by the end of March.

Westmoreland had also been summoned to meet the king in Nottingham.³² Sir John Paston, sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, may also have joined the king at this time.³³ By contrast, Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby, probably in the royal entourage from the outset, was tipped to leave the king at Nottingham to ride into Lancashire.³⁴ Nottingham's strategic value was crucial: to the north, Lovell was planning a general insurrection which probably aimed to seize both York and the king; to the south the Stafford brothers were attempting to raise the west midlands. To prevent a general rising, meanwhile, it was necessary to secure the Trent line.³⁵

All three Stanleys took their leave of the king as the royal entourage rode out of Nottingham, seemingly against the original intentions of Sir William and George, Lord Strange, who, on April 3, probably still expected to ride with the king to York.³⁶ The herald gives no clue as to the nature of the business that called them away, although elsewhere we find reference to a commission, dated April 4 at Lincoln, to Thomas earl of Derby, Sir William Stanley, George Lord Strange, and others to undertake duties in the counties of Flint and Chester.³⁷ As the king continued through Doncaster, Pontefract, Tadcaster and on to York, a commendable line-up of magnates, household officials and knights began to gather round him. Between Doncaster and Pontefract on Monday, April 10, he was met at a place called Barnsdale, 'a little beyonde Robyn Hoddez ston', by the earl of Northumberland and

³² *YHB*, ii, p. 480.

³³ PRO E404/79/152.

³⁴ *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 65; *Plumpton Correspondence*, p. 51.

³⁵ M.J. Bennett, *Lambert Simnel and the Battle of Stoke* (Gloucester, 1987), p. 37.

³⁶ Julius B. XII, fol. 9r; *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 65; *Plumpton Correspondence*, p. 51.

³⁷ *CPR*, p. 86.

a formidable company of Yorkshire knights, esquires and yeomen.³⁸ Drawing nearer to Pontefract and the crisis area, Henry Tudor was reportedly surrounded by ‘great noblesse, as above saide, and merveolous great nombre of so short a warnyng of esquires, gentlemen and yeomen in defensible array’.³⁹

By the time he was joined by Northumberland’s company, and probably earlier, Henry Tudor was aware of trouble in the heartland of the old Neville and Ricardian affinity in Yorkshire. ‘Rumour’ was indeed ‘distilling into facts’.⁴⁰ While the earl of Northumberland’s feed knights had received instructions to array prior to their arrival in Barnsdale on April 10, it is uncertain just when the earl had himself been alerted to trouble.⁴¹ Yet it is probable that the herald’s reference to ‘so short a warnyng’ given to the men-at-arms rallying to the royal standard around April 10 holds the key to the time frame of the king’s defensive manoeuvres. According to the herald’s testimony, the defensible array of knights, esquires and the like assembling under the king’s banner was all the more impressive because of the presence of ‘certeyne rebells about Rypon and Midlem.’⁴² Lovell was clearly involved, but so too was a local rebel leader under the pseudonym of ‘Robin of Redesdale’, and this name at least must have struck Henry Tudor as frighteningly reminiscent of the forces that overthrew Edward IV in 1469-70.⁴³ Thus, it may well have been from Pontefract, between Monday April 10 and Thursday April 13, that the King sent into the troubled area most of the armed

³⁸ Julius B. XII, fols. 9v-10r.

³⁹ Julius B. XII, fol. 10r.

⁴⁰ C.H. Williams. ‘The Rebellion of Humphrey Stafford in 1486’, *EHR*, xliii (1928), p. 181.

⁴¹ *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 68; *Plumpton Correspondence*, p. 53. Unfortunately the brief notice from the earl of Northumberland requesting his men’s readiness is undated.

⁴² Julius B. XII, fol. 10r.

⁴³ Hammond, ‘Opposition’, p. 27.

men in his retinue.⁴⁴ In the event, the rising was short-lived, and the herald notes only in passing that the rebels, ‘understanding the Kingis might and nere approching, within ij dayes disperclede’.⁴⁵ Judging from the herald’s rather dismissive tone, morale in the royal camp was high as the king and his men, resplendent in their finery, passed through Tadcaster and into the city of York.⁴⁶

The timely appearance in the royal camp of the magnates and their retainers must also be recognised as more than just an immediate, practical response to the threat of rebellion, and one might well wonder how far these new arrivals were timed by the king and his advisors to make a formidable impression on the people of the north. Henry Tudor’s need for armed strength at the time of the rising was mirrored equally by the constant need to appear lavishly attended by noble and knightly figures. By harnessing the combined manpower and territorial interests of the peers and their retainers, the new king was able to create a formidable barrier, both military and psychological, against the rebels of Middleham and Ripon and others. For the ordinary people of the north, too, such a display clearly affirmed the acquiescence of the ruling elites in the Crown’s demands, and promoted the general and widespread acceptance of King Henry’s rule. Of course, this was also a valuable opportunity for Henry Tudor to demonstrate his own magnanimity and to welcome a great number of men into his connection, thereby extending the frame of court. It was doubtless hoped that a number of former Ricardians, and the politically uncommitted, would now seize the opportunity to offer their support to the new regime.

⁴⁴ Julius B. XII, fols. 9v-10r.

⁴⁵ Julius B. XII, fol. 10r.

⁴⁶ Julius B. XII, fol. 10r.

Nor could the English magnate afford to remain at home while the new sovereign toured the countryside, particularly if his past was overshadowed by Ricardian sympathies or active support of the Yorkist cause, as was the case with those prominent members of the opposite camp, the earl of Lincoln and Lord Scrope of Bolton. Even the earl of Northumberland, who had failed to show his hand at Bosworth, was now compelled to demonstrate his support of the new regime. Among Northumberland's company of Yorkshire knights, too, were Percy retainers like Sir Robert Plumpton, Sir Thomas Mauleverer, Sir William Gascoigne, Sir Robert Ughtred and Sir Martin of the Sea, who had reputedly fought for Richard III at Bosworth.⁴⁷ For the noblemen and knights of the royal entourage, riding with the king to York was a matter of honour, prestige and competition. These men needed not only to win royal favour or forgiveness by rendering adequate assistance to the king during his progress generally, or at the time of the rising, but also clearly benefited from being seen by their peers and retainers in the king's esteem. Most importantly as far as Henry Tudor was concerned, through the many layers of reciprocity between peer, knight and esquire, increasing numbers of men are likely to have been persuaded to follow suit and join the royal entourage as it drew toward York.

The efforts of the new king and his advisors were clearly well rewarded, for in many of the towns he visited, Henry Tudor was greeted with a reverence and awe that combined genuine sentiment with careful planning. The extent to which the civic authorities were aware of the impending royal visit, and the degree of planning that took place before the king arrived – the latter no doubt varying from town to town – are also important considerations in the assessment of the nature of Henry VII's first

⁴⁷ Bennett, *Bosworth*, p. 171; Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 37.

progress. Little is known of Henry Tudor's devotional visit to Waltham: the herald states only that the king rode first to Waltham, and thence took the 'high way' to Cambridge, where he was 'honourably receyved of the university and of the town'.⁴⁸ The extant civic records of Cambridge do not shed any light upon its preparations, since the only two references to the king's visit in 1486 were written in hindsight. Nevertheless, it is clear that substantial sums were expended on victualling the town, and that King Henry was given a gift of fish appropriate to the season of Lent, just as Richard III had been in 1483.⁴⁹ The nature of the king's visit to Huntingdon and Stamford also remains uncertain, as the brevity of the herald's notice and the silence of the extant civic records again prevail.

Just as it appears to have been King Henry's most important destination during the Easter holiday, the cathedral city of Lincoln was the focus of the herald's account of the royal activities on the first leg of the tour. Lincoln certainly knew in advance of the royal visit that Henry Tudor intended to pass the week of Easter in the city, and to make his devotions in the cathedral and bishop's hall. However, few of Lincoln's records have survived the test of time, and there is no reference at all to Henry Tudor's visit among the records of the Corporation. Some idea of the welcome accorded Henry VII in the spring of 1486 may be gleaned from a notice of another royal visit during the fifteenth century, for in 1445-6 Lincoln had played host to a

⁴⁸ Julius B. XII, fol. 8v.

⁴⁹ *Annals of Cambridge*, ed. C.H. Cooper (Cambridge, 1842), i, pp. 232-3, provides a transcript of payments made by the treasurers of Cambridge, Robert Ratheby and Richard Holmes. The payment of 110s. for fish given to the king probably corresponds to the visit. The Cambridge University, *Grace Book A*, ed. Stanley M. Leathes (1897), p. 202, contains the statement: 'Item pro forma inquisitiones panis et ceruisie et aliorum victualium quando rex fuit hic et pro scriptura rotularum et cera pro eisdem xix d'.

visit by Henry VI. On this occasion the common council had prepared a commendable reception indeed:

‘...the mayor, aldermen and sheriffs, with 80 or 100 of the more respectable and better dressed persons, should ride to meet the king, as many others of the commons as possible going on foot, at the cross on the cliff, and there kneeling should reverently offer to the king, for the good relief which he had beforetime afforded them, £100 in gold’.⁵⁰

In 1486, Lincoln had valid reason for wishing to assure the new sovereign of its support. Despite its traditional Lancastrian associations, the city had offered no great objection to Yorkist rule and had, moreover, suffered near financial ruin with the triumph of the house of Lancaster in 1485.⁵¹ The city fathers might have had good reason to feel hostile toward Tudor rule, but in 1486 their concerns were surely nothing if not pragmatic. The hearty reception of the visiting monarch represented a crucial first step in the cultivation of the new king’s favour. It was doubtless hoped to obtain some financial relief in the near future .

After Easter, Henry Tudor and his entourage hastily bypassed the stricken town of Newark-on-Trent and proceeded direct to Nottingham. They were reportedly welcomed ‘a myle by south Trent’ by the scarlet-clad mayor of Nottingham and his

⁵⁰ J.W.F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (Cambridge, 1965), p. 272.

⁵¹ A grant by Edward IV had released Lincoln from the fee farm rent payable to the attainted Lord Roos. On the accession of Henry VII in 1485, Lord Roos’s son, Edmund, was granted a reversal of his father’s attainder and a restoration of the fee farm rent. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, pp. 282-3. See also, M. Keen, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages, 1348-1500* (Harmondsworth, 1990), pp.85-6.

brethren, accompanied by a great number of chosen fellows all on horseback.⁵² Next, the king was received by processions from the religious houses of Nottingham, and led ceremoniously through the town to the royal lodgings at the castle. Nottingham had certainly known of the impending royal visit prior to the king's arrival, for payment was registered in the borough records on April 10 'for the costes of Richard Brown ridyng to Lincoln to understand of the kynges commying heder when he was ridyng toward York'.⁵³ As the king remained in Lincoln for a full week before proceeding to Nottingham on, or around, Thursday March 30, the latter town might have had some five or six days to prepare in earnest. Presumably, though, the civic authorities had known of the general terms of Henry Tudor's visit for almost as long as the men of York.

The preparations at York had been under way for almost a month when Henry VII reached the great stronghold on the Trent around April 20. The city had received communication of a possible royal visit some time before Thursday March 16, the day the council assembled to discuss the visit, and the civic officials had wasted no time in devising a lavish and politic reception.⁵⁴ We are fortunate that there survives among York's muniments an extensive and detailed program for the reception of the king, together with record of other business transactions and correspondence relating to the gala event. By these it is clear that the city was not at first assured of a royal visit, but that the king's arrival, should it eventuate, would take place after Easter.⁵⁵ The king's intentions toward York had been confirmed by April 3, when the earl of

⁵² Julius B. XII, fol. 8v-9r.

⁵³ *Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, ed. W.H. Stevenson, 4 vols. (London, 1885), iii, p. 263.

⁵⁴ *YHB*, ii, p. 474.

⁵⁵ *YHB*, ii, p. 474.

Westmoreland notified the civic authorities that he intended to be in the city for the king's arrival.⁵⁶ By the time the mayor and his fellows received Westmoreland's letter, they had already approached the archbishop of York for advice on welcoming the king, and had set about compiling a program of welcome and a list of gifts to be made to the king, including wine, oxen and wethers.⁵⁷ The extant plans for the civic reception show that the city of York deliberately doubled the customary welcome party before Tadcaster Bridge, on the extremity of its franchises, and enlarged the procession that was to lead the king into the city.⁵⁸

There also survives among York's records a program for a series of lavish pageants created by Henry Hudson, the parish priest of Spofforth.⁵⁹ Hudson was not new to his role, having been charged with the creation of similar shows for a visit by Richard III in 1483, but he now merited a greater portion of the responsibility and was paid handsomely.⁶⁰ Among other things, Hudson planned an ingenious mechanical dumb show simulating the merging of the red and white roses, a device which, had it ever been presented, would have offered the first public allusion to the union of the

⁵⁶ *YHB*, ii, p. 480.

⁵⁷ *YHB*, ii, p. 478. In 1483, one John Kendal had offered general advice on how best to receive Richard in a letter to the city of York and had sent one of his aids with more specific recommendations.

⁵⁸ *YHB*, ii, p. 482.

⁵⁹ *YHB*, ii, p. 479. The program for the pageants is also printed in *A Volume of English Miscellanies illustrating the History and Language of the Northern Counties of England*, Surtees Soc., 85 (1890), pp. 53-7.

⁶⁰ *YHB*, ii, p. 479. He was aided by several clerks who also appear on the Chamberlain's account roll C4:1r (1486-7). See *York City Chamberlains' Account Roll, 1396-1500*, ed. R.B. Dobson (Gateshead, 1980), p. 190, and transcript printed in C.E. McGee, *A Critical Edition of the First Provincial Progress of Henry VII*, unpublished dissertation (University of Toronto, 1977), Appendix C, pp. 254-6.

roses.⁶¹ As Henry Tudor entered the boundaries of York's franchises in the spring of 1486, he was greeted by a carefully stage-managed performance which, saving one or two minor diversions and the omission of the union rose, closely followed the program laid out by the civic officials in the weeks leading up to the king's arrival. According to the heralds' report, King Henry was greeted by the sheriffs, by the mayor and his brethren, and by John Vavasour, recorder of York, who formally bid the king welcome.⁶² Half a mile from the city walls, the king was met by processions of friars and the cathedral clergy, together with a multitude of citizens crying: 'King Henry, King Henry! Our Lord preserve that sweet and well favoured face!'⁶³ At the city's ancient entrance of Micklegate Bar, a picturesque and musical pageant was staged: York's mythical founder, Ebrank of Britain, recommended the city and its people to the care of their new king.⁶⁴ As the king rode through the city, wafers and sweetmeats were thrown from windows, and he was entertained and wooed by a series of shows, all stressing his virtue and hereditary right, and culminating in the representation of Our Lady promising her son's aid for the king.⁶⁵

Such was York's anxiety over the royal visit, that it spent £66 on welcoming the king and found itself in still greater financial difficulty.⁶⁶ Yet, given both the general air of dissent in the north and York's own contentiousness during the early months of the new reign, this was money well spent. The legacy of Richard III, sometime duke of

⁶¹ *YHB*, ii, p. 482; Anglo, *Images*, p. 85; J.C. Meagher, 'The First Progress of Henry VII', *Renaissance Drama*, new series, i (1968), pp. 52-3.

⁶² Julius B. XII, fol. 10r.

⁶³ Julius B. XII, fol. 10r.

⁶⁴ Julius B. XII, fol. 10v-11r.

⁶⁵ D.M. Palliser, *Tudor York*, (Oxford, 1979), p. 43.

⁶⁶ Palliser, *Tudor York*, p. 43.

Gloucester and ‘lord of the north’,⁶⁷ continued strong in York, and the city’s corporation and principal residents had begun the reign fiercely loyal to the fallen regime.⁶⁸ Their reaction to King Richard’s death in August 1485 had been both angry and defiant, the municipal authorities adamant that ‘King Richard late mercifully reigning upon us was through great treason... piteously slain and murdered to the great heaviness of this City’.⁶⁹ During the early months of the new reign, the city fathers had consistently thwarted the king in his wish to nominate to the offices of recorder and sword-bearer, and relations between the king and York were to remain uneasy for the first five years of the reign.⁷⁰ In the spring of 1486, however, the primary concerns of the civic officials were pragmatic, for at the time of the progress they were engaged in appeals for economic concessions from the new king.⁷¹ And, Henry VII was able to see for himself ‘the great ruyne and extreme decay’ into which York had fallen in recent times. At the end of the summer, he reduced York’s fee farm rent by £60.⁷²

Whatever Henry Tudor’s true feelings toward York in early 1486, he accorded the city with all the honour due to a second capital: he made his devotions at the Minster, staged a crown-wearing and banquet in the archbishop’s great hall, feasted with the foremost men of York, and held a chapter of the Order of the Garter there on St.

⁶⁷ For Richard’s lands and offices north of the Trent, see R.R. Reid, *The King’s Council in the North* (London, 1921), pp. 42-7.

⁶⁸ See R. Horrox (ed.), *Richard III and the North* (Hull, 1986), especially chapter 1, pp. 11-26 and chapter 3, pp. 51-81; Palliser, *Tudor York*, pp. 42-3.

⁶⁹ *Extracts from the Municipal Records of the City of York during the Reigns of Edward IV, Edward V and Richard III*, ed. R. Davies (London, 1843), pp. 218-19.

⁷⁰ Palliser, *Tudor York*, p. 43-5.

⁷¹ *YHB*, ii, p. 473.

⁷² *YHB*, ii, pp. 509-10. The city was to continue to pay £18 5s.

George's Day.⁷³ It was rare indeed, if not unprecedented, that the Garter feast should have been held anywhere but Westminster, and two of Henry Tudor's principal supporters, John earl of Oxford and Sir John Cheney, were installed in the Order on this occasion.⁷⁴ The new king was inclined to be generous toward York – he had earlier waived the customary monetary gifts owed by the city to the monarch – and his own motives were just as likely to have been pragmatic. To strengthen his authority north of the Humber, Henry Tudor needed to court the affection of the northern capital as much as the city itself needed the royal goodwill. Once York's loyalty had been assured, he could reasonably expect the other northern towns to follow suit. Moreover, the sojourn in York provided the king with a valuable opportunity to present a show of solidarity among the magnates of the realm who gathered for the Garter Feast.⁷⁵ Among those banqueting with the king were the powerful Jasper duke of Bedford and uncle to the King, and the earls of Oxford, Lincoln, Shrewsbury, Rivers and Wiltshire, together with the prominent ex-Ricardian, Lord Scrope of Bolton, and the returned exile, Sir John Cheney.⁷⁶ Henry Tudor remained in the northern capital just over a week: quite long enough, it would seem, for a good time to be had by many. Almost twelve months later, William Paston III wrote to a kinsman: 'And you need to warn William Gogyne and his fellows to go easy on the wine for now, for everyone says that the town shall be drunk as dry as York when the king was there'.⁷⁷

Yet, as one historian has pointed out, the rising staged by Viscount Lovell and his

⁷³ Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 37.

⁷⁴ Beltz, *Garter Memorials*, p. clxvii.

⁷⁵ Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 38.

⁷⁶ Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 38.

men appears to have had ‘a sting in its tail’ that went unnoticed by the absent herald-recorder. While the herald’s report indicates that the trouble around Ripon and Middleham had been stamped out before Henry Tudor left Pontefract, Polydore Vergil places the same episode after the king’s arrival in York.⁷⁸ Naturally, the eye-witness account bears the greater credibility and, if Vergil were assumed simply to have confused the town in which the incident took place, the two accounts give much the same information.⁷⁹ However, the *Croyland Chronicle* also contains mention of a plot to kill Henry Tudor at York, a circumstance which might account for Vergil’s confusion.⁸⁰ Moreover, it was later alleged that, in York with the king, the earl of Lincoln had entertained men from Middleham in his lodgings and considered joining ‘Robin of Redesdale’, while, during the legal proceedings that followed the capture of the Stafford brothers, several dissidents were accused of circulating a rumour that Viscount Lovell had seized the king in Yorkshire.⁸¹ At least two nineteenth-century commentators have drawn upon Drake’s Eboracum as evidence that Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, personally saved the king’s life in York on St. George’s Day, a statement also made by .

For his part, the herald-recorder left the king’s company in York, and the narrative only resumes some two weeks later when the same herald, or perhaps his

⁷⁷ *Paston Letters and Papers*, i, p. 654.

⁷⁸ Hall’s *Union* follows the same order of events, as does Meagher, ‘First Progress’, p. 60.

⁷⁹ Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 37.

⁸⁰ Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 37; *Croyland Chronicle*, pp. 513-14.

⁸¹ Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 37; Williams, ‘Humphrey Stafford’, p. 183. In addition, E.B. de Fonblanque, *Annals of the House of Percy*, 2 vols. (London, 1887), i, p. 300 and G. Brennan, *A History of the House of Percy, from the earliest times down to the present day*, 2 vols (London, 1902), i, p. 128. This is less likely, as the herald-recorder appears to have left the royal entourage no earlier than St. George’s Day, and would almost certainly have been aware of disturbance at this time

replacement, caught up with the king on Whitsunday in Worcester.⁸² Thus do we have a substantial gap in the progress narrative, for which we can at best seek clues to the king's movements in other sources. Nottingham's borough records note another payment to a messenger, one William Jackson, who had gone to York 'to understand if his grace wold anything commaund the Maire and brethren and the town'.⁸³ If the herald-recorder makes no mention of a second visit to this strategic base, the king was certainly at Nottingham castle on May 3 when he appointed the duke of Bedford and the earls of Lincoln, Oxford, and Derby to enquire into treasons, felonies and conspiracies in Warwickshire and Worcestershire.⁸⁴

Meanwhile, the civic officials of Worcester received their new sovereign with 'nervous sycophancy' born of their failure to secure the city gates against the Stafford brothers and, at the time of the king's arrival around May 12, the bailiff and commonality stood under indictment for treason.⁸⁵ Worcester planned to call upon the dramatic and rhetorical potential of civic pageantry to bolster its appeal for clemency, and it chose the themes of the *British History* for its inspiration, and the saintly figure of Henry VI as its principal spokesman.⁸⁶ For reasons unknown, however, the shows appear to have been aborted, for the herald-recorder simply noted: 'At Wytson

⁸² There is no clue in the memoir as to the reason for the herald's departure. We may be seeing evidence of rotation between heralds or, if Vergil's chronology regarding the rising is correct, the herald-recorder may have been involved in conveying pardons to the rebels. Meagher, 'First Progress', pp. 60-1, n. 33.

⁸³ Stevenson, *Nottingham Records*, p. 264.

⁸⁴ *CPR*, pp. 106-7.

⁸⁵ See *Coram Rege Roll*, Mich. 4 Hen. VII, rex. Rot. 13.

⁸⁶ For discussion of the Tudors' use of the themes of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *British History*, see especially S. Anglo, 'The *British History* in Early Tudor Propaganda', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xlv (1961), esp. pp. 27-8.

even...I came to the Kinges Grace at Worcester, wher as I understande wer ordeynede certeyn paiants and speches like as ensuen, which his grace at that tyme harde not'.⁸⁷ Copied into the herald's report are the pageantic speeches of Henry VI, the fictitious 'Janitor', St. Wulfstan, St. Oswald, Our Lady, and The Holy Trinity, probably acquired in text form by the herald, and perhaps even viewed by the king during his time in Worcester.⁸⁸ If the king had initially entertained doubts about the conduct of Worcester, the city succeeded in making good its claim to loyalty, and was accorded the honour of hosting a royal procession on Whitsunday.⁸⁹ On the same day, perhaps in the light of the rebels' occupation of Worcester, Henry Tudor felt it wise to have the papal dispensation touching his title and marriage proclaimed from the pulpits of the city.⁹⁰ Here, too, he held the court commissioned to deal with the recent treasons.

The royal entourage left Worcester on the morning of Monday May 15, and drew toward Hereford, Gloucester, and then Bristol. Each of these cities received the king with no less a desire to win the king's affection, but perhaps in a more relaxed mood than had hitherto been possible. Henry Tudor was greeted at Hereford by the mayor and his horsemen, and acclaimed by a great multitude lining the streets into the city.⁹¹ Three pageants had been commissioned in his honour, and each played upon the themes of the new king's legitimacy, heredity, and the loyalty of the people. At the city gate was a pageant of St. George slaying the dragon, just as Henry Tudor had

⁸⁷ Julius B. XII, fol. 13v.

⁸⁸ Julius B. XII, fols. 13v-17r.

⁸⁹ Julius B. XII, fol. 13v.

⁹⁰ Julius B. XII, fol. 17r. Discussion of the papal dispensation may be found in Chrimes, *Henry VII*, Appendix D, pp. 330-2.

⁹¹ Julius B. XII, fol. 17r.

destroyed his enemies, and – more especially – King Richard. Also prepared were pageants of the legendary King Ethelbert and the Blessed Virgin, and each of these shows played proclaimed the righteousness of the new king's rule. In Hereford, too, Henry Tudor was received in procession at the cathedral, where he attended a reading of the papal dispensation touching his rights touching his marriage to Elizabeth of York.⁹² Next, the king travelled on to Gloucester, and was received by civic and religious processions, but 'in that towne was no pageaunt nor speche ordeynede.' On Trinity Sunday, May 21, the bishop of Worcester proclaimed the papal dispensation.⁹³

The last town on the royal itinerary was Bristol. As he approached Bristol's franchises, the king feasted with the sheriff of Gloucestershire, Sir Robert Points, and was received three miles out of the town by the civic dignitaries and other principal residents. Until they came to Lawford's gate, where Bristol's franchises began, the mayor forbore to carry the mace, and the sherrif his rod. On the causeway just inside the gate, the king was received by a procession of the friars and, further along, by a procession of the parish churches. As the royal entourage entered the city gates, its members were again entertained by a series of pageants, as King Bremius, Prudentia, Justicia and others appealed to King Henry's grace and played upon the same themes as used by the other towns. The king's concern for Bristol's economic plight clearly cheered the citizens of Bristol, for the mayor soon told the herald that the people 'hard not this hundred yeres of noo king so good a comfort'.⁹⁴ Indeed, an act of

⁹² Julius B. XII, fols. 17r-18r.

⁹³ Julius B. XII, fols. 18r-v.

⁹⁴ Julius B. XII, fol. 21r.

parliament the following year occasioned public works in Bristol, and in 1490 the city recorded that the streets were newly paved and a stone bridge erected on the Were.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ These notices are cited in Rev. S. Seyer (ed.), *Memoirs Historical and Topographical of Bristol and its Neighbourhood, from the Earliest Period down to the Present Time*, 3 vols. (Bristol, 1823), ii, p. 207.

3.3 Military Might or Marketing? A post-Coronation Concern.

As the king returned to London at the end of spring, he may well have paused to reflect upon his first tour into the northern provinces and felt satisfied that he had overcome the worst of the mischief in the northern parts. He had, indeed, ‘drawn the teeth of the opposition’, the demise of which, suggests one historian, served not to unravel ‘the ramshackle political structure Henry Tudor had erected’, but rather to solidify it.⁹⁶ The episode had also proven the military capabilities of the nascent royal household.⁹⁷ Entering London by barge from Sheen, King Henry was in a fine position to enjoy the welcome staged at Westminster Bridge by the mayor of London and his fellows.⁹⁸ He must have been still more pleased that his great journey had been recorded in all its pomp and ceremony by one or more heralds in the royal entourage.

As the herald’s account clearly reveals, Henry Tudor had worked hard to recommend himself to public opinion in the spring of 1486. Carefully orchestrated appearances at divine service, the staging of a crown-wearing in York, his observance of traditional and sacred customs, the magnificence of his attire and that of his henchmen on all public occasions, and even the military and political might of his entourage as it drew near to the northern capital must have served to reassure the commons of their new sovereign’s piety, generosity and princely dignity. Moreover, it was but three years since Richard III had made his own stately tour north of the Trent, and Henry Tudor had faced the task not only of self-promotion, but also of seducing the northerners

⁹⁶ Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 39.

⁹⁷ Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 38.

⁹⁸ Julius B. XII, fol. 21r.

from their sympathy for their former lord. King Richard had staged a crown-wearing at York soon after his coronation; Henry Tudor did the same on St. George's Eve, 1486.⁹⁹ So measured were King Henry's steps throughout the tour, in fact, that it is difficult not to suspect the workings of a reasonably efficient public relations machine behind the king's actions and those of the towns and cities he visited. Perhaps local men like Henry Hudson, the parish priest of Spofforth, liased with writers in the king's service to tease out the themes that meant most to the king: the union of the houses of Lancaster and York, the special relationship between Henry Tudor and the saintly Henry VI, and even papal support for the new regime.¹⁰⁰ Richard III's arrival in York in 1483 had certainly been preceded by a letter of advice from his secretary,¹⁰¹ and in April 1486, the pageantic King Solomon invoked an argument for which Henry VII had himself given the cue: York's suffering for its uncompromising loyalty to Henry VI.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ *YHB*, ii, p. 729; Julius B. XII, fol.

¹⁰⁰ Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 36; Anglo, *Spectacle*, p. 40.

¹⁰¹ *YHB*, ii, p. 713. There is no evidence that York received advice from the court on this occasion, although Meagher, 'First Progress', p. 53, suggests that the omission of the union rose from the York pageantry might have been the result of advance court censorship and Henry Tudor's desire to play down the importance of the white rose at this time. P.C. Olver, *Tudor Royal Progress*, unpublished dissertation (University of Wales, Swansea, 1984), p. 6, draws upon a statement in Hall's *Union* (p. 380) to suggest that Henry Tudor himself required the city to be garnished with pageants. There is no evidence to substantiate this claim.

¹⁰² Julius B. XII, fol. 11v; *YHB*, ii, p. 484; Meagher, 'First Progress', p. 57'; C.E. McGee, 'Politics and platitudes: sources of civic pageantry', *Renaissance Studies* 3.1 (1989), p. 31. Henry Tudor's pardon to Richard's supporters in the north mentioned their costly loyalty to Henry VI as an occasion for his mercy. *Tudor Proclamations*, pp. 3-4. In October 1485, York recalled its contribution of more than 1000 men from the city at the battle of Towton, as opposed to 400 men for the earlier battles of Wakefield and St Albans. *YHB*, i, pp. 390-1.

For their part, the towns and cities that arranged pantomime and music and lined the streets with well-wishers were arguably seeking not only to ingratiate themselves with the new regime through flattery, praise and gentle admonition, but also to articulate a place for the new regime in the local and general history of the realm. As 'Ebrauk', the mythical founder of York, submitted his 'citie, kee and coroune' to Henry Tudor; where Worcester's spokesman 'Janitor' was intended to play upon the traditional themes of the Nine Worthies and notions of Henry Tudor's descent; and with Bristol's invocation of the legendary figure of 'King Brennus', each pageant articulated a vital connection between the formerly obscure Anglo-Welsh earl and the history of England and the British Isles.¹⁰³ Such notions were not purely idealistic, but partly grounded in the financial and legal concerns of a number of the civic communities visited by the new king. Worcester's pageantic figure of Henry VI pleaded rather urgently for Henry Tudor's mercy.¹⁰⁴ Bristol and York sought relief from poverty. Not that the sentiments expressed in the pageantry were entirely cynical. Given the increased restlessness in England in the final, tragic months of King Richard's rule, and in the light of the troubles of the previous thirty years, it is unlikely that the men of the north necessarily begrudged Henry Tudor a place in English history. It was doubtless felt in many quarters that the rule of new blood and the union of the warring factions would bring a new peace to the realm. This was certainly a notion encouraged by Henry Tudor.

Naturally, the many facets of a royal progress required extensive forethought and planning by both the king and the civic communities that received him. We have

¹⁰³ Julius B. XII, fols. 10v-11r, 16r-17r, 18v-19r.

¹⁰⁴ Julius B. XII, fols., 13v-15r.

already seen that York was aware one month in advance that Henry Tudor was likely to visit after Easter. Lincoln, too, must have been forewarned of the king's intention to celebrate Easter in its cathedral. York, Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester and Bristol each required the time to prepare pageantry, to decorate streets, and to rehearse the grand processions of civic and religious officials who welcomed the king on the boundaries of their franchises. Even Nottingham, according to the heralds' memoranda, had marshalled processions of its principal residents to greet the king. Moreover, the fact that Henry Tudor himself ordered the materials for a sumptuous new gown from Doncaster – perhaps the 'gowne of cloth of golde tissue lynede with blake satene' worn by the king in Worcester – further suggests that the public face of the tour was constantly monitored by the king and his advisors during the tour. Indeed, in so far as preparation, pomp and publicity are evident in the heraldic reportage and elsewhere, Henry Tudor's journey in spring 1486 may be identified with the 'true royal progress', described by Neil Samman in 1995, by which 'a monarch reinforced his authority and was presented to his subjects against a background of ceremony and ritualised splendour'.¹⁰⁵

Henry Tudor certainly had models upon which to base the pomp of his own post-coronation journey, and it is possible to draw parallels between the so-called first provincial progress of Henry VII, and similar journeys made by his immediate predecessors on the English throne. In 1461, during the months before and after his crowning, Edward IV had paraded through those areas of western and northern England, the Midlands, Wales, and the Marches where Lancastrian sympathies were

¹⁰⁵ N. Samman, 'The Progresses of Henry VIII, 1509-29' in *The Reign of Henry VIII Politics, Policy and Piety*, ed. Diarmaid MacCulloch (London, 1995), p. 59. See also, Olver, *Tudor Royal Progress*, pp. 2-4.

strongest. In the late summer of 1461, barely two months after his coronation, he progressed through the Marches, courting the loyalty of the nobility and gentry, among whom he had relatively few reliable supporters in the first days of his reign, and presiding over the execution of the rebel Sir Baldwin Fulford.¹⁰⁶ After his own coronation in 1483, Richard III likewise 'set out on a stately perambulation of his realm, to reassure and win the hearts of the populace at large through his magnificence and munificence'.¹⁰⁷ Wisely so, given the questionable nature of his accession and the rumours then circulating of murder in the Tower. Even in 1421 the Lancastrian Henry V had found it expedient to tour the country in the wake, not of his own coronation, but of the crowning of his French Queen. Concerned for his wife's popularity, and in need of funds and men for a new campaign against the Dauphinist resistance, Henry V effected a series of dignified and pious appearances along the roads of his kingdom.¹⁰⁸ Many of his actions were mirrored in those of Henry Tudor in 1486. As the English royal court became more settled toward the middle of the fifteenth century, and kings' journeys less frequent, the stately royal progress arguably emerged as an organised and systematic instrument of consolidation. Its utility as an introductory measure to a new regime was manifest. In appearing in person in the troubled northern regions of his kingdom in spring 1486, in publicly commending himself to the magnates and commons alike, and in assessing the loyalties and potential of those around him, Henry Tudor was, on one level at least, exploiting an established, post-coronation tool almost certainly perfected in England by the Yorkist kings.

¹⁰⁶ Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 41-8.

¹⁰⁷ Bennett, *Bosworth*, p. 39.

¹⁰⁸ Doig, 'Propaganda and Truth', pp. 167-72.

On another level, the herald's account also reveals that the first leg of Henry VII's journey was partly devoted to military concerns. Independent evidence suggests that in February 1486, contemporary correspondents believed that the king would lead an army north immediately after his first parliament, and a number of former Ricardians had been hiding out in the north since the very beginning of the reign. While there is no suggestion in the herald's report that the king had planned any military action from the outset – nor does it indicate whether the king did, in fact, set off with 1000 armed men and more than 100-120 lords and knights¹⁰⁹ – the dramatic increase in the size and fighting capacity of the royal entourage between Lincoln and York is clear. Most notably, the herald describes the arrival at Barnsdale of the earl of Northumberland 'with xxxiiij knyghtes of his feed men, besides esquiers and yomen', and directly associates the defensive posturing of the enlarged royal entourage between Doncaster and Pontefract with the presence of rebels around Middleham and Ripon.¹¹⁰ The account further indicates that a goodly proportion of the great secular and ecclesiastical names in the realm began to rally to the king's entourage at a time when trouble was clearly brewing, and when independent evidence suggests there might have been an attempt on the king's life at York.

Nevertheless, if one were tempted to suggest, as Polydore Vergil and Edward Hall certainly imply, that the king set out intending wholly to 'wede, extirpate and purdge the myndes of men spotted and contaminate with the contagious smoke of dissencion',¹¹¹ there is much to suggest otherwise. The heralds' memoranda reveal the influence of unforeseen circumstance upon the actions of the king and his leading

¹⁰⁹ *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 65; *Plumpton Correspondence*, p. 51.

¹¹⁰ Julius B. XII, fols. 9v-10r.

¹¹¹ Hall, *Union*, p. 426. See also Vergil, *Historia Anglica*, p. 11.

men that spring, circumstance that might account, at least in part, for the militarism of the expedition. The outbreak of pestilence in Newark was clearly beyond anyone's control, and the herald's statement that the royal entourage rode to Nottingham 'without any bayting', perhaps indicates that a stop was intended at Newark or another of the towns along the way.¹¹² More importantly, it is instructive that the unabated ride from Lincoln immediately after Easter, to the strategic base at Nottingham, not only required the king to divert from his northerly course and move rapidly south east, but was also put into action after the revelation of rebellion to the north and south west of Lincoln. From the time the royal entourage left Lincoln until its arrival in York, the herald's report is devoted almost wholly to the muster of the royal forces. It seems possible, therefore, that Henry Tudor's move to Nottingham was only arranged in Lincoln at the end of March, around which time several peers and knights were summoned to join the king at Nottingham. This might explain both Nottingham's need to send a messenger to Lincoln to determine the king's intentions, and the king's late decision to alter prior arrangement. Sir William Stanley and George, Lord Strange, expecting on April 3 to ride with the king to York, were the following day issued with a commission to accompany the earl of Derby and others into Chester and Flint.¹¹³

The west Midlands might also have been a late addition to the royal itinerary, encouraged by the advent of the Lovell-Stafford rebellion. The troubling report carried to the king in Lincoln was soon followed by news of the Staffords' occupation of Worcester and the indictment of the mayor and commonality for treason. From

¹¹² Julius B. XII, fol. 8v.

¹¹³ *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 65; *Plumpton Correspondence*, p. 51; *CPR*, p. 86.

York, the target of his push north, Henry Tudor returned via Doncaster to Nottingham, pausing long enough to commission an investigation into the recent treasonous activities in Worcestershire. By this time the city fathers of Worcester almost certainly knew of the king's intention to enter the city, and had probably commenced preparation. Indeed, if the twelve yards of black satin, ordered from Doncaster on April 30, were intended expressly for the king's Whitsunday gown, his decision to return to London via the west might only have been taken at York. There is certainly no mention of Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester and Bristol in the fragments of contemporary evidence corresponding to the king's projected itinerary or the early stages of the tour. Since Henry Tudor remained in the northern capital for almost two weeks, passed several days in Nottingham, and only reached the western provinces around May 10,¹¹⁴ Worcester had time to devise a suitably lavish and contrite reception. The pageantic Henry VI was to offer an urgent and delicate plea for mercy, almost certainly motivated by recent events.¹¹⁵ But, perhaps Henry Tudor was still incensed by the city's treachery when he arrived, for he left Worcester for Hereford without ever having seen the pageantry.

Nor were the gathering of forces at Nottingham and shortly after a muster in the sense of the Stoke campaign the following year – if largely because the rising at Middleham and Ripon collapsed early and with little external pressure – and, while the northern rising in March-April 1486 was more serious than the herald's report allows, other motives also lay behind the show of strength and unity effected by the royal entourage at Doncaster and Pontefract. The king and those men who joined him

¹¹⁴ *CPR*, pp. 83ff.

¹¹⁵ Meagher, 'First Progress', pp. 62-3.

almost certainly sought the establishment of working political relationships under the new regime, an important concern for all in the first twelve months of the reign. Those who had given the new king reason to question their loyalty must have hoped to improve their position, while others presumably desired a place in the king's confidence. It is surely significant that the earl of Northumberland and his Yorkshire following caught up with the king at Barnsdale, a traditional place of welcome, just as the city fathers took care to station large and well-appointed welcome parties on their own civic boundaries.¹¹⁶ The herald's extensive lists of the government officials, peers, knights and esquires who paid their respects to the king on the way to York is doubtless also indicative of the king's desire to welcome men into his connection, and perhaps, too, of his need to monitor individuals around him. After a lifetime in exile, Henry Tudor's need was pressing.

3.4 Conclusion

Clearly much more could, and ought to, be written of Henry Tudor's first provincial progress in 1486, and greater investigation will almost certainly reveal other aspects of the tour hitherto unnoticed by historians. What seems certain is that Henry Tudor planned from the outset to lead a stately and carefully planned tour into the former heartland of the Ricardian regime. The journey was to be an exercise of princely and pious display, and of the advertisement of the strength and credibility of the new regime among those men and women less eager to except his rule. Contemporary and correspondence attests to nothing less.

¹¹⁶ Samman, 'Progresses of Henry VIII', p. 70; Doig, 'Propaganda and Truth', pp. 175-7.

The timing was excellent. Henry Tudor had been crowned, married to the daughter of the House of York, and concluded his first parliament. Now, too, the birth of an heir was anticipated for the autumn. If the pressing needs of settlement in the immediate aftermath of Bosworth – from interrogation and punishment to conciliation, reward and political consolidation – had made it virtually impossible for him to leave the vicinity of London for any length of time, by the spring of 1486 Henry Tudor could scarcely remain at home any longer. The north was restive and the king clearly aware that he could never truly be assured of control of the outlying regions of his kingdom as long as he remained at home.

It is more difficult, however, to know at what point the king decided to extend the provincial progress to include regions of the west Midlands. The western provinces might have been on the royal itinerary from the outset, yet the evidence suggests that the ride through Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester and Bristol was only confirmed after the king learned of the twin-centred rising in the north and west of England.

More trouble awaited Henry Tudor just around the corner, and, as I discuss in Chapter 4, the king was compelled to ride into the northern provinces twice more in the ensuing years. Yet, for the time being at least, England's new king could feel satisfied that he had successfully laid the foundations for a working political and dynastic identity in England. Returning to London at the end of summer, he presumably looked, not back upon the difficult first year of his reign, but forward to the future, and to the birth of his first child.

SEDITION AND CEREMONY: HERALDIC IMPRESSIONS OF COURT.

4.1 Introduction

Trouble was, indeed, waiting just round the corner, and it was not long before Henry VII faced a fresh challenge to his authority. As he marched north toward the army of the pretender, led by the earl of Lincoln and bolstered by the contribution of Irish and low country levies, Henry Tudor must have wondered how far the conflagration would spread this time. More than that, the situation was ominously reminiscent of his own challenge to Richard III only two years earlier: a challenge in which the pretender had defeated the king. In the event, the rising against Henry VII was crushed, the pretender taken into custody, and the king able to turn his thoughts to the ceremony and splendour of the crowning of his queen. Only twelve months earlier, he had christened his son and heir, amid all the pomp and ceremony typically visited on such a fortunate event. Several lavish ceremonies and another potentially serious rising were to consume the nascent Tudor court over the next few years and help shape its early political landscape. Each event was recorded in detail by heralds in the service of the Crown, and incorporated into the memoir of 1486-90. These events, described in the memoir, form the focus of the following chapter.

Commencing with the heraldic coverage of the Stoke campaign in 1487, and of the rising in North Yorkshire two years later, Chapter 4 examines the principal court events in England between the progress of spring 1486, and the first few months of 1490. This chapter aims to elucidate not only the details and themes addressed by the

herald or heralds, and the possible reasons for their interest, but also to examine evidence of the use and manipulation of these occasions by Henry Tudor. This, in turn, offers valuable insights into the political landscape in the early years of the Tudor court, insights not readily available from other contemporary or near-contemporary sources.

4.2 Sedition and Yorkist Intrigue

When Henry Tudor set off into East Anglia in March 1487, at the head of an impressive entourage, he began his journey in a similar manner to his northern progress of 1486. The observance of the feast of Easter in Norwich, the alms giving and attendance of divine service, the public devotion in Walsingham, and even the striking new doublets, must have impressed King Henry's dignity and regal piety upon the townsfolk and herald-recorder alike.¹ Before the king and company set off from Sheen, at least one courtier had foreseen the prospect of some courtly dalliance in Norwich, and select women in Essex had prepared to welcome the king and make good the earl of Oxford's boast 'of the fair and good gentlewomen of the county'.² Yet, only four weeks after it commenced, the king's journey had become an urgent counter-measure to rebellion, driving the king rapidly into the Midlands and then northwards at the head of an enlarged and defensive host. So tight was his schedule at one point that he failed to celebrate the feast of St. George with the Garter knights and, in consequence, aroused the ire of two leading magnates. Indeed, from its notice of the arrival of the royal entourage in Coventry on April 22, the herald's narrative is devoted almost wholly to the king's military campaign.

¹ Julius B. XII, fol. 25v. On February 17, 1487, the king had delivered to a yeoman of the robe enough satin to make two new doublets. *Materials*, ii, p. 122. The herald's record is silent on the matter of civic receptions, and it is probable that the king was not greeted with anything like the pageants and welcomes devised in 1486. C.H. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1842), i, pp. 233-4 mentions the royal visit, but draws upon the herald's narrative printed in Leland, *Collectanea*. He notes also that Sir William Littlebury, alias Horn, mayor of London, donated 500 marks toward the repair of the highways between London and Cambridge. *The Red Paper Book of Colchester*, ed. W.G. Benham (Colchester, 1902) and *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, ed. M. Bateson (Cambridge, 1901), ii, are wholly unhelpful in these matters.

What is naturally not apparent in the herald's report of Easter 1487, is that the many strands of the conspiracy in which Lincoln was implicated were already months old by the time the king and court reached Norwich on April 11. The Flemish chronicler, Adrien de But, writing later, appears to attest to the presence of a pretender in Ireland prior to the end of 1486,³ while as early as November that year, talk of the earl of Warwick had circulated in London.⁴ Contemporary correspondence dated to January 24 1487, makes it clear that the king had known of certain developments in Viscount Lovell's new rebellion for 'more than a sevynnyght passed'.⁵ In addition, there was trouble in Devon and Cornwall in early February; in early March one Edward Hexstall of Dover stood charged with treason 'on many strange points'; and only three days into his second journey, on March 22, King Henry was compelled to address the issue of security in the city of Waterford, Ireland.⁶ Indeed, the king was clearly aware at the beginning of 1487 of a 'whole tissue of uncertainties and dangers', and of the presence of a boy-pretender in Dublin. He may also have managed by this stage to tease out some of the specifics of the imposture.⁷ It must surely have been at least partly the knowledge of these uncertainties and dangers that drew Henry Tudor from London in spring 1487, at the head of a sizeable retinue.⁸

² *Paston Letters and Papers*, i, p. 654.

³ *Chroniques d'Adrien de But*, p. 655.

⁴ *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, ed. J. Kirby, Camden Soc., 5th ser., 8 (1996), p. 67; *Plumpton Correspondence*, ed. T. Stapleton (London, 1839), p. 54.

⁵ *Paston Letters and Papers*, ii, pp. 448-9.

⁶ *CPR*, i, p. 179; *Materials*, ii, p. 118; *Paston Letters and Papers*, i, p. 653; *CPR*, i, pp. 158, 172. On March 22, from Chertsey, the king secured payment of £43 5s to William White, recorder of Waterford, for the purchase of '200 bows, 400 sheaves of arrows and 400 bowstrings, for the safeguard and defence of Waterford'. PRO E404/79/109 (263).

⁷ M.J. Bennett, *Lambert Simnel and the Battle of Stoke* (Gloucester, 1987), p. 50

⁸ *Paston Letters and Papers*, i, p. 654. See also A.J. Pollard, *North-Eastern England during the Wars of the Roses. Lay Society, War, and Politics, 1450-1500* (Oxford, 1990), p. 377.

It clearly also needs to be recognised that the defection of the earl of Lincoln in early February came as a nasty surprise to the king and court; more so, because the earl had attended the Sheen council in February and knew that the boy in Dublin was an impostor. Whatever Lincoln's long-term involvement in the conspiracy, as the nephew and heir-presumptive of dead King Richard he represented the natural and highly dangerous leader of the Yorkist cause.⁹ By the time the king, the herald-recorder and the royal entourage were on the road in mid-March they were fully aware that Lincoln had arrived in the Low Countries, and that he and the rebels there were in daily preparation for their next venture. Moreover, the 25-year-old earl had made his escape through the eastern provinces, where his family's vast holdings lay. Had not Lincoln's father, the duke of Suffolk, and several of his brothers already come to terms with the new dispensation, the royal entourage might have had still greater reason to ride into Suffolk.¹⁰ While as yet there was much the king did not know about the conspiracy, it was wise to move rapidly toward the eastern parties to try to pre-empt a rebel attack and to reassure the people of the towns and cities along the eastern route. It is possible that the East Anglian tour was planned in advance of Lincoln's defection – perhaps as a companion to the stately northern tour of the previous spring – and it was still evidently possible in early March to anticipate enjoyment in Norwich. The entourage may also have paused for a time in Bury St. Edmunds.¹¹ Yet, Lincoln's treachery and his arrival in Flanders drove home the

⁹ Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 51.

¹⁰ See especially J.A.F. Thomson, 'John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk', *Speculum*, 54 (1979), pp. 528-42. A rising in this region was likely to seek support amongst the tenantry of the de la Poles in Suffolk and the old Howard affinity. Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 58.

¹¹ Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, p. 21.

strategic logic and urgent necessity of a journey into East Anglia, and with little doubt influenced the herald's task.

Indeed, the focus, if not the tenor, of the extant Stoke account is clear from the herald's introductory statement. At Sheen, after Candlemas, the king had held a great council of lords both spiritual and temporal.¹² John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, attended that council, before defecting to the enemy camp:

'At that counseill was therle of Lyncolln, whiche incontynently after the saide counseil departede the land and went into Flaunders to the lorde Lovell and accompanied hym silf with the kinges rebelles and enemyes, noysing in the countrey that therle of Warwik shulde be in Irelande...'¹³

Lincoln reportedly reached Lovell in Flanders at the beginning of Lent, and at the conclusion of their preparations the rebel contingent 'departed into Ireland, al thorough the narrow see'.¹⁴ Some two weeks after Lincoln's arrival in the Low Countries, Henry Tudor and his entourage were on the road to Norwich, and the herald commenced his coverage of the journey.

Before proceeding with an examination of the account of the Stoke campaign contained in the memoir, it is important to return briefly to the question, raised in Chapter 1, of the relationship between the heralds' original notes and the accounts set

¹² Julius B. XII, fol. 25r; *Paston Letters and Papers*, i, p. 643. William Paston III stated that the council concluded on March 3.

¹³ Julius B. XII, fol. 25r.

¹⁴ Julius B. XII, fol. 25r; *YHB*, ii, p. 544.

down in the memoir. On this relationship depends the value of many of the heralds' claims for the Stoke campaign. From what we know of the English heralds during the fifteenth century, of their attendance at court and on campaign, and of their compilation of narrative records based upon eye-witness observation, the herald-recorder was without doubt part of the increasingly martial ambience in the north-bound royal entourage in 1487. The extraordinary circumstantial detail of this account, and its inclusion of a transcript of the disciplinary regulations proclaimed at Coventry, would seem to support this notion.¹⁵ The extant report certainly testifies to the presence of Garter King of Arms in the royal camp, and to the importance of heralds in maintaining discipline in the army, and, as I shall presently discuss, it is also likely that officers of arms attended the king's pre-battle council in Kenilworth.¹⁶

While almost certainly derived from eye-witness testimony, however, the narrative contained in the memoir was written into its present form only after the conclusion of the campaign. Opening with the introductory statement, mentioned above, of the flight of the earl of Lincoln to Flanders and the subsequent rebel landing in Ireland, the extant account of the Stoke campaign in 1487 can have been commenced no earlier than the day on which Henry Tudor's court learned that the rebels had reached Ireland. Moreover, as discussed in my first chapter, internal textual evidence suggests that most, if not all, of the extant narrative of the Stoke campaign was compiled after Whitsuntide 1488. Yet, in spite of the lapse of some twelve months between the events and the completion of the account, the process of re-writing involved in

¹⁵ A. Goodman, *The Wars of the Roses. Military Activity and English Society, 1452-97* (London, 1981), p. 102, assumes the narrative to be an eye-witness account, but believes – erroneously – that it was the work of one of Henry Tudor's soldiers.

¹⁶ Julius B. XII, fols. 27r-27v, 28r.

producing the extant redaction, and evidence of hindsight, there is a general 'rawness' of reportage and an immediacy of events that precludes any sense of modification in the copying.

According to the account in the memoir, the king set off from Sheen during the second week of Lent 1487, and rode through Essex to Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk, and on to Norwich for the celebration of Easter. His entourage was probably already graced by the presence of those men reputed to have passed the feast of Easter with him, including the duke of Suffolk, the earls of Oxford and Derby, Lord Fitzwalter, Steward of the king's house, the bishop of Exeter, Lord Privy Seal, Sir Robert Willoughby, and perhaps also the newly installed archbishop of Canterbury, who was responsible for divine service that season.¹⁷ While the Sheen council in February, and the arrival at court of a great embassy from France,¹⁸ must have encouraged a number of great magnates and lesser English nobles to the court at that time, the herald-recorder early makes explicit the link between the defensive posture adopted by the king – through the presence of knights, esquires and the larger part of the eastern nobility – and the activities of the rebels in the Low Countries:

There wer with the king at the fest the reverende fader in God the lorde Richard Fox, bishop of Exeter. Item the duk of Suffolk, therle of Oxinford, therle of Derbye, the lorde Fitwater, steward of the kinges howse, Sir Robert Willoughby and a great nombre of knyghtes and esquiers, and in substance al the nobles of that parties, for in that tyme they had dayly tydinges of the preparing of his rebelles and enemyes, which then wer in Seland and

¹⁷ Julius B. XII, fols. 25r-25v.

Flawndres to the see warde and, as was reportede, [were] to lande in this realme, in what parte it was no certeynte.¹⁹

The king's alleged concern for the eastern provinces during the first leg of the journey is corroborated by ample independent evidence to demonstrate the same: eastern coastlines were manned, beacons repaired, ships built and victualled, and armed men recruited from towns on the Easter itinerary.²⁰ Perhaps too, Henry Tudor sought to monitor the eastern power-brokers like the duke of Suffolk to prevent their collaboration with the rebels. Yet, the herald-recorder notes only that the king left Norwich on the Monday after Easter to ride to Walsingham, 'and ther with good devocion did his offering'.²¹ Presumably Henry Tudor continued to conduct himself with the vigorous piety expected of a Christian prince, for if he hoped to gain the support and following he needed, Henry Tudor could ill afford to neglect his religious duties at this time. He might have felt, too, that devotion at the old and venerated shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, as made by kings before him, would bring him favour of a higher order.²²

¹⁸ Julius B. XII, fol. 25r; *Materials*, ii, p.114.

¹⁹ Julius B. XII, fol. 25v.

²⁰ Julius B. XII, fol. 25v; *Materials*, ii, pp. 106-7, 135, 136-7; PRO E404/79/178; *Household Books of John Duke of Norfolk and Thomas Earl of Surrey, 1481-90*, ed. J. P. Collier (Roxburgh Club, 1844), pp. 493ff. On April 14, the king also ordered the adjournment of the court of Common Pleas and postponement of all its business to Trinity Term. *Materials*, ii, p. 136.

²¹ Julius B. XII, fol. 25v.

²² Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, p. 21. The shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham had been the focus of royal pilgrimage since the thirteenth century, and was the most important of the shrines dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It maintained its popularity until the Reformation, when it was destroyed. C. King, 'Shrines and Pilgrimages before the Reformation', *History Today*, 29.10 (1979), pp. 664, 669. Edward IV made his devotions there in 1469.

Immediately after Easter, however, the pace of the journey described by the herald changed. If until this time the king's retinue had been primed to anticipate trouble in the east, Henry Tudor now led his entourage 'towardses the middes of his realme', riding 'by Caumbridge, Huntyngdon and Northampton, and on Sent Georges Even came to Coventrye, wher he kept his fest of Seint George'.²³ No detail at all is provided for the stops between Walsingham and Coventry, and one assumes that they were hurried. Indeed, elsewhere we learn that the king's schedule had not done justice to the celebration of the feast of St. George with the Garter knights.²⁴ While the king had presumably satisfied himself as to the security of the eastern coastlines and the preparedness of the eastern magnates, he cannot have known initially that the rebel fleets of Holland and Brabant were bound for the English Channel.²⁵ Indeed, even at Huntingdon on April 20 the king seems to have believed in the continued possibility of invasion along the east coast.²⁶ However, the herald-recorder gives no indication of what drew Henry Tudor westward in such haste, alluding simply, if rather ominously, to the daily arrival in the royal entourage of more and more of the king's 'true servants and subjects'.²⁷

From the point at which the herald's record notes the arrival of the royal entourage in Coventry, on St. George's Eve, the account becomes a more detailed and circumstantial record of the principal stops. Effectively a series of brief memoranda, singularly lacking in analysis or statements of causality, the loosely-bound narrative

²³ Julius B. XII, fol. 25v; Edwards, *Itinerary*, p. 41; G. Temperley, *Henry VII* (London, 1917), p. 412. Temperley's itinerary for Henry Tudor at this time is inaccurate.

²⁴ PRO E404/79/183. Also printed in *Materials*, ii, pp. 152-3.

²⁵ Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 59; *YHB*, ii, pp. 550-1; Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, p. 21.

²⁶ *YHB*, ii, pp. 550-1.

²⁷ Julius B. XII, fol. 25v.

is henceforth characterised by an immediacy of reportage which suggests the presence of the herald-recorder at the events he describes. In Coventry, the king enlisted the support of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Winchester, Ely, Lincoln, Worcester and Exeter, and the prior of Coventry to declare the papal dispensations for the king's marriage, and to curse 'with boke, bell and candell al thoo that dyd any thyng contrary to ther right'.²⁸ While these pontifically-clad prelates cursed and raged from the pulpits of the city, the king also designated the duke of Suffolk as his deputy for the belated celebration of the feast of St. George at Windsor.²⁹ When confirmation of the rebel landing in Ireland reached the royal entourage, Henry Tudor was already attended by 'the great party of the nobles of the south parties',³⁰ most of whom must have been among those 'true servants and subjects' allegedly rallying to the king in or near Coventry. Many of these men were now directed to return to their respective territories to commence muster and await further instruction, although some reportedly chose to send deputies in their stead.³¹ The king then rode to nearby Kenilworth to the company of his mother and the queen, and there 'within a short whyle after came tydynges that his enemyes wer londede in the north parties besidesse Furnesse Fells'.³²

²⁸ Julius B. XII, fol. 25v; PRO E404/79/58(213); PRO E404/79/162. The papal bulls were also promulgated at Furness and nearby Cartmel in the north west. *YHB*, ii, pp. 557-8; Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 72. For discussion of the papal dispensation of 1486 regarding the king's marriage, see S.B. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, new edn. (New Haven and London, 1999), Appendix D, pp. 330-1.

²⁹ Julius B. XII, fol. 25v; G.F. Beltz, *Memorials of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, p. lxxvii; *Materials*, ii, pp. 142-3, 153.

³⁰ Julius B. XII, fols. 25v-26r

³¹ Julius B. XII, fol. 26r.

³² Julius B. XII, fol. 26r.

Whitsuntide and all its associated festivities perhaps allowed the king the opportunity, amid frenetic preparation, to make a show of stability and royal piety, and the sight of the queen – perhaps also of the baby prince – would have been as much a comfort to the townsfolk at Kenilworth as to the king himself. Yet, with the news of a rebel landing in the north-west, the king and his men in Kenilworth were seized with the urgency of muster, and a council of war was assembled immediately. Now, too, the rapid and heady succession of events beginning to guide the king and his entourage becomes apparent in the herald's reportage. The herald-recorder was very likely present at the pre-battle council in Kenilworth, for he shows himself greatly preoccupied with the formation of the royal vanguard. He notes that the earl of Oxford was granted the leadership of the vanguard, thereby taking on the combined forces of the young earl of Shrewsbury, Viscount Lisle, Lords Grey Ruthin, Grey, Hastings, and Ferrers of Chartley, together with a 'great nombre of other banerettes, bachelers and esquiers'.³³ The right cavalry wing – also reportedly sent out as an advance party – comprised Lord Powys, Sir Edward Woodville, Sir Charles Somerset, Sir Richard Haute, 'with many oothre galantes of the kinges howse'. Sir Richard Pole and others made up the left cavalry wing.³⁴

It is instructive, moreover, that the rather confused breakdown of the royal army given by the Burgundian historiographer, Jean Molinet, some three years after the battle of Stoke, provides similar information on the make-up of the royal vanguard,

³³ Julius B. XII, fol. 26r.

³⁴ Julius B. XII, fol. 26r.

albeit mistakenly attributed to the 'arrière garde'.³⁵ Molinet almost certainly had access to a number of independent sources, and there is little reason to doubt that he should have come into contact with heraldic accounts like that contained in the memoir. He may even have seen a version of the memoir itself. In addition, while historians generally assume, by reference to an (?editorial) amendment to Vergil's, *Anglica Historia*, that the main battalion was commanded by the duke of Bedford, the herald offers no comment on this matter, and was probably not in contact with the main battalion during its mobilisation.³⁶ Like the memoir herald, Molinet and other early chronicle sources also say little or nothing about the main battalion.³⁷

A further item on the Kenilworth council's agenda appears to have been the enforcement of public order and discipline in the town and army. Under the direction of the principal advisers in his retinue, the king issued a series of disciplinary regulations over the town and the army: robbery, assault, rape, desecration, brawling, fornication, and gang warfare were forbidden under the harshest of penalties; no man was to lay hands upon the pyx holding the blessed sacrament; none was to take lodgings other than those designated by the king's harbingers; none was to take meat and victuals but at the proper price, on pain of death; quarrelling, shouting, and horn-

³⁵ Julius B. XII, fol. 26r. Molinet, *Chroniques*, p. 564, gives largely the same array for the vanguard, and further suggests that the right and left cavalry wing comprised 2 000 and 12 000 horses respectively. He attributes leadership of the left cavalry wing to Sir John Savage.

³⁶ The statement that Bedford and king's battalion assembled alongside the royal vanguard in Kenilworth is wholly untenable, since the herald-recorder in Kenilworth makes no reference whatsoever to the main battalion. This group was presumably still in Coventry and was one of the reasons why the king returned there to regroup. Neither Coventry, with a population of c. 6 000, nor the smaller town of Kenilworth, could have sustained the entire royal army. M. Keen, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages, 1348-1500* (Harmondsworth, 1990), p. 87.

³⁷ Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, pp. 20-1; *The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley (London, 1983), p. 241.

blowing in the royal host after curfew were strictly forbidden; instructions were to be followed to the letter; and each man was to be ready, upon successive blasts of the trumpet, to saddle his horse and wait upon the king.³⁸ These regulations, printed in full in the herald's report, and possibly transcribed verbatim from a tract prepared at the council, were of special interest to the herald-recorder, not only as a supplement to his eye-witness description, but also for their direct implication upon the role of the officers of arms in the royal host preparing for battle:

Also, whan soever it shall please the king our souveraigne lorde to commaunde any of his officers of armes to charge any thing in his name, by hys high comaundement or by the comaundement of his counstable or marshall, that it be observede and kept upon payne of imprisonment...³⁹

From Kenilworth, the king and vanguard returned to Coventry, while the bishop of Winchester took leave to attend the queen. From Coventry the royal army commenced its northward march. In Leicester, on the advice of Archbishop Morton, and again in Loughborough the following day, the king purged the army of 'common women and vagaboundes', thereby enabling 'more reste in the kinges hooste and the better rule'.⁴⁰ The herald-recorder displays some interest in the eviction of camp followers and the level of discipline in the army, and was probably involved in the enforcement of these regulations.

³⁸ Julius B. XII, fols 26v-27r.

³⁹ Julius B. XII, fols 27r-27v.

⁴⁰ Julius B. XII, fol. 27v.

By the time he reached Nottinghamshire on Tuesday June 12, the king was moving closer to confrontation with the rebel host marching down from Furness Fells. He no longer had the counsel of Archbishop Morton, who had committed his own armed following to his master's service and departed, and he cannot have been reassured to find that no camping ground had been ordained for Wednesday night.⁴¹ Yet, the circumspect Henry Tudor appears to have made light of the situation as he led his army 'her and ther a great espace of tyme', for the relevant memorandum offered by the herald-recorder seems hardly less interested in the 'royall' and 'merveolouse fayre' weather that day than in the problems suffered by the king's troops. Perhaps, too, royal and noble bravado lies behind that fact that the herald recorded the desertions on three successive evenings with no hint of the alarm presumably felt by soldiers and their superiors watching men flee. In any case, the herald appears to have been interested in the identification of key players and noble names, subsequently asserting that 'noman of worship... fledde, but raskelles'.⁴²

Nor are specific reports of desertions and the inadequacy of the king's harbingers the only unflattering information contained in the Stoke narrative; for in the herald's description of the lead-up to the battle it is possible to tease out glimpses of the king's unease. Having advanced well north by the Wednesday, the king retired south of Nottingham for the evening.⁴³ When the rumour that he had been routed went through the camp that night, possibly tinged with report of the defeat of the 'foreriders' to the north,⁴⁴ Henry Tudor's absence was dangerous. Moreover, he had

⁴¹ Julius B. XII, fol. 27v.

⁴² Julius B. XII, fol. 28v.

⁴³ Julius B. XII, fols. 27v-28r; Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 82.

⁴⁴ Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 83.

no sooner returned to camp the following morning to make his devotions than he allegedly charged away again with little or no word.⁴⁵ His purpose, according to the herald, was to locate the vast retinue of the Lord Strange. His conduct was clearly alarming. Polydore Vergil later attributed a similar episode to the Bosworth campaign of 1485,⁴⁶ and, if Vergil were simply mistaken with the year, there may well have been heraldic accounts of Henry Tudor's conduct at Stoke in circulation soon after the battle. The memoir herald of 1487 certainly believed that the combined armies of the Lord Strange and his father, the earl of Derby, were themselves a match for the rebel army,⁴⁷ and the king was possibly compelled by a deep concern over the loyalty of the militarily powerful Stanleys. When Lord Strange's vast army, 'all...fayre embaytailed', joined the camp on the Thursday, the king's assembled host were awe-struck.⁴⁸

Thenceforth until the conclusion of the campaign, the herald's note-taking primarily details the formation and strategy of the well-disciplined royal host as it shadowed the rebel army along the banks of the Trent.⁴⁹ With the arrival of Lord Strange and his men, the trusted Garter Writhe guided the soldiers through the muster.⁵⁰ Despite the desertions on the nights of June 14 and 15, as at Nottingham, daybreak apparently brought swift, calculated displays of preparedness by the king, the earl of Oxford, and other leading magnates.⁵¹ On the morning of the battle, the king reportedly arose

⁴⁵ Julius B. XII, fol. 28r.

⁴⁶ *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History, comprising the reigns of Henry VI, Edward IV, and Richard III*, ed. Sir H. Ellis, Camden Soc., o.s. 29 (1844), pp. 217-18.

⁴⁷ Julius B. XII, fol. 28r.

⁴⁸ Julius B. XII, fol. 28r.

⁴⁹ Julius B. XII, fol. 28v.

⁵⁰ Julius B. XII, fol. 28r.

⁵¹ Julius B. XII, fol. 28v.

early to attend mass, celebrated by Bishop Fox, before calling upon the local knowledge of ‘v good and true men of the village of Ratecliff’ to lead the way to Newark.⁵² Thus, shortly before nine o’clock in the morning, ‘beside a village called Stook, a large myle oute of Newarke’, the royal army encountered and overpowered the rebel host.

Despite the considerable descriptive detail in the Stoke report hitherto, the herald-recorder ultimately offers only a statement of the outcome of the battle, a single notice of the principal casualties, and a list of the bannerets and knights created by the king that day.⁵³ The earl of Lincoln, Martin Schwarz, and many English, Irish and German levies were dead; Francis Viscount Lovell, had been put to flight; and a young boy had been captured, known to the rebels as King Edward VI, but – so the herald assured posterity – ‘whos name was in dede John’.⁵⁴ It is intriguing, given the currency of the name ‘Lambert Simnel’ in the government records from the end of the same year that the herald-recorder should claim the boy’s name was John. The compiler of the Leland-Hearne edition of the memoir certainly felt the herald to have erred, and transcribed the relevant clause as ‘whos Name was indede Lambert’.⁵⁵ Derived from close proximity to the battle itself, and in large measure independent of the official line, the herald’s statement may well offer a unique window through the official sources, onto the identity of the boy-pretender in 1487. It is also significant that the city of York, which received news of the battle almost immediately, forbore

⁵² Julius B. XII, fol. 28v.

⁵³ Julius B. XII, fols. 29r-29v.

⁵⁴ Julius B. XII, fol. 29r; Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, p. 25; *YHB*, ii, p. 573.

⁵⁵ Leland, *Collectanea*, iv, p. 214. For a fuller discussion of the issue of the boy’s name, see Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, pp. 43-8.

to mention the boy's name at all in the civic muniments. He is simply described here as 'the child [the rebels] callid ther king'.⁵⁶

If it is somewhat disappointing that the herald-recorder at Stoke provided neither a descriptive account of the battle nor an extensive list of combatants, casualties, prisoners, and the like, it is yet singularly reflective of the rough-and-ready character of the rest of his report that the herald is here, once again, concerned only with chief persons and actions in the lead-up to the battle. While news of the rebel army's defeat reached York – in record time – by 3 o'clock the following morning,⁵⁷ it is unlikely that the material offered in the memoir could have formed the basis of an informative news letter of casualties distributed from the field, such as was typically compiled by heralds in battle. On the other hand, the list of chivalric creations on the field with which the herald concludes his account represents the only systematised information in the entire Stoke compilation, and clearly bears the mark of retrospective formatting. The list was primarily intended as a utility for the heralds who collected fees on the occasion of a knighting, and it accompanied by notices of the fee paying status of the knights in question.⁵⁸

In fact, the entire narrative of the Stoke campaign contained in the memoir mirrors the rather shambolic, 'seat-of-the-pants' manner in which the king came to battle on June 16. It may also reflect the temperament and calibre of the herald-recorder. In the

⁵⁶ *YHB*, ii, p. 573.

⁵⁷ C.A. J. Armstrong, 'Some Examples of the Distribution and Speed of News at the Time of the Wars of the Roses' in *England, France and Burgundy in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1983), p. 119.

⁵⁸ Only a little later, Garter Writhe made a transcript of this list for addition to his own working book of knights, detailing the fees and payment status of each. 'Writhe's Book of Knights': BL, MS. Additional 46354, fols. 16r-19v.

mixed climate of optimism and apprehension that pervaded the court at Sheen in February and March, it is difficult to be certain just what, if any, commission was given to the herald-recorder before the commencement of the journey. If the journey were originally intended as a progress into the eastern provinces, in the manner of the progress of the year before, the herald might have been expected to compile a similar report as had been formulated for the first provincial progress the year before. It is also possible that more than one herald in the royal entourage took notes during the campaign, perhaps an officer of arms attendant upon the main battalion. The descriptions of the battle by Vergil and Molinet both appear to have derived from eye-witness sources, and Vergil's (unlike the memoir herald's report) was written down before the disappearance of Viscount Lovell was known.⁵⁹ As I shall presently discuss, there were other lists of participants compiled around the same time.

With a little interrogation, the herald's rather 'rag-tag' report nevertheless yields some impression of the size and elan of the army gathering around Henry Tudor as he rode from Coventry, through Leicester, Loughborough and into Nottinghamshire to face the rebels. Among the peers closely associated with the new regime were the dukes of Bedford and Suffolk, the earls of Derby and Oxford, Viscount Lisle and Lord Scales, certain of whom must have been able to commit a thousand or more armed men to the royal service.⁶⁰ According to one contemporary correspondent, Oxford intended from the outset to lead so grand a company from Essex that 'the Lancashire men may see that there be gentlemen of [such] great substance that they

⁵⁹ Molinet, *Chroniques*, p. 564; Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, p. 25. Vergil's account assumes Lovell to have been among the slain. It was soon discovered that Lovell's body not on the battlefield after all.

⁶⁰ Julius B. XII, fol. 25v; A. Cameron, 'The giving of livery and retaining in Henry VII's reign', *Renaissance and Modern Studies*, 18 (1974), p. 24.

be able to buy all Lancashire'.⁶¹ As the king's lieutenant in East Anglia, Oxford commanded the respect and military resources of a vast number of eastern retainers. According to the herald's report, he also commanded the company of the archbishop of Canterbury, led by the primate's nephew Robert Morton,⁶² and probably, too, the company of the bishop of Winchester under the leadership of the earl of Devon. Apart from Shrewsbury and Devonshire in the vanguard, the earl of Wiltshire, and Lords Hastings and Grey of Powys also numbered among the younger peers recorded as rallying to the king's banner. In addition, when Derby's son George, Lord Strange, joined the king at Nottingham, he had with him a following from Lancashire and Cheshire so large that it elicited comment from the herald-recorder.⁶³

A later addition, possibly editorial, to Polydore Vergil's narrative of the Stoke campaign offers an extensive list of participants at the battle of Stoke that supplements and verifies the memoir herald's information.⁶⁴ This list, rendered into Latin in the *Anglica Historia*, was quite possibly compiled by an officer of arms on the field. Heraldic-style lists of Stoke campaigners were certainly in circulation shortly after the battle, for a notice of knights and bannerets created on the field, similar but not identical to that included in the memoir, found its way to John Paston III (d. 1504), in whose hand survives the mutilated endorsement '... prisoners... fownd'.⁶⁵ An oral tradition from the reign of Henry VIII also preserved information

⁶¹ *Paston Letters and Papers*, i, p. 654.

⁶² Julius B. XII, fols. 26r, 27v. In all, the royal vanguard might have been some 6 000 – 10 000 men strong when it crashed headlong into the fray on June 16. Julius B. XII, fol. 28v; Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 95; *YHB*, ii, p. 573.

⁶³ Julius B. XII, fol. 28r; Goodman, *Wars of the Roses*, pp. 104-5.

⁶⁴ I owe a debt of thanks to Professor Michael Bennett for bringing this list to my attention.

⁶⁵ 'Paston excerpt', p. 157.

on the affair for some time, and may, like the extant ballad of Bosworth Field, have offered the names of knights and esquires fighting for the king. The original source was perhaps, again, an heraldic list.⁶⁶ In any case, several of the names provided by Vergil correspond with both the memoir herald's list and the Paston excerpt, namely Sir Ralph Shirley, Humphrey Stanley, Henry Willoughby, Edward Burgh, William Tirwhit, John Digby, Nicholas Vaux and William Norris. Norris belonged to the retinue of George Stanley, Lord Strange, and since Lord Strange only arrived while the king was encamped at Nottingham, the (hypothetical) source from which the Vergil list derives, was probably created after the arrival of Strange and his retinue.

In the body of knights and men-at-arms derived from the royal household or aristocratic retinues, were experienced soldiers like Sir John Cheney⁶⁷ and Sir James Blount,⁶⁸ both of whom had proven indispensable at Bosworth. If the Vergil list is correct, Cheney joined the king near Nottingham, around the same time as Lord Strange and the earl of Shrewsbury. Also present in the royal army were young gallants like Anthony Brown,⁶⁹ the king's standard-bearer, Sir Charles Somerset,⁷⁰ Richard Pole,⁷¹ James Parker,⁷² Robert Brandon,⁷³ and Edward Norris.⁷⁴ In addition, the king recruited extensively among the gentry of the North Midlands, including in

⁶⁶ This notion is raised by Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 11.

⁶⁷ Julius B. XII, fol. 29r; Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, p. 23.

⁶⁸ Julius B. XII, fol. 29r.

⁶⁹ Julius B. XII, fol. 29v; 'Paston excerpt', p. 157.

⁷⁰ Julius B. XII, fol. 26r

⁷¹ Julius B. XII, fols. 26r, 29r.

⁷² 'Paston excerpt', p. 157.

⁷³ Julius B. XII, fol. 29v.

⁷⁴ Julius B. XII, fols. 26r, 29r-29v; 'Paston excerpt', p. 157. See also Chrimes, *Henry VII*, pp. 48, 49, 327, 336 n.4; Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 83; M.J. Bennett, *The Battle of Bosworth* (1985; repr. Stroud, 2000), p. 42.

his following men like Sir Henry Willoughby, Gervase Clifton, William Pierpont, Edward Stanhope, and William Mering.⁷⁵ Among Oxford's retainers were Sir Edmund Bedingfield, John Paston, William Knyvet, and Sir Thomas Tyrell, each of whom could also call upon his own substantial retinue of men-at-arms.⁷⁶ Finally, the royal host probably included a great number of billmen, archers and footsoldiers, some raised by great magnates like Henry Vernon 'King of the Peak'.⁷⁷ If not quite the 40 000 men suggested by Molinet, the royal host might have been some 15 000 strong by the time it confronted the rebels.⁷⁸

By contrast to the circumstantial detail of the account of the Stoke campaign in 1487, it is perhaps a little disappointing that the herald's report of the loyalist response to the violence in North Yorkshire in 1489 is far blander and more orderly in composition. Rendered into retinue-based lists of magnates, knights and county notables for each leg of the journey, the herald-recorder's information provides very little in the way of circumstantial detail for the journey of 1489. Nevertheless, the narrative offers critically important insight into the loyalist mobilisation between Tuesday, May 12 and Friday, May 22, and into the composition of the king's army at each stage of the journey to the north. It also offers striking testimony to the arrival of knights and esquires at every stage of the journey.⁷⁹ For this very reason, the account

⁷⁵ Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, p.23, n. 15.

⁷⁶ Julius B. XII, fol. 29r; 'Paston excerpt', p. 157; Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, p.23, n. 15; *Paston Letters and Papers*, ii, pp. 452-3; Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, pp. 59, 83. For discussion of the rise of the earl of Oxford in East Anglia see R. Virgoe, 'The recovery of the Howards in East Anglia, 1485-1529' in E.W. Ives et al, *Wealth and Power in Tudor England. Essays presented to S.T. Bindoff* (London, 1978), pp. 1-20.

⁷⁷ Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, p.23, n. 15.

⁷⁸ *Molinet Chroniques*, p. 564; Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 95.

⁷⁹ Bennett, 'Northern Rising', p. 53.

contained in the original manuscript, and edited below, has served more recently to disprove the long-standing conviction that Henry Tudor dispatched only a forward battalion under the earl of Surrey to disperse the rebels.⁸⁰ This interpretation derives from the Leland-Hearne edition, which unaccountably omits several folios detailing the raising of the royal army and its journey north. The absent memoranda also make it clear that the king left Hertford for North Yorkshire on May 12, ten days earlier than was previously thought.⁸¹

There can be little question that the vicious murder at Cocklodge on April 28 1489, news of which had reached the king in Hertford within days, provided the direct impetus for the king's northward march on May 12.⁸² By April 30, the king was certainly aware that events in North Yorkshire had got out of hand, for on this date he requested funds for the purveyance of weapon and ammunition against 'our unnatural subgiettes in the north parties'.⁸³ The situation was made still more pressing by the spread of rebellion around the city of York and the new participation of at least one local lord, who might have been an early symptom of dynastic dissent.⁸⁴ As

⁸⁰ This argument first appeared in anon., 'The Yorkshire Rebellion of 1489', *Gentleman's Magazine*, 129.2 (1851), and was used more recently in Goodman, *Wars of the Roses*, p. 108. The counter argument was put forward in Bennett, 'Northern Rising', esp. pp. 36-7, in 1990.

⁸¹ Julius B. XII, fols. 53v-26. Cf. Leland, *Collectanea*, iv, p. 246. The missing folios are also provided by Bennett in an appendix to his article. Bennett, 'Northern Rising', pp. 56-9. The mistaken belief that the king remained in Hertford until May 22, by which time he would have known that the rising was over, results from a scribal error in the original MS (and perpetuated in the Leland-Hearne edition).

⁸² *YHB*, ii, pp. 646, 647-8; anon., 'Yorkshire Rebellion', p. 464.

⁸³ *Materials*, ii, pp. 444-5.

⁸⁴ A local cadet of the house of Percy, Sir John Egremont, had raised an armed following in Holderness and provided military leadership for the rebels. M.A. Hicks 'The Yorkshire Rebellion of 1489 reconsidered', *Northern History*, xxii (1986), pp. 43-5. Egremont was the earl of Northumberland's closest adult male relative, but at the time of his death Northumberland had been in the process of disinheriting him. M.A. Hicks, 'Dynastic Change and Northern Society: the Career of

intelligence was gathered, summonses dispatched, retinues assembled, and towns of the north prepared and victualled, neither the courtiers nor any herald-recorder can have been under any illusion as to the nature of the journey.⁸⁵

Like the Stoke report, the herald's narrative of the Yorkshire rising is introduced by a summary of events compiled after the revelation of Northumberland's murder, the answering of 'tydingis heroff', and the conclusion of the first leg of the journey, from Hertford to Dunstable, on May 12. Again, it seems likely that this account was set down in its present form some twelve months after the conclusion of the campaign. Although the account of the rising of 1489 contains no explicit statement of the presence of a herald in the king's retinue, it would have been inconceivable to exclude the greater, if not the lesser, heralds from this massive mobilisation of royal forces. Indeed, the participation of heralds in the marshalling and enforcement of discipline in the royal army is attested in the disciplinary regulations proclaimed at Coventry in 1487.

In April 1489 Henry Tudor was seemingly determined to move against the rebels of North Yorkshire as swiftly and as fully as possible, and he was probably surrounded by many who had joined the court for Easter when the news broke.⁸⁶ However, the herald's report makes it clear that the king was initially attended only by the nucleus

the Fourth Earl of Northumberland, 1470-89', *Northern History*, xiv (1978), p. 78. The only other men of note to join the rebellion were the governors of Beverley, Thomas Bullock and Eli Casse, and Thomas Wrangwish, an alderman of York. See also *Cal. S. P. Venice*, p. 181; Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, pp. 38-9.

⁸⁵ *Paston Letters and Papers*, i, pp. 439-40, 459-60; *YHB*, ii, pp. 648, 649-50; *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, ed. P.L. Hughes and J.F. Larkin, 2 vols. (New Haven, 1964), i, pp. 20-1.

⁸⁶ *Materials*, ii, p. 444; *Paston Letters and Papers*, i, p. 659; Julius B. XII, fols. 53r-v.

of an army, comprising in the main the military resources of courtiers and members of the royal household. Thus, riding northward from Hertford, the king passed his first night less than a day's journey from London, at Dunstable, attended by the bishop of Exeter, Lord Privy Seal, the earls of Derby and Oxford, three exiles from the Scottish court, and several other lords, courtiers and officers of the royal household who had been at the Easter court. Also in the retinue at this time were four prominent Yorkist lords: the earl of Surrey, fresh out of the Tower; his brother-in-law, Lord Berners, quite possibly still under surveillance; and two young scions of the House of York, the earl of Essex and Lord Edmund of Suffolk. All four were magnates of means and rank, but none was likely to have contributed a retinue of his own.⁸⁷

Over the next few days retinues of the Midlands and southern counties began to join the king on the road north. From Dunstable to Stony Stratford and on toward Northampton on May 13 and 14, the king was further joined by a number of royal retainers of the South and West Midlands. Archbishop Morton, whom independent evidence suggests had been attending affairs at Lambeth and Westminster, caught up with the royal entourage somewhere between Stony Stratford and Northampton.⁸⁸ With him were several of the king's knights, including Sir Thomas Bouchier, Sir John Fortescue, Sir Roger Lewkenor and Sir Richard Guildford, together with a number of gentlemen from Kent. Also arriving were Lord Delawarre, together with

⁸⁷ Julius B. XII, fols. 53r-53v; Bennett, 'Northern Rising', p. 41. Surrey and several of his men had been in the Tower since the Bosworth campaign. PRO E/404/79/60(319).

⁸⁸ *Cal. S. P. Venice*, i, p. 181; Julius B. XII, fol. 53v.

Lord Zouche, one of the five magnates attainted at the first parliament of the reign, and probably still under suspicion.⁸⁹

At Northampton on Sunday May 15, and over the two days following, the king not only received funding for his expedition, but, according to the herald's report, was joined by several great magnates with large companies from their respective spheres of influence.⁹⁰ The earl of Arundel, Viscount Lisle, and Lords Strange and Hastings are among the men listed by the herald, and each, like the earl of Oxford, was presumably well able to commit over a thousand armed men to the royal service.⁹¹ Many of the lords' retainers must likewise have arrived with substantial companies. Contemporary correspondence attests to the fact that Sir Thomas Tyrell, retainer of the earl of Oxford, promised to serve with at least 30 men-at-arms, and John Hussey, also with Oxford, probably served with as many as 200 men.⁹² In addition, the militarily powerful Sir Rys ap Thomas and Sir William Stanley, both of whom reportedly joined the king at Leicester, are likely to have brought with them companies several hundred strong.⁹³ Even at this stage, however, the herald's report demonstrates that the size and standing of the royal host largely derived from the resources of a limited number of powerful lords and captains,⁹⁴ the most outstanding of which were the three men of the Stanley clan. Indeed, as the burgeoning royal host marched north from Leicester to Nottingham on May 17, the king reportedly paused,

⁸⁹ Julius B. XII, fols. 53v-54r; *RP*, VI, pp. 275-8.

⁹⁰ Julius B. XII, fols. 54r-55r; PRO E101/413/2(1), fols. 23v-54r.

⁹¹ Julius B. XII, fol. 54r-55r; *Paston Letters and Papers*, i, 658-9; Cameron, 'Livery and retaining', p. 24.

⁹² *Paston Letters and Papers*, i, p. 659; PRO SC1/51/179 cited in Bennett, 'Northern Rising', p. 43.

⁹³ Julius B. XII, fols. 54r-54v; Bennett, 'Northern Rising', p. 43.

⁹⁴ Bennett, 'Northern Rising', p. 43.

in a meadow near Montsorell, and there 'tooke the vew of therle of Derbys folkes'. The muster of Lord Strange's vast Lancashire retinue seems to have taken place the same day.⁹⁵

Between Nottingham and York, and during his time in the northern capital, Henry Tudor welcomed into his retinue representatives of several regions and affinities. Sir Edward Norris, Sir John Babbington, and other gentlemen; Henry Vernon of Haddon and his men from Derbyshire; the Lords St. Amand and Grey of Powys; Archbishop Rotherham and other Yorkshire notables; lords and knights of the Percy affinity; the deputy warden of the West Marches; several men involved in the pursuit of the rebels, and perhaps some from the funeral of the earl of Northumberland, all rallied to the king's standard during the final stage of the journey.⁹⁶

The city of York was evidently moved by the need to appease the king's displeasure, after the rebel entry and the treachery of Alderman Wrangwysh. According to the *York House Books*, the civic authorities effected a purge of the council, sent a deputation to Archbishop Rotherham to intercede with the king, and arranged a welcome on the city boundaries by select civic officials.⁹⁷ The herald reported that the king was greeted by Sir Richard York, William Sever, abbot of St Mary's, Lord Greystoke, and others, as he rode into York.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Julius B. XII, fol. 55r.

⁹⁶ Julius B. XII, fols. 55r-56v.

⁹⁷ *YHB*, ii, pp. 651-2, 652.

⁹⁸ Julius B. XII, fol. 55v. On May 24, the city fathers further resolved to send gifts to the archbishop of Canterbury to procure his goodwill and mediation with the king. *YHB*, ii, p. 653.

By way of descriptive information, the report of the 1489 campaign offers only two, separate notices of punishment in the final days of the campaign. The first is an account of the summary execution of six rebels in Pontefract; of the beheading of two in the market square; of the men hanged in their jacks and chained atop St. Thomas Hill facing York; and of those put to death in other parts of the town. The second notices describes the death in York of the rebel named 'Bladis', hanged, drawn and quartered in Pavement market square; and of the man called 'Warton', strung up in the postern where the rebels had entered the city.⁹⁹ In addition, the herald entered the following memorandum in his notice for York: 'in this season the king pardont some day iijC knelyng on their knees, and some day ijC (some day mor, and some day lasse), so that season his grace pardont upon a xvc.'¹⁰⁰ The latter statement appears to corroborate that in the *Great Chronicle of London* which records that a great many commoners, having aided the rebels, now came before the king with halters around their necks and begged lamentably for forgiveness.¹⁰¹ It is also interesting that Holinshed offers a description of the executions that appears almost a conflation of the two episodes provided by the herald, and it is not unlikely that the heralds' source, or something like it, formed the bases of the London annals and other chronicle sources.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Julius B. XII, fol. 55v.

¹⁰⁰ Julius B. XII, fol. 55v.

¹⁰¹ *Great Chronicle of London*, pp. 242-3. See also *Materials*, ii, pp. 451-2. The herald makes a similar statement regarding the attainder and execution of the abbot of Abingdon and others in 1490, a statement which supports one made by Edward Plumpton. *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, p. 88; *Plumpton Correspondence*, p. 87; Julius B. XII, fol. 56r; *YHB*, ii, p. 655; *RP*, VI, p. 436. Alderman Wrangwysh was pardoned at the end of June that same year. *Materials*, ii, p. 460

¹⁰² Holinshed, *Chronicles*, p. 493.

So systematic is the record of the 1489 rising, and so cautious was Henry Tudor during these years, that it is difficult not to suspect the king's direct influence upon the account of 1489. As a near-complete registration of nobles and knights rallying to the king's standard in 1489, a rather mean-spirited roll-call of names, the document probably reflects the interests of the bureaucratic and shrewd Henry Tudor. During the early years of the reign the support of men of Yorkist blood, affinity or association could not be taken for granted, and, indeed, King Henry's dramatic response to the revolt of 1489 probably testifies as much to his fear of noble contribution to the violence, as to the possibility that it would trigger a nation-wide rising of the commons.¹⁰³ The systematic marshalling of lords and retainers occasioned by the rising in North Yorkshire not only brought together great numbers of key figures and their servants, duly listed by one or more heralds in the royal entourage, but enabled the king to take stock of his resources and of the relationships between the men with whom he worked.

Despite the marked contrast between the two records, the special attention paid by the heralds to the impressive Stanley followings is a notable feature of the accounts of both the 1487 and 1489 campaigns. The herald-recorder's account of the rising in North Yorkshire in 1489 made a point of the king's review of the earl of Derby's company in a meadow beside Montsorell, listed some seventy-four knights and esquires in the Lord Strange's north-western following, and noted that Sir William Stanley arrived 'with many noblemen', adding almost apologetically 'whos names I

¹⁰³ The unexpected defection of the earl of Lincoln in February 1487, and the discovery that he had aided the rebels over the Christmas period was indicative of what could occur if lords and retainers were not adequately monitored. *RP*, VI, pp. 436-7. Similarly, the rebellious Lords Scrope had taken

have not'.¹⁰⁴ Part of the explanation lies in the account of Stoke campaign, in which the herald noted that Lord Strange commanded 'a great hoste I now to have beten al the Kinges enemyes (only of my lord his faders – the earl of Derbye – folkes and his)'.¹⁰⁵ Lord Strange led most of the old Stanleyite connection among the gentry of the northwest.¹⁰⁶ His vastly wealthy uncle occupied a great network of lands and offices centring on his castle at Holt on the Welsh border, and commanded an impressive following of gentry and yeomanry from South Cheshire, Shropshire and North Wales.¹⁰⁷ Given the size and strength of the Stanley followings, and the significance of their contribution to the musters on both occasions, it is not particularly surprising that the heralds took care to list the individual members of these retinues where possible.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, the pattern of Stanley support for the ruling monarch in battle between 1483 and 1487, typically based on a 'close estimate of the military chances', gave their unequivocal commitment to the king's standard in 1489 a special significance.¹⁰⁹

Perhaps the greater emphasis on the systematic breakdown of noble retinues in 1489 stemmed from the failure of the account of the Stoke campaign to provide such information. Perhaps, too, the heralds' roster system, only implemented after the Stoke campaign facilitated more systematic record-keeping. While lists such as those

part in the provincial progress, and had publicly feasted with the king on St. George's Eve in York in 1486. Julius B. XII, fols. 9v, 13r.

¹⁰⁴ Julius B. XII, fols. 54r-55r.

¹⁰⁵ Julius B. XII, fol. 28r.

¹⁰⁶ Cameron, 'Livery and Retaining', pp. 23-4.

¹⁰⁷ Bennett, 'Northern Rising', p. 43; Bennett, *Bosworth*, pp. 90-106, 109, 116-17.

¹⁰⁸ Julius B. XII, fols. 26r, 28v, 54r.

¹⁰⁹ S.B. Chrimes, *Lancastrians, Yorkists and Henry VII* (London, 1964), p. 153; Condon, 'Ruling Elites', p. 44; Bennett, 'Northern Rising', p. 44.

compiled in the account of the 1489 rising served an important practical function for the heralds themselves, in each memorandum and registration of names lay the key to noble and knightly identity, and a record of conduct unlikely to have escaped the notice of Henry Tudor.

4.3 Ceremonies at Court

By contrast to the military campaigns described above, the grand ceremonies and customary annual festivities at court represented the very occasions on which the external image of the Tudor court, king and dynasty was uppermost in people's minds. These were the rare times when the pressing needs of government, bureaucracy and warfare were subsumed almost wholly by the opportunity for near unlimited ceremonial and display, and differentiation according to status in society.¹¹⁰ The attention of the king and his advisors to public relations and the utility of princely magnificence on progress in 1486, and over Easter 1487, could now be translated to the general and ritual displays encouraged by the birth of a son and heir, the crowning of a queen, the annual celebration of Christmas, New Year and the feast of St George, and more.

The precedents with which Henry Tudor could work were awesome. By 1485, the accepted ceremonial and liturgical forms of all occasional and annual celebrations at court provided a highly sophisticated framework for the festivities of King Henry's early years. The manner of observing royal births, of the creation of knights of the Bath, and of the crowning of a queen consort, and so on, had reached new levels of splendour and symbolism well before the 1480s. They were, moreover, neatly contained in a corpus of materials that furnished those ministering to the needs of royal celebrations with all the guidelines and models they required.¹¹¹ More

¹¹⁰ J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages. A Study of the forms of life, thought, and art in France and the Netherlands in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries* (Harmondsworth, 1955), p. 53.

¹¹¹ *Liber Regie Capelle*, ed. W. Ullmann (Cambridge, 1961). The *Ryalle Book* is available in excerpt form only: excerpts from B.L MS Additional 38 174 are printed in F. Grose and T. Astle, *The Antiquarian Repertory*, 3 vols. (London, 1807-8), i, pp. 304-6 and 333-8; sixteenth-century copies of

importantly, these magnificent practices had been tried and tested in England by the Yorkist brothers Edward IV and Richard III, who clearly indulged in the kind of measured splendour that was to serve Henry Tudor so well. The ritual crown wearing, the display of 'regal raiment and riches' on feast days, the magnificent and dignified coronations, the lavish abundance of cloths of gold, velvets, and the like, each employed by the Yorkist kings, were intended 'to stabilize, by an appeal to the visual senses, social conditions which had become dangerously fluid'.¹¹² In the 1470s, Edward IV had received his own practical manual on the running of a royal household, and it is instructive that Henry Tudor's own household 'Articles' of 1493 are not greatly different in their attention to the specifics of ceremonial and household display.¹¹³ Above all, in the heralds of the Crown Henry Tudor had at his court among the best supervisors and marshals of court ceremonial of his day.

The first of the great court ceremonies described in detail in the heraldic memoir of 1486-90 was the christening of a son and heir in September 1486. Opening with a verbose, rather confused introductory memorandum of the king's return from the hunt and the baby's birth and delayed baptism, the account contained in the memoir

the same are found in Leland, *Collectanea*, iv, pp 179-184 and 301-2. The former derives from BL, MS. Harley 6079 and has been erroneously attributed to Margaret Beaufort, mother to Henry VII. A sixteenth-century copy of guidelines for the regulation of the queen's withdrawal from court is located in BL, MS. Egerton 985, fol. 98r. There were also a number of pictorial sources available, the most notable of which is the series of the illustrations of the birth and baptism of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, of c. 1485, in BL, MS. Cotton Julius E. IV.

¹¹² S. Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London, 1992), p. 8; C.A.J. Armstrong, 'The inauguration ceremonies of the Yorkist kings and their title to the throne' in *England, France and Burgundy in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1983), p. 92.

¹¹³ *The Household of Edward IV. The Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478* (Manchester, 1959), ed. A.R.; Anglo, *Images*, p. 7; 'Articles ordained by King Henry VII for the regulation of his Household, 31st December 1494 [*recte* 1493]', *OHR*, pp. 107-33.

was presumably – once again – written up from notes some time after the conclusion of the ceremony. By way of some introduction to his description, the herald notes briefly that the arrival of the royal child was proclaimed outside the birthing chamber by the singing of the *Te Deum* in all the churches of Winchester, and by the lighting of bonfires and the ringing of bells across the city. Messengers were reportedly dispatched to convey the news of the birth to the noblemen and towns – a statement corroborated by the records of at least one municipal archive¹¹⁴ – and all across England came the sounds of ‘the presing of God and the rejoysing of every true Englissh man’.¹¹⁵

Inside Winchester Cathedral, as the herald’s report shows next, the silver and gilt christening font was draped with fine linen and placed in a prominent position beside the cathedral’s own font, between the capitals of the north aisle. It was raised above seven steps, each covered with red worsted, on a single post of iron. The overall effect was of a cruciform image.¹¹⁶ Red say shrouded the block on which the bishop was to stand, and above all was suspended a large, ornate canopy. Nearby, wooden barriers clad in arras cloth had been positioned, presumably to ward off the press of spectators and to mark out a space suitable for the dignity of the occasion.¹¹⁷ Between

¹¹⁴ Julius B. XII, fol. 22r. On September 20, a yeoman of the queen’s chamber conveyed the news of the birth earlier that day to the town of Southampton. *Book of Remembrance of Southampton*, ed. H.W. Gidden, Southampton Record Soc (1930), iii, p. 53.

¹¹⁵ Julius B. XII, fol. 22r.

¹¹⁶ Julius B. XII, fol. 22r. Cf. *LRC*, p. 68 and ‘Margaret’s Ordinances’, p. 180, where it states that the christening font must be raised high enough for all to see without pressing forward.

¹¹⁷ K. Staniland, ‘Royal Entry into the World’ in D. Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century. Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium* (Suffolk, 1987), pp. 303-4. Cf. *LRC*, pp. 68-9; ‘Articles ordained by Henry VII’, *OHR*, p. 118. A careful depiction of this structure appears in the pen and ink sketches accompanying the accounts of Arthur’s christening preserved in BL, MS. Stowe 583 and College of Arms, MS. M6.

the christening font and the cathedral choir stood a closet, partially enclosed by heavy red tapestry. Inside this, 'fyer with fumygacions' had been prepared for the arrival of the prince.¹¹⁸ These makeshift structures were guarded by yeomen of the Crown and others, while the hallowed waters of the font, reportedly blessed by Bishop Alcock, were watched by knights and esquires for the body. The omission of the Christian names of the yeomen Rake and Burley from the report at this stage is indicative of the working nature of the account, where the names perhaps should have been filled in at a later date. Indeed, three derivative versions of this narrative of Arthur's christening, created during the mid-sixteenth century, do supply Christian names, although there is considerable discrepancy and none appears to be entirely correct.¹¹⁹

On the morning of Sunday September 24, four days after the baby's birth, the baptismal procession gathered in the queen's great chamber. Each of the items of christening regalia was reportedly delivered to the courtiers chosen to take part in the procession: the earl of Essex received the ornate salt and a towel; Lord Neville was presented with a taper 'garnishede with iiij wrethen bowtes and bowles, and with banekolles and penssell, with praty imagery and scripture'; and George Stanley, Lord Strange, was given a pair of gilt basins with a towel folded upon them, for washing the hands of the godparents.¹²⁰ The procession to the church, carefully described in the memoir was led by 120 torchbearers, walking two by two, then henchmen, esquires, gentlemen and yeomen of the crown, followed by the Chapel Royal, assorted men at arms, the heralds with their coats slung over their arms, and the two

¹¹⁸ Julius B. XII, fol. 22r. Cf. *LRC*, p. 68; *Antiquarian Repertory*, i, p. 354.

¹¹⁹ Julius B. XII, fol. 22r; BL, MS. Addition 6113, fols. 76r-76v; College of Arms MSS. 1.7 and M6, fols. 28r-30r; *Materials*, ii, pp. 38-9, 499-500.

¹²⁰ Julius B. XII, fol. 22v.

godfathers at the font. Next came the christening regalia, followed by the chrysom cloth, borne by Lady Anne, sister to the queen. To the left and right of Lady Anne walked the knight marshal and the knight constable respectively, both bearing their staves of office. Behind them, Lady Cecily, another of the queen's sisters, carried the prince wrapped in a mantle, which was borne by the marchioness of Dorset and supported in the middle by Sir John Cheney. Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset and John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, walked on either side of Cecily. Above the prince was suspended an ornate canopy, supported by Sir Edward Woodville, Thomas Lord de la Ware, Sir John of Arundel, and the son and heir of Lord Audley. Twelve noble and gentlewomen are also named as taking part in the procession, among them Lady Margaret Pole, daughter of the duke of Clarence.¹²¹

Thus ordered and arrayed, the procession made its way toward the cathedral, where the entrance was adorned with 'a riche and a large clothe of estate'.¹²² While the infant was now presumably handed over to the archbishop for the catechumen, and the font blessed in preparation for the baptism in accordance with the religious requirements, the herald's narrative simply lists the prelates awaiting the baby's arrival, before returning to the secular ceremonial that accompanied the baptism. Inside, when the ceremony finally got underway, the baby was dipped in the hallowed water, the torches were lit, the heralds donned their coats of arms, and the presentation and confirmation was carried out at the high altar.¹²³ At the conclusion of the ceremony, each of the principal members of the baptismal procession offered his gifts beside the altar. At last, the prince was borne to St. Swithun's shrine for

¹²¹ Julius B. XII, fol. 23r.

¹²² Julius B. XII, fol. 23r.

¹²³ Julius B. XII, fol. 23v.

further offering, and the ceremony was concluded with *Iste Confessor* and an anthem of St. Swithun. Wine and spices were served, the baptismal procession returned to the nursery to the sounds of trumpets and minstrels, and the child received the blessing of God, the Blessed Virgin, St. George, and his own mother and father.¹²⁴

Most of the leading magnates of the realm were in attendance on this magnificent occasion. Henry Tudor was able to assign the most prestigious of the baptismal functions to individuals of his own choosing, and on this occasion the role of godparents reportedly fell to his mother-in-law, the dowager queen Elizabeth Woodville, to his trusted companion John earl of Oxford, to Thomas earl of Derby, and a member of the powerful Stanley family, and to the former Ricardian lately reconciled, Thomas Fitzalan, Lord Maltravers. As we have seen, the baptismal procession included the queen's sisters, Cecily and Anne, the young earl of Essex, George Stanley, Lord Strange, and the most impressive of the Yorkist princes, John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, pardoned by the king after Bosworth and, as yet, still working for the new regime. With them processed the seasoned campaigner Sir Edward Woodville, and other veterans of the Lancastrian cause at Bosworth like Sir Richard Guildford and the giant Sir John Cheney. Presumably the king was motivated in his choice of principal participants in his son's baptism by considerations of magnanimity and political wisdom alike, and it is instructive that on this occasion, the most significant of births for Henry Tudor, pride of place went not to his own mother, but to Elizabeth Woodville, former queen of Yorkist England.

¹²⁴ Julius B. XII, fol. 23v-24r.

The detailed narrative of Arthur's christening contained in the memoir is in large measure corroborated by another, independent account penned by an officer of arms attending the ceremony.¹²⁵ The second christening account, a brief, inedited series of memoranda of the principal persons and their roles, offers but four details not included in the memoir. Thus we learn additionally that the torch-bearers met the prince and procession at the stair foot of the queen's great chamber; that the knights constable and marshal, Sir Richard Guildford and Sir John Turberville respectively, were charged with guarding the church doors; that George Lord Neville carried the prince's taper to the high altar for the confirmation; and that the baby was born around one o'clock in the morning. The latter statement is supported by the notice in the municipal archives of Southampton that the prince was born before daybreak.¹²⁶ The second christening account also makes it clear that the font used for the christening, was the silver font from Christ Church, Canterbury, the use of which by royal parents appears to have become a custom by the end of the fifteenth century.¹²⁷ So similar is this second account to the narrative in the memoir, that the latter record may in fact, be the very notes from which the memoir version of Arthur's christening was written up.

Although more polished and elaborate than its prototype, the account of Prince Arthur's christening contained in the memoir of 1486-90, was nevertheless intended as little more than a working document to preserve the memory of a triumphant occasion and, more importantly, to ensure the future replication of its ceremonial. If

¹²⁵ 'The Christenyng of Prince Arthure, sonne to Kynge Henrie y^e VII. at Sent Swithins in Winchestar' in J. Stowe, *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, ed. J. Gairdner, Camden Soc., n.s. 28 (1880-1; repr. New York, 1965), pp. 104-5.

¹²⁶ *Book of Remembrance, Southampton*, iii, p. 53

King Henry had been ‘tempting fate in his greed for symbolism’ by arranging for the queen to give birth in the old English capital of Winchester, and by naming his son ‘Arthur’,¹²⁸ the herald-recorder offers no comment on the Arthurian connection. Although the likes of Bernard André, and the later writers Hall and Holinshed made much of the name parallel, the full propagandist potential of birth and christening was never realised, and it is probable that the king made no special effort at propagandising through the media of the christening ceremony or its reportage.

In fact, the herald’s report contained in the memoir makes Prince Arthur’s christening seem something of a shambles. While, as we have seen, fair weather was to aid the royal host in Nottingham the following year, in late September 1486 the ‘cowlde’ and ‘fowle’ weather hampered Prince Arthur’s christening. The baptismal procession was compelled to make its way to the church by a slightly different route from that normally followed, passing along the sheltered south wall of the nave to a little door at the western end of the same wall. The customary large, ornate entrance on the cathedral’s west end was evidently considered too exposed to the fierce northern winds:

And thus they procedede thorough the cloister of thabbey until a litill door
beside the weest ende of the chirche in the south part of the saide chirche...
for the wether was to cowlde and to have been at the west ende of the
chirche.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Staniland, ‘Royal Entry’, p. 303, n. 33.

¹²⁸ Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 40.

¹²⁹ Julius B. XII, fol. 23r.

If this change in proceedings had few implications on the liturgical import of the baptism itself – indeed, there is no reason to suppose that the christening font was not placed, as customary, at the west end of the nave – it was nevertheless a necessary and significant alteration, worthy of notice by the heralds who assisted at the baptism.¹³⁰

According to the narrative, inclement weather also seems to have delayed the urgent return of the earl of Oxford from his capital manor house in Lavenham, Suffolk.¹³¹ We know that Arthur's was a premature nativity, in the thirty-fifth week of the queen's pregnancy, and, despite the ceremony's alleged postponement for several days, Oxford was unable to get back in time.¹³² He should, in fact, have been among those gossips lodged near the queen's chambers in anticipation of the baby's birth and baptism.¹³³ Thus, on the Sunday, the members of the baptismal procession were reportedly compelled to wait three hours or more inside the church, before the king finally ordered the ceremony to begin without the absent earl, who was then less than one mile from Winchester.¹³⁴ Although Anglo assumes that the king and queen were present at Arthur's christening,¹³⁵ the attendance of the sovereign parents was not usual. The king and queen were almost certainly awaiting the baby's return in the queen's great chamber, from where the king made the decision to proceed with the

¹³⁰ Julius B. XII, fol. 23r. For a basic description of a cathedral interior, see J.C. Dickinson, 'The Later Middle Ages. From the Norman Conquest to the Eve of the Reformation', *An Ecclesiastical History of England* (London, 1979), esp. pp. 444-53.

¹³¹ Julius B. XII, fol. 23r.

¹³² Julius B. XII, fols. 21v, 23r-23v.

¹³³ It is possible that the withdrawal of the queen was also a hurried affair, perhaps accounting for the absence of a description of this important event in the memoir 1486-90.

¹³⁴ Julius B. XII, fol. 23r.

¹³⁵ Anglo, *Spectacle*, p. 47; Staniland, 'Royal Entry', p. 305.

ceremony. Oxford then arrived at the cathedral in time to accompany the baby to the high altar for presentation and confirmation.

It is instructive, moreover, that despite the tendency among modern authorities to assume that Arthur was always a sickly child, the herald's report gives no indication that delay was inadvisable. While christenings were usually held soon after the birth, as was the case with Arthur's sister Margaret in 1489, and were hastily procured in the case that the child was not overtly healthy, there appears to have been little anxiety over delaying the ceremony in 1486, and much desire to wait for the earl of Oxford. Indeed, the second christening account, states unequivocally that Arthur was 'a fayre prince and a lorge of bones.'¹³⁶ Although the little prince was never to ascend the English throne, there was nothing in 1486 to suggest that he would not be the fulfilment of his father's dynastic ambition and the much hoped-for 'offspring of the race of kings for the comfort of the whole realm'.¹³⁷

Little more than twelve months later, the knights and peers of the realm were called upon to attend the coronation of Queen Elizabeth, preparation for which had been underway since the end of 1485.¹³⁸ The king and his advisors had quite deliberately postponed this splendid event, since Henry Tudor's claim to the throne had to be recognised for its own merits. Yet, by September 1487, when the decision was made

¹³⁶ 'The Cristenyng of Prince Arthure', p. 104.

¹³⁷ *RP*, VI, p. 270.

¹³⁸ Purchases for the queen's coronation in November 1487 included ermines, wood-working, thread, candles and much labour at the wardrobe, as well as eight coursers brought from France to carry the litters or 'chairs' used in the conveyance of the queen and her ladies in procession. *Materials*, i, p. 253; PRO E404/79/98(375). Elsewhere we find mandate for payment toward jousts and tourneys in honour of this event. *Materials*, ii, p. 198.

at Warwick to proceed with the coronation, the time was nigh, if not already overdue, for the celebration of the achievement of the dutiful queen and the public legitimization of King Henry's marriage to the heiress of the House of York.¹³⁹ A son and heir had been born the previous year, and the king had overcome his first major challenge by the Yorkist malcontents on the battlefield of Stoke. Moreover, the king's most trusted adviser and former companion in exile, John Morton, had been splendidly and publicly installed as archbishop of Canterbury in January, in a ceremony described briefly in the memoir.¹⁴⁰ Far from seeming to owe his throne to the title of his wife, Henry Tudor was now in a position to effect the elevation of the House of York largely on his own terms.

Still more than the baptism of a royal child, the coronation enabled the fulfilment of specific services by the leading nobles and gentry of the realm, and the English royal heralds at this time were, at least partly, responsible for the adjudication of conflicting claims. The account of the coronation contained in the memoir, following immediately upon the conclusion of the account of the Stoke campaign, is prefaced by a transcript of the materials relating to the Court of Claims, namely the summons to the Court, held in the White Hall at Westminster on November 19,¹⁴¹ the individual claims to coronation service put forward by peers of the realm, and a copy of the commission issued to Jasper duke of Bedford, John earl of Oxford, Thomas earl of Derby, William earl of Nottingham, and others, to discharge the office of

¹³⁹ *Materials*, ii, p. 198.

¹⁴⁰ A brief account of the installation is given in the memoir at Julius B. XII, fols. 24v-25r.

¹⁴¹ Cf. *Materials*, ii, p. 202; Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 67 where different dates are given for the Court of Claims.

Steward of England at the coronation.¹⁴² There can be little doubt that these documents were an important source for the heralds' archives, and were probably copied verbatim from the proceedings of the Court. Indeed, this is one of only two comprehensive collections of petitions still in existence.

Among those claims set forward for this occasion, according to the memoir, the earl of Oxford petitioned to serve as Queen's Chamberlain. This was a service he had also performed at the coronation of Elizabeth Woodville in 1465, and in relation to which he occupied the manors of Fingreth in Essex and Tormead in Hertford.¹⁴³ The offices of Constable and Earl Marshal for the time of the feast were executed by Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby and the king's stepfather, and William Berkeley, earl of Nottingham, in respect of their appointments as Constable and Marshal of England at the beginning of the reign.¹⁴⁴ Stanley had also borne the Constable's mace for Richard III in 1483, seemingly as a mark of special favour, and had carried the sword of state for Henry Tudor in 1485.¹⁴⁵ John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk and brother-in-law to King Richard and Edward IV, appears to have established a claim to carry the sceptre, this having been his duty at the coronations of Elizabeth Woodville, Richard III, and Henry VII.¹⁴⁶ His service to the new regime, despite the treachery of his eldest son, made this role a fitting honour in late 1487. The aged William earl of

¹⁴² Julius B. XII, fols. 30r-34r; *Materials*, ii, p. 202; *CPR*, p. 196.

¹⁴³ Julius B. XII, fols. 30v, 36r, 40r; *The Coronation of Elizabeth Woodville, Queen Consort of Edward IV, on May 26th, 1465. A contemporary Account set forth from a XV Century Manuscript*, ed. G. Smith (repr. Gloucester, 1975), pp 9-10; Armstrong, 'Inauguration Ceremonies', p. 90; *English Coronation Records*, ed. G. W. Legg, (Westminster, 1901), p. lxxix.

¹⁴⁴ Julius B. XII, fol. 40r.

¹⁴⁵ Sutton and Hammond, *Richard III*, p. 246; Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 60.

¹⁴⁶ Julius B. XII, fol. 31r-31v; Smith, *Coronation of Elizabeth Woodville*, p. 10; Sutton and Hammond, *Richard III*, p. 246.

Arundel served again as Great Butler; John Radcliffe, lord of the barony of Fitzwalter, filled the office of Sewer; the young Giles of Allington was Cupbearer; and the bishops of Winchester and Ely chosen to support the queen as she walked to her crowning.¹⁴⁷ The claim of the Cinque Ports to sustain the canopy over the queen on the day of her coronation was a time-honoured one, and in April 1488 representatives of the ports of Hastings, Winchelsea and Rye accordingly took possession of ‘the pall, shaftys and bellis’ that made up the canopy.¹⁴⁸

The account of the coronation preserved in the memoir is extensive. It commences with a short description of the king’s progress from Warwick to London, and of his triumphant entry into the city. Then, on Friday November 23, the queen began her river journey to the Tower, accompanied by the king’s mother and innumerable great estates. Amid the colour and commotion of the traditional barge ride to the Tower, were ‘gentilmanly pajants’, reportedly devised for the queen’s entertainment during the barge ride and perhaps the innovation of Garter Writhe and his team.¹⁴⁹ The fire-breathing red dragon on the bachelors’ barge, mimicking the heraldic, red-dragon devices used in Henry Tudor’s own coronation, was unprecedented in England.¹⁵⁰ At

¹⁴⁷ Julius B. XII, fols. 33r, 33v, 38r. The choice of these two bishops appears to have been a notable departure from precedent, as at least one modern commentator has noted that by ancient usage the bishops of Durham and Bath should have processed on either side of the queen. Smith, *Coronation of Elizabeth Woodville*, p. 9.

¹⁴⁸ *A Calendar of the White and Black Books of the Cinque Ports, 1432-1955*, F. Hull (London, 1966), p. 99.

¹⁴⁹ Anglo, *Spectacle*, pp. 49-50.

¹⁵⁰ Anglo, ‘*British History*’, pp. 35, 38; Julius B. XII, fol. 35r. Such a spectacle was not seen again until the coronation of Anne Boleyn in 1533. For the coronation ceremonial for Anne Boleyn, see ‘The noble tryumphaut coronacyon of quene Anne, wyfe unto the moost noble kynge Henry the viij’, in *Tudor Tracts 1532-1588*, ed. E. Arber with an introduction by A.F. Pollard, English Garner vol. 6 (Westminster, 1903), pp. 41-51; Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 799; Anglo, *Spectacle*, pp. 247-8. On the topic of

the Tower that evening, fourteen young men were created knights of the Bath in an elaborate ceremony not described in the narrative, but reportedly depicted in ‘the picture thereof made’.¹⁵¹ Among those listed as receiving the knighthood were Edward Lord Dudley, whose father had served Richard III as a privy councillor; Thomas Butler, keeper of the park of ‘Haseley’ in Warwick;¹⁵² Hugh Lutterel, a man whose ancestral connections were impeccably Lancastrian, but who was destined to remain disappointed of royal patronage;¹⁵³ and Hugh Conway, a former companion in exile, and the unfortunate emissary chastised for bearing the news of Lovell’s rebellion in 1486. Twenty-eight esquires, including Edward Blount, Piers Brent and Edward Bensted, were appointed by the king to wait on the knights-to-be as they went to their creation.¹⁵⁴ Once again the heralds kept a close record of those who would owe them a fee.

On the day of the Vigil, Saturday November 24, the great procession assembled to convey the queen from the Tower to St. Paul’s cathedral. The queen was adorned in white cloth of gold damask and a fur-lined mantle, after the manner of queens consort in times past: earlier heraldic narratives show that Elizabeth Woodville and Anne Neville were similarly attired in 1465 and 1483 respectively. The order of precedence and the route taken by the procession are described in exquisite detail, for the heralds were almost certainly involved in the preparation and marshalling of the entire parade, as well as in the policing of the heraldic decorations. On this occasion the

the guilds of London and river pageantry, see G. Unwin, *The Guilds and Companies of London* (4th ed., London, 1963), pp. 267-92.

¹⁵¹ Julius B. XII, fol. 35r.

¹⁵² *Materials*, i, p. 213.

¹⁵³ Luckett, ‘Patronage, Violence’, p. 156; *CPR*, p. 485; *Materials*, ii, p. 67.

¹⁵⁴ Julius B. XII, fols. 35r-v.

sun and white roses of the House of York blazed forth from the caparisons of the henchmen's horses.¹⁵⁵ The latter symbol had been a favoured device of the queen's father, Edward IV,¹⁵⁶ and it is testimony to Henry Tudor's growing security, in the aftermath of Stoke, that these Yorkist symbols *par excellence* were allowed so proud and public a display.

The order of the procession was largely unremarkable, with the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford riding ahead of the queen's litter, preceded by Derby, Nottingham and Garter King of Arms. Young gallant knights of the royal household, including Sir Richard Pole, Sir David Owen and Sir Anthony Brown carried the canopy over the queen. Presumably the responsibility for marshalling the rotation of the canopy again fell to the heralds, for the account included in the memoir provides an extensive and carefully laid out plan of who was to carry the canopy during which stretch of the journey. Yet, for those participants following the queen's litter there was problem of order, a procedural question noted in the memoir, which would perhaps require discussion among the officers of arms at the conclusion of the event:

And next folowing the litter by fore the henchemen was led... the hors of astate sadeld with a womanys sadell of rede clothe of golde tissue (which after the opynyon of dyvers herauldes shulde have folowed next after the henxmen)...¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ Julius B. XII, fol. 37v.

¹⁵⁶ Anglo, *Images*, p. 77. Wardrobe accounts of Edward IV, for the year 1480, reveal the place of these emblems in embroidered designs, and so on. *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York: Wardrobe Accounts of Edward the Fourth*, (1830; repr. New York, 1972), esp. pp. 117, 118, 119, 136, 137, 143, 144, 152.

¹⁵⁷ Julius B. XII, fol. 37v.

The day of the coronation required a similar procession, but evidently things did not go entirely to plan: several spectators were killed in the crush to cut the ‘ray cloth’ on which the queen walked. The inclusion of this memorandum not only precludes the possibility that this was a polished or propagandist account, but might also have served as a warning for future arrangements. Indeed, the account of the coronation of Henry VII in 1485 contains a reminder that all scaffolding be sound, for on this occasion several spectators were allegedly hurt (but not killed) in the collapse of a platform inside the church.¹⁵⁸ The crowning and anointing of Queen Elizabeth followed ancient ritual without difficulty, and it is interesting that despite the heralds’ *ex officio* preoccupation with secular ceremonial, the church proceedings on this occasion are fully, and quite accurately, recounted in the memoir. This represents a fascinating contrast with the accounts of the coronations of Richard III and Anne Neville in 1483, and of Elizabeth Woodville in 1465. In fact, the memoir’s unique interest for the religious rituals of crowning and anointing, suggests strongly that the heralds made recourse to an independent document or oral report, perhaps derived from the members of the Chapel Royal, with whose duties their own appear to have overlapped at times.

Before the coronation feast, Jasper Tudor, duke of Bedford and Lord High Steward, rode a horse richly trapped with the red dragons and red roses of the triumphant House of Lancaster.¹⁵⁹ Arguably ‘more confident of its own righteousness and

¹⁵⁸ BL, MS. Egerton 985, fol. 42r.

¹⁵⁹ Julius B. XII, fol. 40r; Anglo, *Images*, p. 80. The red roses were to appear again on the ornate canopy adorning the queen’s lying-in chamber in 1489. Julius B. XII, fol. 58v.

legitimacy, more ideologically self-reliant' at the end of 1487,¹⁶⁰ the new dynasty boldly invoked the heraldic badges that proclaimed its new-found permanency. The feast itself comprised some fifty dishes in two courses, recounted by the herald-recorder and set down in menu form in the memoir. Yet, aside from the logistical difficulties of compiling an eye-witness list of fifty different, elaborate dishes, the very presentation of the two-course menu in the herald's report suggests that it was compiled from an oral or – more likely – a pre-prepared written source derived from the staffs of the kitchen. Thus, where the form of a 'subtlety' was likely to have been of interest to the officers of arms for its heraldic symbolism, nothing at all is said of the appearance of the subtleties on this occasions.¹⁶¹ At the end of the banquet, Sir John Turberville, knight marshal, and one of the few beneficiaries of land redistribution after Stoke, drew the surnap.¹⁶²

The coronation report ends with an extensive, artificially constructed list of some several hundred men and women grouped into categories of knights, bannerets, lords, ladies and the like. Among those feasting with the queen at Westminster were Lady Margaret Pole, the daughter of the late duke of Clarence and sister to the unfortunate earl of Warwick; Lord Edmund of Suffolk, now effectively heir to the Yorkist claim; the semi-independent northern magnates, Henry earl of Northumberland and Thomas earl of Derby, together with knights and esquires of their affinities (including several reputed to have fought for Richard III)¹⁶³; and former knights and esquires of the

¹⁶⁰ Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 119.

¹⁶¹ Julius B. XII, fol. 40v.

¹⁶² Julius B. XII, fol. 42r. Turberville acquired estates forfeited by Sir Henry Bodrugan and John Mallary. Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 108.

¹⁶³ Esp. Sir Marmaduke Constable and Sir Gervase Clifton.

body to Edward IV.¹⁶⁴ In all, the occasion was probably attended by as many as one thousand lords, ladies, gentlefolk and county notables.¹⁶⁵ So extensive is the herald's list of guests, moreover, that it is hard to escape the sense that Henry Tudor, once again, must have recognised the utility of the heralds' reportage for his own surveillance purposes.

At the conclusion of Queen Elizabeth's coronation in November 1487, there was a brief decline in the spectacular aspect of Henry VII's kingship, his regality and liberality typically displayed only at the customary celebrations of the calendar year.¹⁶⁶ These were important occasions for ceremony and the exercise of the heralds' expertise, nevertheless; and the reportage contained in the memoir shows that the annual festive seasons brought further opportunities for spectacle, largess, piety, and open household, as well as for court plays, disguisings, carols, minstrelsy, and even an abbot of misrule.¹⁶⁷ The memoir's reportage for 1488, in particular, is almost wholly preoccupied with the celebration of the customary annual feasts of the calendar year.

Thus, just as the eve of St. George, 1486, in the city of York saw the king combine the robes of the Garter with the regalia of enthronement – the crown in the morning

¹⁶⁴ Esp. Sir John Cheney, Sir Walter Hungerford, Sir William Stonor and Sir William Norris. In addition, Sir John Fogge was a former treasurer and privy counsellor for Edward IV.

¹⁶⁵ Julius B. XII, fols. 42v-45r.

¹⁶⁶ Anglo, *Spectacle*, p. 52.

¹⁶⁷ Julius B. XII, fols. 46v, 47v, 64r-v; PRO E404/79/311, E404/79/109(263); *Materials*, i, p. 337, ii, pp. 60, 68. The best discussion of court entertainments during the reign of Henry VII is in S. Anglo, 'The Court Festivals of Henry VII: a Study based upon the Account Books of John Heron, Treasurer of the Chamber', *BJRL*, xliii, i (Sept., 1960), pp. 12-45.

and the cap of maintenance at evensong in the Minster church¹⁶⁸ – New Year’s Day, 1488, likewise saw the king in a ‘riche gowne’, and brought the distribution of considerable sums in largess to the officers of arms.¹⁶⁹ The Garter festivities of April 1488 were celebrated with noteworthy splendour, perhaps partly in recompense for the debacle of the previous year.¹⁷⁰ The celebration of Epiphany is described in two folios of detail emphasising the king’s attire, the order of the procession to matins, the principal functions performed at the banquet, and the receipt of largess by the officers of arms. Easter, covered only briefly, is nevertheless mentioned in terms of the main participants and their roles, and the heralds’ receipt of fee. Likewise, on St George’s Eve that year, the king and the Garter knights reportedly processed to ‘chapter, and thence with the whole court to evensong. This occasion included the installation to the Order of the Garter of the young earl of Shrewsbury and the veteran campaigner, Edward Woodville.¹⁷¹ At the end of 1488, a lavish reception and procession celebrated, in grand public style, the king’s receipt of the sword and cap from the pope.¹⁷²

The most striking feature of Henry Tudor’s recorded personal appearances in the semi-public arena of court ceremonial was his crown-wearing. While, the *Record of Bluemantle Pursuivant*, for the years 1471 and 1472, appears to be the only heraldic

¹⁶⁸ Julius B. XII, fol. 12v.

¹⁶⁹ Julius B. XII, fol. 45v–46v.

¹⁷⁰ *Materials*, ii, p. 290–96; This herald’s account of this event is concluded with a poem, possibly read aloud at the banquet. Perhaps it was written by a courtier or one of the heralds. Julius B. XII, fols. 50v–51r.

¹⁷¹ Julius B. XII, fols. 48r–51r; Beltz, *Garter Memorials*, pp. lxxvii, clxviii. George Talbot, 4th earl of Shrewsbury replaced John Sutton, Lord Dudley, who died in September 1487, and Edward Woodville replaced the degraded Francis, Viscount Lovell.

¹⁷² Julius B. XII, fols. 51v–52v.

account of any crown-wearing prior to Henry Tudor's own, independent evidence demonstrates that Richard III and his queen and son had worn their crowns in York, only two months after the 1483 coronation.¹⁷³ Likewise, Henry VII appeared on the eve of Epiphany, 1488, arrayed in an open surcoat and his cap of maintenance. The following day, both the king and queen wore their crowns in the open procession to matins, accompanied by most of the court, and the foremost peers of the realm carrying items of the coronation regalia.¹⁷⁴ Attending the king on this occasion were the likes of Jasper duke of Bedford, John earl of Oxford, the earls of Derby and Nottingham, foreign ambassadors, the principal churchmen of the realm, the officers of arms, government and household officials, together with most other magnates, knights and ladies. That evening, the king reportedly feasted in the great hall wearing 'a riche corowne of golde sett with ful many rich precious stonys'.¹⁷⁵

The wearing of the crown, or of the cap of maintenance (or estate), a symbol of secular enthronement only slightly inferior to the crown,¹⁷⁶ was a means by which Henry Tudor could enhance his regal dignity and publicly affirm his exalted position over the court and kingdom, and the exercise was arguably bound up with those notions of continuity and legitimacy fostered by the early Tudor regime. To adopt publicly the visual symbols of royalty, and hence to 'identify [his] rule with the reputed unchanging character of the English Crown' was a powerful means of articulating a link between the new regime and England's past.¹⁷⁷ This was a Yorkist

¹⁷³ *YHB*, ii, 729; Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, p. 693-5; Armstrong, 'Inauguration Ceremonies', p. 93.

¹⁷⁴ Julius B. XII, fols. 46v-47r.

¹⁷⁵ Julius B. XII, fols. 46v-47r.

¹⁷⁶ W.H. St. John Hope, 'Note on the Cap of Maintenance' in Legg, *English Coronation Records*, pp. lxxxii-lxxxviii.

¹⁷⁷ Armstrong, 'Inauguration Ceremonies', p. 92.

practice continued by Henry Tudor, at least until 1494.¹⁷⁸ Presumably the officers of arms of the Crown were integral to the marshalling of these occasions, chiefly to ensure their efficiency and the full effect of their design.

It is significant that embassies and the reportage thereof are also accorded more space in the memoir around this time. On St. George's Day, 1488, ambassadors from the Empire and Brittany banqueted with the king in the great hall at Windsor castle. In November the same year a number of embassies arrived at court from France, the Empire, Brittany and Spain; the pope's representative arrived with the cap and sword and was lavishly feasted with a great number of foreign ambassadors; and the king dispatched his own diplomats 'into divers parties'.¹⁷⁹ The following year several foreign ambassadors reportedly passed the feast of Easter with the English court in Hertford, while later in the year further embassies arrived from the Continent.¹⁸⁰ The reasons for this emphasis are arguably several-fold. In the first place, the period of relative domestic peace following the battle of Stoke allowed the government to invest more time and money into diplomatic relations, while the birth of an heir and the successful outcome of Stoke had placed the king in a position of greater international repute and interest, and enabled him to actively court a Spanish alliance, monitor the Franco-Breton tensions, and so on. Second, the absence of any need for the heralds to marshal or record battles or great occasions of state during 1488 especially, allowed them more room for the coverage of international diplomacy, in which they often took part. Moreover, it is quite possible that the lavishness of the

¹⁷⁸ *Paston Letters and Papers*, ii, pp. 470-2. While Vergil attests to Richard's crown-wearings, no independent evidence of Henry Tudor's own between 1486 and 1490 has survived.

¹⁷⁹ Julius B. XII, fols. 49v, 51v, 52r.

¹⁸⁰ Julius B. XII, fol. 64v.

annual celebrations, crown-wearings, and public parading of the papal cap and sword, during 1488 and 1489 was a deliberate ploy on the part of the king to impress the foreign potentates, whose ambassadors were so often present at Henry Tudor's court.

When Princess Margaret was born in November 1489, and christened at Westminster, the Tudor court once again witnessed another of those spectacular state occasions that had been a feature of the first two years of the reign. Unlike the account of Prince Arthur's early birth and baptism, that for Princess Margaret is preceded by an account of the queen's confinement. The earls of Oxford and Derby, godfathers to Prince Arthur, were reportedly chosen to lead the queen in procession to her lying-in chambers. The same lavish textiles as were used for the decoration of the church for Prince Arthur's christening were clearly also considered appropriate for the queen's chambers. The inner chamber, where the baby was to be born, was reportedly 'hanged and steyled with riche clothe of arras of blew with flourdelisses of golde, without any oudir clothe of arras of ymagerye, whiche is not convenient about wymen in suche cas'.¹⁸¹ Therein lay a great bed and a pallet, suspended above which was 'a merveillous riche canope of cloth of gold with velvet paly of divers couleurs, garnished with rede roses, enbrodured with ij riche pannes of ermyns, couverd with raynes of land'.¹⁸² The room was further furnished with an altar and relics, and with a cupboard well garnished with the dishes and plate in daily use about the queen's person.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ Julius B. XII, fols. 58r-v.

¹⁸² Julius B. XII, fol. 58v.

¹⁸³ Julius B. XII, fol. 58v.

Queen Elizabeth's confinement in 1489 was remarkable in that, according to the memoir, an ambassadorial party was admitted to the presence against the custom of barring the inner chamber from all but the queen's ladies. Among those allowed to see Queen Elizabeth at this time were John Writhe, Garter King of Arms, and his French counterpart, Montjoy.¹⁸⁴ It is instructive, too, that the herald's assertion that 'from thens forth no maner off officier came within the chambre... after the olde coustume' is immediately, and rather incongruously, followed by a memorandum of the admission of foreign ambassadors. Once again it appears that the memoir was created by the verbatim transcription of raw materials with little or no attempt to rationalise the account.

The description of the christening ceremony itself largely follows the same format as for Arthur's baptism, albeit more briefly, and the event apparently experienced no hitches like those in 1486. The only statement of notable difference between the two reports was the inclusion in the latter of Garter King of Arms in the baptismal procession, walking just before the Constable. Indeed, independent evidence suggests that Writhe had been on embassy at the time of Arthur's christening, and thus did not take part in the baptismal procession on that occasion.¹⁸⁵ Now, in 1489, Archbishop Morton was godfather; and the king's mother, and namesake to the little princess, took her place as one of the godmothers at the font. Also chosen as godmother at the font was Elizabeth duchess of Norfolk, whose own daughter had been married to the hapless Richard, duke of York. The queen's sister, Lady Anne, again carried the chrysom cloth, while the marchioness of Berkeley carried the child under the canopy, supported by the earls of Arundel and Shrewsbury. She also performed the role of

¹⁸⁴ Julius B. XII, fol. 58v.

godmother to the confirmation. Also taking part in the baptismal procession were Viscount Welles, the young earl of Essex, Richard Grey of Ruthin, earl of Kent. Bishop Alcock of Ely, who as bishop of Worcester had hallowed Prince Arthur's font, now baptised the baby princess. Henry Tudor again evidently deployed the sacred silver font of Canterbury, which had served royal babies in times past.¹⁸⁶

On November 30, 1489, the very same day on which the baby princess was christened, Arthur was created Prince of Wales in a ceremony described in detail by an attendant herald. The royal barge that carried Arthur from Sheen, 'filled with the lords spiritual and temporal, officers of arms, trumpeters and minstrels, was greeted first at Chelsea by the mayor and crafts of London, and then at Lambeth by the ambassadors of Spain'.¹⁸⁷ A number of Spanish merchants were also present. The attendance of Spaniards on this lavish occasion was an extension of the negotiations, begun in 1488, for a marriage alliance between Arthur and the four-year-old Spanish princess, Katherine.¹⁸⁸ Having received coveted recognition on the European stage by the conclusion of the Treaty of Medina del Campo in March 1489, Henry Tudor was now perhaps concerned to effect a display of lavish ceremonial and the unity and stability of the regime before the representatives of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. Clear evidence of the heralds' role in the marshalling and organisation of these events lies in a set of 'articles concernyng the creacion of my lord prynce' penned by Garter

¹⁸⁵ *Materials*, ii, pp. 45, 82; Godfrey et al, *College of Arms*, p. 42.

¹⁸⁶ The use of the silver font from Christ Church, Canterbury was a custom that seems to have developed for royal baptisms in the late fifteenth century. It is uncertain how old this custom was, although the font may have been used for the baptism of most of Edward IV's children. Staniland, 'Royal Entry', p. 303 n. 33.

¹⁸⁷ Anglo, *Spectacle*, p. 52.

¹⁸⁸ *Materials*, ii, p. 376. Also treaties with Denmark, *Materials*, ii, p. 470, 472.

Writhe less than a week before the event, and corresponding closely to the order of proceedings recorded in the memoir.¹⁸⁹ Commencing with the preparations for Arthur's conveyance from Ashurst to Sheen on the Wednesday, Writhe's notes set out in systematic detail, each stage of the five-day, and includes the telling statement on the duties of the heralds: 'Item, all other circumstances in this behalffe to be ordred by the officers of armes and other ther to be appoynted'.¹⁹⁰ It is also worth noting that evidence of the presence of the king at Arthur's creation on Sunday November 30 (the very day of Princess Margaret's christening), together with the fact the queen had only given birth the night before, further precludes the notion that the sovereign parents attended a royal christening.

¹⁸⁹ College of Arms, MS. L8a, fols. 17v-19.

¹⁹⁰ College of Arms, MS. L8a, fol. 18r.

4.4 Conclusion

The principal conclusions to emerge from a study of the heraldic accounts of rebellion and court ceremony contained in the memoir revolve around the issues of the establishment and consolidation of a brand new regime. In the first place, what emerges from the heralds' documentation of campaigns and court festivities in the early years of the reign, is the gradual development of a working order under the new dispensation. Thus, from the heralds' accounts of the christening and coronation, the two ceremonies that, according to Anglo, marked the establishment of a new 'symmetrical political structure',¹⁹¹ comes the sense that Henry Tudor actively exploited these grand occasions to encourage and advertise the practical amalgamation of the rival camps, and to test the new socio-political relationships within this amalgam. His gift of the principal coronation and baptismal services to prominent members of the House of York and former Ricardians, served to foster respect between the king and magnate, and to draw increasing numbers of Yorkists into the new dispensation. The choice of the dowager queen as godmother in 1486 presumably had a special resonance. These occasions were also rendered more effective by the attendance upon the king of his principal men, effectively a cameo image of the team of courtiers, administrators and soldiers that had begun to settle around the king, and who would remain unchanged for a decade or more.¹⁹²

As the conduct of the king and his subjects during the first provincial progress made clear, moreover, the winning of battles was only one part of this process: sedition and ceremony were effectively two sides of the one coin. To a great extent success in

¹⁹¹ Anglo, *Spectacle*, p. 51.

battle, effective mobilisation of loyalist troops, and the great ceremonial events at court were closely inter-linked, and helped equally to promote Henry Tudor's political designs. While, the coronation of the queen came after the first major showdown with the Yorkist malcontents, it is equally possible that the ability of the king to rally great numbers of men against the rising of 1489 was facilitated by the appearance of credibility and legitimacy that came from the christening of Arthur, the coronation of the queen, the celebration of the feast of St George and so on.

Thus, in contrast to the six or so peers in the king's army in 1487 (and perhaps fewer for King Richard in 1485), the memoir demonstrates the commitment to the royal standard in 1489 of as many as eighteen peers, including the earls of Arundel, Derby, Wiltshire, Surrey and Oxford, Lords Berners, Cobham, Hastings, Latimer, Strange, St. Amand, and Zouche, together with the representatives of several more.¹⁹³ Many others not available for mobilisation in April and May 1489 were already working for the Crown in their respective spheres of influence.¹⁹⁴ Below the peerage, too, some 200 men are named by the heralds as taking part in the expedition, at least half of which served the earl of Oxford, Lord Strange, the earl of Derby and other great lords with court connections and strong regional power-bases. Certain others had independent connections to the king, through the duchy of Lancaster,¹⁹⁵ while Sir

¹⁹² Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 113

¹⁹³ Bennett, 'Northern Rising', p. 51.

¹⁹⁴ Bennett, 'Northern Rising', p. 51; Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 106. The horror felt by contemporaries at the failure of Northumberland's men to support their lord is reflected in a lengthy elegy by John Skelton. *The Poetical Works of John Skelton*, ed. A. Dyce, 2 vols (New York, 1965), i, pp. 6-14.

¹⁹⁵ See R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, 2 vols. (London, 1953), i, esp. pp. 261-1. Bennett, 'Northern Rising', p. 53, n.2, notes that at least two dozen of the knights and gentlemen in

Thomas Green, Sir Richard Croft, and Sir Roger Lewknor commanded their own independent companies. The collective political and military clout of the gentry and lesser nobility in England was clearly formidable, and Henry Tudor's ability to harness the support of these men was crucial both to the immediate suppression of rebellion, and to the longer term issues of the consolidation of his rule. The broad support of the gentry is increasingly evident in the heralds' documentation of the military campaigns of 1487 and 1489.

The second key point that arises from the study above is that the heralds involved in the note-taking at the events, and in producing the complete memoir, occupied an interesting position within this very process of consolidation. Not only were the officers of arms largely responsible for the presentation and perpetuation of ceremonial precedent, for the mustering of the royal troops and maintenance of martial discipline in the army, but, in creating descriptive accounts, lists of participants and the like, the heralds also clearly facilitated a roll-call of names and record of conduct that could hardly have escaped the notice of Henry Tudor. Although it is unlikely that the king had any direct authority over the heralds' reports on these occasions, his own interests may well have promoted the more systematic account of the North Yorkshire rising in 1489, and the general length and detail of the memoir itself. Moreover, in the general rawness of reportage and immediacy of events evident throughout the memoir, the very processes of by which Henry Tudor consolidated his hold on the Crown and realm of England become clear.

Lord Strange's retinue were fee'd from the duchy of Lancaster. (PRO DL42/21, fols. 49-50, 108-108v).

CONCLUSION

Under Henry VII, the heralds of the English Crown reached the height of their standing in the royal household. Thrust to prominence at the English court by the 'progressive refinement of the art of living' sought by the Yorkist kings,¹ heralds had become the masters of all that Johan Huizinga described as the 'sumptuous apparatus of codes of honour, courtly demeanour, heraldry, chivalric orders and tournaments'.² Now, too, they performed ambassadorial tasks of increasing importance and continued, and perhaps refined, their more traditional work on the battlefield.

As I have demonstrated, the manifold processes that carried the former vagabond criers to new levels of professionalism and corporatisation at the Yorkist and early Tudor courts, both required, and further promoted, the production of written records to buttress the heralds' expertise. From simple lists of combatants compiled on the battlefields of St Albans in 1455 and Tewkesbury in 1471, a new body of descriptive narrative accounts began to develop under Edward IV that dealt with a range of subjects pertaining to the heralds' duties at, and on behalf of, the royal court. As loose narrative accounts of coronations, christenings, funerals and creations; and of diplomatic affairs, battles and skirmishes, all written under a variety of conditions, these documents furnished the English heralds with all the materials they needed to ensure the perpetuation of ceremonial precedent and the correct payment of their fees. Indeed, the largely inedited form in which most of these accounts survive suggests that they were primarily working narratives. As discussed in Chapter 2, the surviving

¹ D.R. Starkey, *The King's Privy Chamber, 1485-1547*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Cambridge University, 1973), p. 1.

² J. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: a Study of the Play Element in Culture* (London, 1949), p. 126.

heraldic records provide us with invaluable insight into the nature and role of royal heralds in the latter half of the fifteenth century.

By far the most expansive and heterogeneous of all surviving records produced by the English royal heralds in the latter half of the fifteenth-century, was the memoir of the court of Henry VII, for the years 1486-90. A diverse assemblage of descriptive memoranda, lists of knights, oral reportage, written instructions, and public proclamations, compiled piecemeal in the office of arms over a (relatively) extended period, the memoir appears to be an amalgamation of almost all of the heraldic reportage produced during the years in question. While it is impossible to rule out the personal enthusiasm of a particularly conscientious apprentice herald with time on his hands, it is difficult to escape the sense that this document was intended as a more systematic and efficient means of record keeping, possibly derived from the same initiative as the roster system of November 1487. Indeed, the memoir opens with an introductory sentence indicating the influence of some form of editorial policy on the progress narrative, at least, if not the entire tract. That it was methodical collation of raw materials, compiled in large measure by a professional scribe, and completed by Garter Writhe and his son, further supports the idea of a conscious, systematic project of transcription.

The rawness of reportage and the immediacy of events described in the memoir, thus open up invaluable insights, not only into the duties and conduct of the heralds at the court of Henry VII, but also into the better, and lesser, known events involving the king and royal court during the years 1486-90. As I discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, the first provincial progress of Henry VII is described in minute detail by one or more heralds in the royal entourage. As the king moved from London toward York, and

then back down through the West Midlands, the unforeseen events, the changes of plan, the spontaneity of decisions, and other factors influencing the king and his men are clear. Likewise, the urgency of muster and the growing tension in the royal entourage preparing for battle in 1487 is conveyed through the eye-witness reportage of a herald seemingly moving with the royal vanguard in the early stages of muster.

When Prince Arthur was christened in September 1486, the miserable weather and the absence of the earl of Oxford clearly interfered with an established ritual. Like the question of precedence attached to one of the coronation processions of 1487, the changes to Prince Arthur's christening the year before had to be committed to paper for the heralds' future reference. In addition, along side the great state occasions and the important royal campaigns, the heraldic reportage in the memoir details the customary annual celebration of feast days, at least one English-backed campaign on the Continent, the dispatch and arrival at court of embassies, and several brief memoranda of the king's hunting.

The value of the memoir as an historical source for the study of socio-political, and court, life in England during the early years of the reign of Henry VII has been recognised by generations of scholars. Yet, the only edition available until now, the 'Leland-Hearne' transcript, does not provide an adequate reproduction of, or introduction to, the original tract. The purpose of this thesis has been to address a serious deficiency in the primary source material available for a period of English history that is, on the whole, not well served by contemporary documentation. The thesis offers a scholarly edition of the complete heraldic memoir contained in BL, MS. Cotton Julius B. XII, fols. 8v-66r, and it is to be hoped that it will also provide an understanding not only of the events and principal persons described in the

memoir, but also of the men who compiled the text, and the milieu in which they worked.

The heralds of the English Crown continued to compile narrative and pictorial records of important ceremonial occasions at court for decades to come,³ but certain changes in the function and privilege of royal heralds loomed on the horizon. Even as Henry VII's reign drew to a close, the distancing tendencies exhibited by the king must have created a widening divide between the heralds in their official capacity and the king's immediate entourage, now more firmly anchored to the Privy Chamber establishment. Under Henry VIII, the heralds of the Crown were to lose forever their right to regular maintenance at court, perhaps because they no longer spent enough of their time there to warrant the privilege.⁴ Under Henry VIII, too, the frequency of the heralds' employment on embassy lessened, and from the mid-sixteenth century the introduction of uniforms on the battlefield began to replace the need for experts in the identification of armorial bearings in war.⁵

Yet, in the closing decades of the fifteenth century, the heralds were at the pinnacle of their relationship with the king and court. Of their narratives produced during this period, few could have been as impressive as the memoir of 1486-90. Whether or not it was originally intended as a large-scale document, the memoir of the court of Henry VII is the only substantial heraldic narrative of court affairs for this period.

³ For example, the accounts of the coronations of Anne Boleyn in 1533, and Edward VI in 1547; the funerals of Anne of Cleves and Mary Tudor, in 1557 and 1558; the Great Tournament Roll of Westminster; and the roll of the procession at the funeral of Sir Philip Sidney, 1586.

⁴ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 98. G.R. Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government. Administrative Changes in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 61.

⁵ Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 151.

8v / A shorte and a brief memory, by licence and correccion, of the first progresse of our souveraigne lorde King Henry the vijth – after his noble coronacion, Cristemas and parliament holden at his paloyes of Westminster – towardes the northparties.

1486

In the [xiiijth]¹ day of Marche [the king] toke his hors, wele and nobley London accompaniede at Seint Johns of London, and rode to Waltham; and from thens the high way to Cambrige, wher his grace was honourably receyved both of the Cambridge unyversitie and of the towne. And from thens he roode by Huntingdon, Staunforde, Easter 1486 and to Lincoln, and ther his grace kepte right devoutly the holy fest of Ester, and Lincoln full like a cristene prince hard his dyvyne service in the cathedrall chirche and in no prive chapell. And on Sherethursday he had in the bisshops hall xxix poore men, to whom he humly and cristenly for Christez love, with his noble handes, did wesshe ther fete, and yave as great almes like as other his noble progenitours, kings of England, have been accustomed aforetyme. And also on Good Friday, after all his March 24 offerins and observances of halowing of his ringes, after dyner yave merveolous² great summes of mony in grotes to poo[r]e³ people, besides great almes to poore freres, prisoners, and lazares howsez of that countrey. And oon Sherethursday, Goodfryday, Estereven, and Esterday the bisshop of that see did the divine service; and everyche of the iij dayes folowing the principallest residencers ther being present did ther divine observance. And the king him silf kepte every day thus, during both the high masse and evensonge in the saide cathedrall chirche.

And that same weke he remeid unto Notingham withoute any bayting, by cause Nottingham they died at Newark, &c. And the meir and his brethern of Notingham in scarlet gounes on horsbake, accompaniede with vj or vij^{xx} with other honest men al on

¹ [xiiijth]] no date was given.

² merveolous] mer– written over an erasure.

9r horsbake, also receyvede the king a myle by south Trent. And bytwene both /brigges the procession, both of the frerez and of the pariche chirchez, receyved the king and so proceded thorough the towne to the castell.

And from thens the king the next weke folowing⁴ remevede towarde Yorke – at whos remeving therle of Derby, the lorde Straunge, Sir William Stanley with other toke ther leve – and on Satirday came unto Dancaster, wher he abode the Sondag Doncaster
and harde masse at the freres of Our Lady and evensong in the parishe chirche. April 8

And oon the morne the king remeved to Pomfreyte, accompanied then and sone April 9
after with the archebisshop of York, the bisshop of Ely (chaunceller of England), the bisshop of Excester (prive seale); also therle of Lyncolln, therle of Oxinforde, therle of Shrewesbury, therle of Ryvers, therle of Wiltshire, the vicount Wellis, the lorde Percy, whiche came to the king at York; the lorde Grey Rythyn, the lorde Grey, the lorde fitz Water (stuarde of the kinges howse), the lorde Powes, the lorde Clifford, the lorde fitz Hugh, the lorde Scrop of Upsale, the lorde Scrop of Bolton, the lorde la Warre, lorde Latymor, lorde Dacre of Gillesland, the lorde Hastings, the lorde Lumley, the lorde Hussay (chief justice of the kinges benche).

Knyghtes: Sir Richarde Egecombe (countroller of the kinges house), Sir Thomas Burgh, Sir John Cheyny, Sir John Grey of Wilton, Sir George Nevell, Sir John Beauchamp, Sir Walter Hungreforde, Sir Robert Taylboys, Sir Robert Willoughby, Sir Edward Ponynges, Sir Humfrey Stanley; Sir John Savage, Sir Davy Owen, Sir Charles of Somerset, Sir Thomas Cokesay, Sir Robert Poynez, Sir John Amelton,
9v Sir Thomas Markenvile, Sir John Savile / (shiref of Yorkeshire), Sir Henry

³ poo[r]e] *written* poope.

⁴ the king the next weke folowing] *toke inserted above, between king and the, but subsequently erased.*

Perpoynte, Sir John Babington, Sir Henry Wentworth,⁵ Sir Robert Stirley, Sir Thomas Tempeste, Sir Gerveis of Clifton, Sir John Turburvile, Sir Edmund Benyngfelde, Sir John a Grisley, Sir Hugh⁶ Persall, Sir Nicholl Langforde, Sir Rauff Bygod, Sir John Nevill of Leversege, *Sir* William fitz William, *Sir* Thomas fitz William, Sir John Everyngham, Sir Randolf Pigote, Sir Marmaduc Counstable, Sir John Waterton, *Sir* Robert Rider, Sir Edmonde Hastingses, Sir John Counstable of Holdrenesse, Sir *Christofor* Moresby, Sir Robert Dymmok, Sir James Danby, Sir Richarde Haute, Sir John Risley, Sir William Say [and] Sir William Tyler, whiche was sent unto the castell of Midlem.

And by the way in Barnesdale, a litill beyonde Robyn Hoddez ston, therle of Barnesdale Northumbreland, with right a great *and* noble company, mete *and* yave his attendaunce upon the king – that is for to say *with* xxxiiij knyghtes of his feed men, beside esquiers and yomen (*parte* of those knyghtes names as ensuen): Sir [Robert]⁷ Multon (*sumtyme* lorde of Seint Johns), *Sir* William Gascon, Sir Robert Counstable, Sir Hugh Hastingses, Sir William Evers, Sir John Pikering, Sir Robert Plompton, Sir Pers of Medilton, Sir *Christofor* Warde, Sir William Malary, Sir Thomas Malyverer, *Sir* William Englisshby, Sir James Strangways, Sir Rauf Babthorpe, Sir Thomas Normanvile, Sir Martyn of the See, Sir Robert Hilliart, Sir Rauf Crathorn, Sir William Bekwith, Sir Robert Utreyte, Sir Thomas Metham, Sir Richarde Quonyers, Sir William Darcy, Sir Stephen Hamerton, and Sir William a
 10r Stapleston, – and so proceded that same Mondaye to Pomfret, wher his / grace April 10 remaynede unto the Thursday next following; at whiche day the king was April 13 accompanied *with* great noblesse, as above saide, and merveolous great nombre of

⁵ Wenworth] –t obscured by an inkblot.

⁶ Sir Hugh] huh cancelled between Sir and Hugh.

⁷ Sir [Robert] Multon] no Christian name given.

so short a warnyng of esquiers, gentilmen *and* yomen in defencible array; for in that tyme ther wer *certeyne* rebelles aboute Rypon and Midlem, whiche undrestanding the kinges myght and nere approching, within ij dayes disperclede.

And at Tadcaster⁸ the king, richely besene in a gowne of cloth of golde furred Tadcaster *with* ermyn, toke his courser. His henshemmen *and* folowers, also in golde smythez werk, wer richely besene. At the further ende of the brigge foote the shriffes of York, wele accompaniede, mette the king *and* so procedede *and* ber ther white York rodde afor his grace. And ner hand, iij myles oute of Yorke, the maire of that citie *and* his brether, *with* other great nombre of citezeins al on horsbak, receyved the king. And Vavasour, recordre of the same citie, had the speche in bidding the king welcome and also recommaundede the citie *and* theinhabitauntes of the same to his good grace. And half a myle *withoute* the gate of that citie, the precessions of al the orders of freres receyved the king; and after theym the prior of the Trinities *with* his brether, thabbot of Seint Mary abbey *with* his covent, the chanoignes of⁹ Seint Leonardes, and then the generall procession of¹⁰ al the parishe chirches of the saide citie, *with* merveolous great nombre of men, women and childern on foote, whiche in rejoysing of his commyng criden: “King Henry, King Henry!”, and saide: “Our Lorde preserve that swete and welefaverde face!”

10v And at the gate of the citie ther was ordeynede a pajaunt *with* dyvers personages and mynstrelsygez. / And¹¹ therby stode a king coronede – whiche had his speche that folowith – whos name was Ebraucus.

⁸ Tadcaster] *initially written* Tadcastell, *and then altered*.

⁹ of] *repeated*.

¹⁰ of al the parishe chirches] the towne *cancelled between of and* al.

¹¹ and] *repeated as a Tironian sign followed by* and.

O reverende,¹³ right wis regent of this regaltie,
 Whos primatyve patron I apper to your *presence*,
 Ebranc of Brytayne, I sittuate this citie
 For a place to my pleaser of most *prehemynence*.
 Herunto I recoursesde for moost conveyence,
 In conforting, that by cours of lynyall succession,
 Myn heirez this my cetie shuld have in possession.

Of right I was regent *and* ruled this region;
 I subdued Fraunce *and* lede in my legeaunce.
 To you, Henry, I submitte my citie, kee *and* coroune,
 To rule *and* redresse as your due to¹⁴ defence;
 Nevir to this citie to *presume* no pretence.
 But holly I remytte it to your *governaunce*
 As a *principall parcell* of your enheritaunce.

Please it, I beseche you, for my remembraunce,
 Sith that I am a *primatyve* of youre *progenye*.
 Shewe your *grace* to this citie *with* suche habundaunce.
 As the ruyn may recover into *prosperitie*;
 And also of your great grace gif not *your ye*
 Only to this citie of insufficiency,

¹² Ebraucus] *inserted in the left margin*.

¹³ reverende] *initially written reverdende, before the first -d was cancelled*.

¹⁴ due to defence] *to written above cancelled Tironian symbol*.

But graciously conside ther wille *and* diligence.

It is knowen in trouth of great experience:

11r / For *your* blod this citie made never digression,
 As recordeth by the great hurte for blode of *your* excellence.
 Wherefor the rather I pray for compassion,
 And to mynd how this citie, of olde *and* pure affeccion,
 Gladdeth *and* enjoyeth your highnesse, and commyng
 With hole consente, knowing you ther *souveraigne and* king.

And at the hider ende of House brigge ther was ordeyned a nother pajaunt,
 garnysshede *with* shippes and botez in every side in tokenyng¹⁵ of the kinges
 landing at Milforde Havyn. And Salamon in his habite roiall crownede hadde this
 speche as hereafter foloweth:

Salamon¹⁶

“Solomon”

Moost prudent prynce of *provid* provision,
 Ther *premordiall* princes of this *principalitie*,
 hath *prepare* *your* reign, the vij by succession,
 Remytting this reame as right to *your* roialtie.
 Ther [?are] kinges condong of your consanguinitie,
 Full roial *and* rightwise in rule of ther [regence
 And ful lordly thai execute the lawes of ther legence].¹⁷

¹⁵ in tokening] tokel *cancelled between these two words*.

¹⁶ Salamon] *inserted in the right margin*.

Sith God full of glorie, eternal sapience,
 Did ensence me, Salamon, of His affluente grace,
 Wher thorough I am taken, as *patrone* of prudence,
 To discusse upon conscience yche iudicial case,¹⁸
 Revolvynge how *with* sapience ye have spent *your* space
 To the tyme of this your reign mysteriously,
 Opteynyng as moost worthy your right, not regesly.

Now reigne ye, rule ye now your realme right wisely,
 11v / By politik *providence* as God hath enduede.
 To you, *souveraigne* in sapience, submytting me humbly –
 Your sage *sobre* sothfastnesse hath so be shewede
 In yche iudicial right this realme to be renewede,
 Ye be advised moost worthy by affluence –
 Submytting to *your* *soveraignetie* my septer of sapience.

Beseching you of bountevous benevolence,
 This your citie to supporte *with* subsidie of your *grace*.
 Thies your noble *progenitours* recordeth the assistance
 Of this citie to the assuffrayn in yche tyme *and* place.
 Proof makith experience now *souveraigne* in your space,
 Of purede witt, to your blood of great antiquitie;
 This your citie is solacede to have your *soveraigntie*.

¹⁷ [regence...ther legence]] *this line, omitted by the Scribe A, has been taken from the corresponding verse transcript in the York House Books, ii, p. 483.*

And by yonde the brigge, at the turnyng into Quonyeux Strete, ther was a pajant
of thassumpcion of Our Lady, whiche had a speche as ensueth &c:

Our Lady¹⁹

“Our Lady”

Henry, sith my Sone as thy Souveraigne hath the sothly assigned,
Of His Grace, to be *governour* of His peoplez *proteccion*;
Full specially that thyn heire of pytie bee declynede.
I pray thee sith thy people hath me muche in *affeccion*.
My Sonne *and* my Souveraigne, in whom is *eleccion*,
Singularly this citie hath honourede humbly,
And made me ther meane *withoute* obieccion,
In hope of their helpe to have it holly.

What I aske of His Great Grace He *grauntith* it goodly,
12r / As a beme of al bountevous benynge,
The, His knyght, He hath chosen victoriously
To convok *and* concorde this thy country condigne.
I the pray in this space.²¹
For this citie is a place of my pleasing.
Than have thou no drede nor no doubting
Continuelly her in thy reynyng.
I shall shewe to my Sonne to sende thee His Grace.²⁰

¹⁸ case] *originally written cause before -u was expunged.*

¹⁹ Our Lady] *inserted in the left.*

And in *divers* places of the citie, hanging oute of tapestry *and* other clothes, *and* making of galaries from on side of the strete *over* thwarte to that other; some casting oute of obles *and* wafers, *and* some casting out of comfettes in great quantitie – as [if] it had been haylestones – for joye *and* reioysing of the kinges *commyn*g. And at the further ende of Conyeux strete was ordeyned another stage *with* a pageant, wherin King Davide stode, armede *and* crowne*de*, having a nakede swerde in his hand, [and] had the speche as ensueth:

David²¹

“King David”

Moost *pre*potent prince of power imperiall,
 Redoubt*ede* in iche region of *Christez* affiance,
 Your actes victorious bith notede principall,
 In maner mor noble than Charles of Fraunce.
 Sith God so disposith of His *preordynaunce*,
 Like as He yave me myght to devince Goly
 I, David, submytte to you my swerde of victory.

When I reignede in Iude I know *and* testifie,
 That Ebranc, the noble whiche subdued Fraunce,
 In memory of his tryumphe, this citie did edefie,
 That the²² name of his nobley shulde have contynuaunce.

²⁰ I the pray... space. *and* I shall shewe...grace] *inserted in the margin alongside the portion of verse on fol. 12r.*

²¹ David] *inserted in the right margin.*

²² the name] –*t cancelled before the.*

12v

In wittnesse that this citie *withoute* variaunce,

/ Was never devinced by force ne violence.

Wherfor I have chosen it for my place to your *presence*.

Submitting it *with* thafforce *and* truth to your excellence.

Beseching your highnesse the more for myn instaunce,

To this your enheritaunce take *gracious* complacence.

Sith that it [is] your citie not filede *with* dissaveaunce,

True and bolde to *your* bloode, not dreding *perturbaunce*,

Whiche causede moost this citie to bee desolate,

Now revivying in comforte to atteigne your astate.

And from thens the king procedede to the mynster, wher *within* the west doore tharchebisshop *with* the dean *and* processyon of the hole quere of the same mynster receyvede the king as accustomed, and so procedede up into the quere byfor the high auter, wher *after* the orisons redde by tharchebisshop the king offrede. And from thens the king went and offrede at Seint Williams shryne, and than turned into the quere into the deanes stalle. Tharchebisshop standing in his trone beganne *Te Deum* &c, whiche by them of the quere was right melodiously songen *with* organz as accustomed. And *after* the collect the king went into the paloyes, wher he loggede as longe as he was in that citie.

On the Satirday next folowing, whiche was Seint Georges even, the king harde²³ April 23
his evensong in the mynster chirche, having a blew mantell above his sircote and on St. George's
his hede his cap of maintenance; for he was crowned on the morn, having thabite Eve
of the garters above al other robes of estate. Therle of Oxinforde bare his trayne.

²³ harde] *repeated, then cancelled.*

Also in the morne the trayne of the mayntell of the garters coverde the trayne²⁴ of
 13r the mantell of astate, *and* the furre of the astate / sufficiently shewed.²⁵ The king
 kept his estate in the bisshops great hall. Therle of Oxinforde yave attendaunce upon
 the coroun, havynge also thabet of the garter above thabite of his estate. And Antony
 Browne sewed²⁶ that day. And the lorde Scrop of Bolton, by cause he was a knyght
 of the garter, in both his habitez, *servede* the king of water. Item, *Sir* David Owen,
 in his habite, kervede. Item, *Sir* Charlez of Somerset, in his habite, was copeberer.
 Item, tharchebisshop, whiche ministrede the dyvyne *service*, sat on the kinges right
 hande in non other array but as he dayly gooth in. And at that other ende of the
 kinges borde that day satt noman.

Item, in the forsaide hall were vj tables, that is to say ij in the middez of the said
 hall, and in every ile ij. At the furst table in the myddez of the hall satt my lorde
 chaunceller, my lorde *privy* seale, thabbot of Seynt Mary abbey, thabbott of
 Founteyns, tharchebisshops suffragan, *with* other *prelates* and the kinges
 chapeleyns. Item, at the ij^{de} table satt therles of Lincolln, of Shrewsbury, Ryvers,
 and of Wiltshire; baronez, knyghtes, and esquiers for the body, etc. Item, at the furst
 table on the right ile of the forsaide hall satt the lorde Scrope, Sir Thomas of Burgh
 and Sir John Cheyne,²⁷ knyghtes of the garter, all on oon side; and by neith theym
 left a voide space; and then other honest personnes fulfilled *and* garnisshed that
 table. Item, at the ij^{de} table of that ile satt the dean and his brethern *with* the hole
 quere of the mynster. Item, at the furst table of the ij^{de} ile next to the walle satt the

²⁴ trayne] -t *slightly obscured by an ink smudge.*

²⁵ sufficiently shewed] *catchword at bottom of fol. 12v.*

²⁶ sewed] *initially written shewed, before -h was cancelled.*

²⁷ Cheyne] *interlineated above.*

13v mair *and* his brether with other citezins in great nombre. Item, at the ij^{de} / table of that ile sat the juggez; by neith theym other honest *persones*.

At the kinges tables ende ther was ordeygnede a stage for his officers of armes, whiche at the tyme accustomed cryede his largesse iij tymes: “de treiz haute, treiz puissant, treiz excellent prince, le treiz victorious roy dAnglitter *et* de Fraunce, *seigneur* de Irland, et souveraigne de la treiz noble order, larges”, eftsonez thriez larges: “de treiz haute, treiz puissante, treiz excellent prince, le treiz cristen roy de Fraunce *et* dAngleter” &c as above. Item, Sir John Turburvile, knyght mershall, drewe the surnap; and after dyner was ther the voide. And then the king *and* the lordez did of ther robez, excepte thabbite of the garter, wherin knyghtes of the same according to ther statutz roode to evensonge; and on the morne to the masse of requiem whiche was songen by the suffragan mytrede. And after masse the king *and* the knyghtes of the garter went to the chapter house, and ther helde his chapter of the garter.

It is to bee remembrede that on Seynt Georges day thabbot of Seint Mary abbey April 23 redde the gspell, thabbot [of] Fountenz the pistill, the suffragan was croyser *and* bar tharchebisshopis crosse, and all were in pontificalibus.

This doon, I had leve for to departe.

At Wytsonne even, at whiche tyme I came to the kinges grace at Worcestre, wher Worcester
as I understande wer ordeynede certeyn pajants and speches like as ensuen whiche May 13
his grace at that tyme harde not, &c: Whitsun Eve

[Henry VIth]

“Henry VI”

Welcome, nevew²⁸; welcome, my cousyn dere:

Next of my blood descended by alyaunce,

Chosen by grace of God both fer *and* ner,

To be myn heir in Englande and in Fraunce,

14r / Ireland, Wales, with al the apertenaunce

Of the hole tytle which I *sumtyme* had –

Al is thyn owne, wherefor I am right glad.

I am Henry the vjth, sobre and sad,

Thy great uncle, *sumtyme* of England king.

Full xxxix yeres this realme my silf I had,

And of the people had the *governyng*.

Slaine was I, martir by great *tormenting*.

In Chartesey buried, translate unto Windesore,

Ther logge I now, *and* arft ther was I bore.

Mek and *mercifull* was I *evermore*,

From crueltie refreynyng and from vengeaunce,

God hath me rewardede largely therfor.

And, gentil cosyn, sith thou hast this chaunce

To be myn heire, use wele my *governaunce*;²⁹

Pytie *with* mercy have alwey in thy cure;

For by meknesse thou shalt lengest endure.

²⁸ nevew] *interlineated above*.

²⁹ use wele my *governaunce*] *pitie cancelled at the end of this line*.

Advertise wele what founde is in Scripture,
 The Gospell seith, whoso right well it markes,
 Merciful men of *mercy* may bee sure.
 For God Him Self - this writeth and seith al clerkes –
 Preferred *mercy* above all His werkes.
 Now for His sake shewe it to free *and* bond,
 And He shall guyde thee both by see *and* lande.

14v / And here thou may dere cousyn undrestande,³⁰

This poore citie with humble reverence
 A poore bill have put into myn hande,
 Be[s]eching³¹ me of my benevolence,
 It to declare to thy magnyficence,
 Wherto I muste my pitefull herte enbrace,
 And this *procede* whose luste is here in place.

Humbly besechith your high and noble grace,
 Your poore subiectes, liegmen *and* oratours,
 Wher late befell a lamentable case:
 A gentilman, detected *with* riottours,
 Making suggestyon ayenst you *and* youres,
 Contryved falsely by informacion,
 Shewing so largely by his *communicacion*:³²

³⁰ undrestande] –dre *interlineated above*.

³¹ Be[s]eching] *written* Becheching.

³² *communicacion*] *written* concacon *without* *markes of abbreviation*.

That of *your* grace he had graunted his *pardon*
 By great charter of lif, goodes *and* landes,
 Desiring heder to come for his devocion
 To offre at Our Lady wher that she stande[s]³³.
 By ignorance thus bee they brought in bandes,
 Beseching you moost mekely, or ye passe,
 Graciously pardon theym this trespasse.

For greatly greven theym,³⁴ both mor *and* lasse,
 So many men by oon to be deceyvede;
 Your ounne citie, that never pollutede was,
 Is now defiled, for she hath hym receyvede;
 Your saide subgettes that al this hath perceyvede.

15r / Enclyne theymsilf, and to your mercy calle,
 Seing they have a warnyng *perpetuall*.

And from this tyme after, whatever befalle,
 They will entende to put theym silf in devoure
 You for to – both olde, yonge, great *and* smale –
With al ther service, your high grace to recovere;
 And your saide oratours promysse to pray for ever
 For your noble estate and *prosperitie*
 Long to contynue in ioye and felicite.

³³ stande[s]] *actually written as standeth, although this does not fit the rhyme scheme.*

³⁴ greven theym both] *this trespasse cancelled between theym and both.*

And now, swete Henry, doo somewhat for me:

I stod for vj and now ye stande for vij –

Faver thoos folk that fele *adversitie*;

God wille rewarde the therfor high in heven.

Now as myghty lyon bere the even,

Whos noble angre in his cruell rage,

To prostrate people never wolde doo damage.

That he may this, *with* al his counseill sage,

Here, I beseche the Holy Trynytie,

And the swete moder, whiche in her *tendre* age

Bare God *and* man in pure *virginitie*,

And ye, both *seintes* of myn *affynyte*,

Oswolde *and* Wolstan, right holy *confessours*,

Pray for my good sone king Henry at al houres.

[St. Wulstan]

“St.
Wulfstan”

Hevenly Fader that art of power moost!

And thou His sonne *aproprede* unto witte!

15v / O thou swete spirite, named the Holy Goost!

Thre *persones* in on Godhede *suerly* knytt,

For king Henry the vij I me submytt.

Beseching you to graunte hym in this place

Power, *wisdome*, and al soyson of grace.

[St. Oswald]

"St. Oswald"

O Hevenly lord! Celestiall God durable!
 Above al kinges having *preemynence*,
 Both iij *and* on *and* undeseverable,
 I the beseche for thy magnyficence,
 king Henry the vij to kepe from all offence.
 Graunt hym longe liff in vertue the to please,
 And al his dayes for to reigne in peas.

[Our Lady]

"Our Lady"

O Eternal God, that made al thing of nought!
 Fader and Sonne, and Holy Goost ful preste!
 Beholde the hande maide whiche they iij have wrought,
 And namely thou my sone which soke my breste,
 Henry the viij *preserve* at my requeste.
 Englande my dowre, to forte, rule *and* guyde,
 Therby to wyne the blisse that *ever* shal abide.

[The Trinity]

"The Trinity"

O Henry! Moche art thou beholde to us
 That thee have reysede by our oune eleccion.
 Be thou therfor *mercifull* and *graciously*;
 For *mercy* pleasith moost our *affeccion*.
 Folow king Henry, whiche is thy *proteccion*,

As welle in worke as in sanguinitie.

And in this worlde it wille rewarded bee

right welle,

If thou *serve* God in love *and* drede.

16r / Havynge compassion of theym that hath nede;

Everlasting ioye shalbe thy mede

In heven above wher al seintes dwelle.

Loquitur Janitor ad Januam

Ecce advenit *dominator*, *dominus*,

Et *regnum* in manu eius³⁵ *potestas et imperium*.

Venit desideratus *cunctis gentibus*.

To whom this citie, both al *and* some,

Speking by me, biddeth hertely welcome;

And as I cane, welcome I shall expresse,

Beseching your grace³⁶ pardon my simplenesse.

Quis est ille qui venit, so great of price?

I thought Noe, whiche came late from the flodde;

Or is it Iason with the golden flece,

The noble mount of riches *and* of good,

³⁵ *in manu eius*] the scribe singnals the ommission of –us by a careless rendering of the symbol

3.

³⁶ your grace pardon] –f cancelled between grace and pardon.

Manly of dede, manerly meke of mode;
 Or it is Iulius with the triumphe of victorie,
 To whom I say 'welcome!' most hertely?

Welcome Abraham, which went from his kynnerede,
 Of al this lande to take possession!

Welcome Ysaac, that *sumtyme* shulde have be dedde,
 And now is heire to his fader by succession!

Welcome Jacob, opteynyng the beneson,
 Whiche many yeres dwelled *with* his ungle true,
 Fleyng his countrey from drede of Esau!

Welcome Joseph, that was to Egipte sold;
 16v / Frely welcome oute of the depe cesterne!
 Welcome David, the myghty lion bolde –
 Chosen of Gode, this realme to rule *and* governe –
 Whiche in the felde great Goly did *prosterne*
 And al his enemyes *overcome* in fight,
 God being guyde that yave him strength *and* myght!

Welcome Scipio, the whiche toked Hanyball!

Welcome Arture, the very Britan kyng!

Welcome defence to England as a walle,

Cadwaladers blodde lynyally descending!

Longe hath bee towlde of suche a prince *commyn*g:

Wherfor frendez, if that I shalnot lye,

This same is the fulfiller of the *profecye*.

Whiche he is this mor pleyuely to *expresse*,
 Henry the vij chosen by grace *and* chaunce,
 For singuler beutie *and* for high prowesse,
 Now to be king of England *and* of Fraunce,
 And prince of Wales *with* al thappurtenance,
 lord of Irelande moost famous of renome,
Withal the titill *perteynyng* to the coroune.

And now welcome our noble Souveraigne lorde.
 Better welcome was never prince to us.
 We have desirede long, God to recorde,
 To see *your* moost noble *persone* *graciouse*.
 Welcome myghty, pereles and moost famous;
 Welcome *commynge*, byding, gooing and always knowen:
 In token whereof I yelde to you the keyes.

17r / Now al this citie seith welcome to *your* oune!

And on Wittsonday [the king] went in procession and hard his dyvyne *service* in May 14
 the cathedrall chirche of the saide citie, having no roobez of estate upon hym but a ^{Witsunday}
 gowne of cloth of golde of tissue lynede *with* blake satene. The bisshop of that see
 did the dyvyne *service* in pontificalibus; and in the processyon *commynge* towards
 the quere ayene the bisshop went into the pulpitt and made a bref *and* a fructifull
 sermonde, in conclusion of the whiche declarede the popez bulles touching the

kinges *and* the quenes right and the confirmacion³⁷ of the same. *Present* ther: the bisshop of Ely *and* of Excester, the duc of Bedeforde, the marques of Dorset, therle of Lyncolln, therle of Oxinforde, the vicount Welles, the lorde fitz Water, Sir William Stanley (called lorde chambrelayn), the lorde Husey (chieff jugge of the kinges benche), and great nombre of knyghtes and esquiers and of other people; and by for dyner, in his chambre, Sir Thomas Towneshende (justice knyght). And at the tyme accustomed on that day he had his largez cried by his officers of armes, &c.

On the Monday the king remevede and roode to Herforde, wher a myle and Hereford
moore oute of the town and over Long Brigge the meire of the towne, *with aver* vj^{xx} May 15
horse and above, mette the king and receyved hym; and further nere the towne³⁸ the
frerez of the saide citie yave ther attendaunce in the *procession* after the parishe
chirches as accustomed, *with* great multitude of people of the countrey,³⁹ whiche in
reioysing of the kinges commyng cried: “King Henry! King Henry!”, and holding up
ther handez blessed *and* prayde God to *preserve* our king. And when he entred the
gate ther was ordeyned a pageaunt of Seint George, with a speche as ensueth:

*Seint George*⁴⁰

“St. George”

17v / Moost cristen prince, and frende unto the feith,
Supporter of truth, confounder of wikkednesse,
As people of your realme holy reporeth and saith,
Welcome to this citie *withoute* eny feintenesse;

³⁷ confirmacion] final –o obscured by an inkblot.

³⁸ further nere the towne] towne, *with* –n interlineated above, was cancelled between the and towne.

³⁹ countrey] followed by a cancellation.

⁴⁰ Seint George] inserted in the left margin.

And thinke verely, as ye see her in likenesse,
 That this worme is discomfite by Goddes ayde⁴¹ and myn.
 So shall I be your helpe, unto your lives fine,
 To *withstonde* your enemyes with the help of that blessed *Virgyn*,
 The whiche loveth you right wele, I dar playnly it say.
 Wherefor ye be right welcome: I pray God further you in your way.

Item, at the crosse in the market place was ordeynede a nother pageaunt of a king and ij bisshops (the whiche sensed the king) and the king of that had this speche as ensueth:

Ethelbert Rex⁴²

“King
Ethelbert”

Moost vertuose prince, and *gracious* in governance,
 Not rigours, but *mercifull* as David in his juggement,
 The people of your citie wolde ful fayne your pleasaunce,
 And prayde me as ther patrone to enforme you of ther entent.
 My name is king Ethelbert, that sumtyme was king of Kent,
 Whiche in my yong age loost myn erthly liff,
 And now am⁴³ *protector* of this cathedrall *and* citie present.
 Wherfor I say welcome both of man, child, and wiff;
 And that Blessed *Virgin* that cessith our mortal striff
 Abideth your commyng – her what I say you –
 Wherfor I will not ye tary, but I pray God be *with* you.

⁴¹ by Goddes ayde] ayde *written above a minor cancellation.*

⁴² Ethelbert Rex] *inserted in the margin.*

⁴³ And now am protector] pto³ *cancelled between am and protector.*

18r Item, at the entre of the minster was the iij^{de} paiaunt of Our Lady, / with many virgins mervealous *and* richely besene; and Our Lady had her speche as hereafter ensueth:

Our Lady⁴⁴

“Our Lady”

In the best wise welcome, myn oune true knyght
 To my chirche and chapelens of our oune foundation!
 Wherfor I thank you, *and* pray you both day *and* nyght,
 For to kepe and defende from al fraudulent imaginacion.
 For many thynges I thanke you: the dedes sheweth *probacion*;
 Unto my lande *and* honour your doth ever atteigne.
 Wherfor I thanke you of your good supportacion,
 Your rewarde is behinde, it shall come certeyne,
 That is the blisse of hevyn wherin my sone dooth reigne.
 That veraly I promysse you I have graunt a for,
 Now goo in *and* see my chirch: I will tary you nomore.

Item, at the entre *within* the chirche doore the bisshop in pontificalibus *with* the dean *and* the quere receyvede the king as in other cathedrall chirches accustomed. And on the morne as the king went in *procession*, the bisshop of that same see made a sermonde declaring the popes bulles touching the kinges *and* the quenes stile.

Than the Friday next folowing the king roode and remeved to Gloucestre, where Gloucester
 iij myles *withoute* the towne the mair, with his brether and shriffes in scarlet May 19
 gownes, and other people in great nombre in rede gownes, and al on horse bakkes,

welcomed the king. And *without* the gate, betwixte both brigges, the *procession* of the freres, and also the *procession* of the town of al the parishe chirches, receyvede the king. And in that towne ther was no pageant nor speche ordeynede. Thabbot and
 18v his monkes receyvede the king *with procession* / at thabbey chirche doore, wher the king abode Satirday and Sunday al day, whiche was the *Trinytie* Sunday; and thabbot mitrede sange the highe masse, and in *procession*. The bisshop of Worcester prechide, shewing the popes bulles touching as afor.

And on the Monday the king remeved to Bristow warde, *and* lay at thabbey of May 22
 Kinges Woode; and on Tewsdays dynyd at Acton *with* Sir Robert Poynez, shryef of May 23
 Gloucestershire; and iij milis oute of Bristow the maire, the shriffes, the bailiffes ^{Bristol}
with ther brethern, and great nombre of other burgesez al on horsebake, in whos names Treymayle, recorder of the same towne, right connyngly welcomed the king.⁴⁵ But the mair of Bristow bar no mase, nor the shrif of that towne bar no rodde unto the tyme they came to a gate of the suburbs wher beginneth ther fraunches. And on a causay wey *within* that gate, the *procession* of the frerez receyved the king; and the[n] at the ende of the causey wey the *procession* of the pariche chirches receyved the king. And in thentre of the towne gate ther was ordeigned a pageaunt with great melode and singing, the whiche cessed [and] ther was a king had the speche as hereafter ensueth:

[King Brennius]

“King
 Brennus”

Moost dere cosine of England *and* Fraunce,
 King Henry the vij, noble *and* victorious,

⁴⁴ Our Lady] *inserted in the right margin.*

⁴⁵ king] *repeated.*

Seint hider, by the holsome purviaunce
 Of Almyghty God moost mercifull *and* gracious,
 To reforme thinges that be contrarious
 Unto the comen wele, *with* a myghty hande.
 I am right gladde ye be welcome to this lande.

19r / Namely to this towne, whiche I, Brennius,⁴⁶ king
 Whilom bildede *with* her wallez olde,
 And called it Bristow, in the begynnyng,
 For a memoriall that folke ne wolde
 Oute of remembraunce that acte race ne unfolde;
 And welcome to your subiectes her that with oon accorde,
 Thankking God highly for such a souveraigne lorde.

This towne lefte I in great prosperitie,
 Havyng riches and welth⁴⁷ many folde;
 The merchaunt, the artyficer, *everyche* in his degre,
 Had great plentye both of silver *and* golde,
 And lifed in joye as they desire wolde
 At my departing. But I have been so longe away,
 That Bristow is fallen into decaye
 Irrecoverable, *withoute* that a due remedy
 By you, ther hertes hope *and* comfort in this distresse,

⁴⁶ Brennius] *Initially written Brennnius, before the intial -n was expunged.*

⁴⁷ riches and welth] *superfluous et written between riches and and.*

Provede bee at your leyser convenyently
 To your navy *and* cloth making, wherby I gesse
 The wele of this towne standeth in sikernesse,
 Maybe maynteigned, as they have bee
 In days hertofor in *prosperitie*.

Now farwell, dere cosyn, my leve I take
 At you, that wele of bountie bee
 To your saide subiectes, for Mariez sake,
 That bereth you ther fidelitie
 In moost loving wise as graunte ye
 Some remedye herin, and he wille quit your mede
 That *never* unrewarded leveth good dede.

19v / And from thens the king *procedede* into the towne; and at the high crosse ther
 was a pageaunt ful of maydyn childern richely besene; and Prudencia had the speche
 as ensueth:

[Prudencia]

“Prudencia”

Mooste noble prynce, our *souveraigne* liege lorde,
 To this poore towne of Bristow that is youre[s],
 Ye be hertely welcome – God to recorde –
 And to your loving subiectes and oratours,
 That hertely pray for *your grace*⁴⁸ at al houres.
 The good fame of your renoume so fer dooth sprede,

That al your saide subiectes both love you *and* drede.

For in quiet wise and pesable
 Your *subiectes* ye kepe from devisyon.
 Ye yef not credence to lightly
 Too feyned tales that make myght discencion,
 And wher peas reigneth is al *perfeccion*;
 It kepeth *subjectes*, as they shulde bee,
 From al stryves in quyete and unytie.

Crist, therfor, that on crosse diede,
 Thoroughe the mediacion of holy seintes all,
 Save your moost high noblesse, and bee *your* guyde.
 Confounde *your* enemyes, make theym to you thrawll,
 And strenketh *with* me, Prudence, in especiall,
 To *withstonde* thoo thinges that bee contrarious
 And to doo that may please God moost glorious.

20r And from thens the kyng procedede *ad portam Sancti Johannis*, wher was / a
 nother pageaunt of many mayden childern richely besene *with* girdelles, bedes *and*
 ouchez, wher Justicia had the wordes that hereafter ensueth, &c:

[Justicia]

“Justicia”

Welcome moost excellent high *and* victorious!

⁴⁸ That hertely pray for your grace] you *cancelled between* pray *and* for.

Welcome delicate rose of this mor Brytaigne!
 From al mysaventures and thing contrarious
 Preserved by dyvyne power certeygne,
 And so hider sentt – I will not fayne –
 Welcome king of Englande and of Fraunce
 To this youre oune towne: God sende you right good chaunce.

I am Justicia the kinde and nature
 Of God, that hath me made and ordeignede
 Our realmez and our every creature.
 By me, Justicia, is shedding of bloode refreyn[ed],⁴⁹
 And gilte punysshed whan it is compleynede.
 I, Justice, defende possessions
 And kepe people from oppressions.

This is welle considerde by your noble *grace*.
 For ye have had alway an ye therunto
 Minisshing iustice duly in every place
 Thorough this region wher ye ride or goo
 Indifferently both to frende *and* foo.
 God sende you therin good perseveraunce,
 As may bee to His grace most singuler pleasaunce.

I have oftyme rede in bokes olde

⁴⁹ refreyn[ed]] written refreynyng, *although this does not fit the rhyme scheme.*

That *omnia parent virtuti*,

20v / The whiche maketh me more bolde

To eschewe you this prossesse by *and* by

Praying Almyghty God whiche is on high

That from vertue to vertue ye may *procede*,

And in all your iourneys sende you right good spede.

And then the king proceded towarde thabbey of Seint Austeyns; and by the way the[r] was a bakers wiff cast oute of a wyndow a great quantitie of whete crying: “Welcome and good look!” And a litill furthermor ther was a pageant made, callede ‘the shipwrightes pageaunt’, *with* praty conceytes pleyng in the same, *without*e any speche. And a litill further ther was a nother pageaunte of an olifaunte *with* a castell on his bakk, curiously wrought: the resurreccion of Our Lorde in the highest tower of the same, *with* certeyne imagerye smytyng bellis. And al went by vices merveolously wele done. And *within* Seint Austeins chirche thabbot *and* his covent May 24 receyved the king with *procession* as accustomed. And on the morne when the king had dynede he roode on pilgrimage⁵⁰ to Seint-Annes-in-the-wodde.

And on the Thursday nexte folowing, whiche was Corpus Christi day, the king May 25 went in *procession* aboute the great grene, ther callede ‘the sentuary’, whether came Corpus Christi Day al the *processions* of the towne also; and the bisshop of Worcestre prechide in the pulpit in the middes of the forsaide grene in a great audience of the meyre *and* the substance of al the burgesse of the towne *and* ther wiffes, *with* mucche other people of the countrey also. And after evensonge the king sent for the mayre *and* shrife *and* parte of the best burges of the towne, and demaunded theym the cause of ther povertie; and they shewde his grace for the great losse of shippes *and* goodes that

21r they had loost *within* v yeres. The king comfortede theym that they shulde sett on / and make newe shippes,⁵¹ and to exercise ther marchaundise as they wer wonte for to doon; and his grace shulde so helpe theym by *dyvers* means like as he shewde unto theym, that the meyre of the towne towlde me they harde not this hundred yeres of noo king so good a *comfort*. Wherfor they thankede Almighty God that hath sent theym soo good and *graciously* a *souveraigne* lorde. And on the morne the king departede to London warde.

Item, it is to bee remembred that in every shire that the king our *souveraigne* lorde rode, the shriffes of the same shire yave ther attendaunce and bare ther white roddes, and in like wise the nobles of that countre visitede the kinges grace as he passed by. As touching the giftes *and* presents whiche citeez, townes or abbeyes gave the kinges grace, I am not *certeynede*, but I undrestande ther wer *dyvers* both of golde, silver, wyne, bedes *and* metenz.

And on the vth day of June, whiche was upon a Monday, the king came by water June 5 from Shene and landede at Westminster brigge. The mayre⁵² of London *with* al his London brether and al the craftes in London in great multitude of barges, garnysshede *with* baners, penonncez, standers *and* penselles, mett *with* his grace as far as Putname⁵³ and hertely welcomede hym home, and then went aboute ther barges and landede byfor the king. And every craft stode by theym silf a longe in a rowe from the brygge ende thorough the paloys to Seint Margarettes chirche yerde, wher thabbot *and* procession of Westminster receyvede the king and yave hym his septre; and the procession of Sent Stevens chapell, whiche had receyvede hym in the paloys byfor,

⁵⁰ pilgrimage] -r unclear.

⁵¹ and make newe shippes] catchwords at the bottom of fol. 20v.

⁵² mayre] interlineated above.

⁵³ Putname] -m partly obscured by two inkblots.

departede. And then when the king had offrede in the abbey, and *Te Deum* songen, the king went to his paloyes.

21v And on the morne the maire of London with / his brether came efsones and June 6
visitede the kinges grace. Sir [Thomas]⁵⁴ fitz William, recorder of London, in al
ther names made to the king a noble *proposicion* in the rejoycing of the kinges good
spede. And after that, the king receyved in his great chambre a great ambassat from
the king of Skottes *lettres*: the lorde Boythvayle, thabbot of Holy Roode house,
lorde Kenedy,⁵⁵ Maister Archeball (secretary to the king of Scottes), John Roose
(esquier and counseller of the saide kinge) [and] Lyon King of Armes. And also
Roos Heralde⁵⁶ [and]⁵⁷ Unycorne Purservant gave their attendaunce and came *with*
the saide ambassad, with dyvers other gentilmen and *servantes* to the nombre of
iiij^{xx} hors. And the saide secretary made a longe *proposicion* in Laten &c. And they
wer loggede at Seint Johns at the kinges coost and after, at ther departure, had great
giftes and rewardes.

And sone after, the king departed from Westminster towarde the west parties
and huntede; so to Wynchester, where on Seint Eustas day the prince Arture was Sept. 20
borne and cristenede (in maner and forme as ensueth), whiche was the furste
begoten sone of our saide souveraigne lorde King Henry the vijth, whiche was in the
yere of Oure Lorde M CCCC lxxxvj, the dominicall *lettre* A, and the ij^{de} yere of the
reigne of our saide souveraigne, whiche was not cristene unto the Soneday then next
folowing by cause therle of Oxinford was at that tyme at Lanam in Suffolk, whiche
shulde have ben on of the godfaders at the font. And also that season was al rayny.

⁵⁴ Sir [Thomas] fitz William] *no Christian name given.*

⁵⁵ lorde Kenedy] *lo cancelled before lord.*

⁵⁶ heralde] *final –e obscured by an inkblot.*

⁵⁷ [and]] *written et.*

Incontynent after the birth *Te Deum* with procession was songe in the cathedrall chirche and in all the chyrches of that citie; and great *and* many fiers made⁵⁸ in the stretes; and messengers sent to al the astatez and cities of the realme *with* that comfortable and good tydynges, to whom /⁵⁹ were geven great giftes. And over al *Te Deum Laudamus* songen *with* ringging of belles, and in the moost parties fiers made in the presing of God and the rejoysing of every true Englysshe man.

The body of al the cathedrall chyrche of Wynchestre was hangede with clothes of arras; and in the medell beside the font of the saide chirche was ordeigned and preparede a solempne fonte in *maner* and forme as ensueth: furst ther was ordeignede in *maner* of a stage of vij steppes, square or rounde like an high crosse coverde *with* rede worstede; and up in the myddes, a poost *with* a... made of iron⁶⁰ to bere the fonnt of silver over gilte, whiche *within* fourth was wele dressede with fyne lynen clothe. And nere the same, on the west side, a steppe like a blokk for the bishep to stonde on, coverede also *with* red say; and over the font of a good height a riche canape *with* a great gilte bolle celid *and* fringed⁶¹ without curteyns. And on the north side was ordeignede a travers hanged *with* cloth of arras; and uppon the on side therof *withinfourth* a nother travers of redde sarsenet, wherof James Hide and Robert Brent had the charge. And ther was fyer with fumygacions redy ayenste the prince *commyn*g. And *without*, the grese of the sayde fonnt was raylede *with* good tymbre and coverede as the gresis wer, havyn*g* ij entres: on over the este and a

⁵⁸ made] repeated.

⁵⁹ At the bottom of fol. 21v appears the following addition in the hand of Scribe B, probably Thomas Wriothesley: 'Dieu, par sa grace, doint bonne vie et long au treshault, puissant et excellent prince, [fils] du roy, Arthur par la grace de Dieu prince dEngleterre, duc de Cornewall, duce de Chestre' and as moche in Inglishe. Part of Arthur's style, denoted by [fils] was squeezed into the right margin and partially lost during the cutting of the leaves.

⁶⁰ a poost with a... made of iron] no word given between a and made.

⁶¹ celid and fringed] cancellation, possibly of -e, between celid and and.

nother in the weste, whiche were kept by v yomen of the coroune, that is to say [Richard] Rake,⁶² [John] Burle,⁶³ Robert Walker, William Vaughan, and John Hoo. And after the lorde John Alkok, bishop of Worcestre, had halowed the fonnt it was kepte by Sir David Owen and Sir Hugh Persall, knyghtes for the body, and Richarde Wodevile, Thomas Poyntz, John Crokker and Thomas Brandon,⁶⁴ esquiers for the body.

22v On the Sonday when the chapell was come into / the priours great hall, whiche September 24 was the quenes great chambre, the tresourer⁶⁵ of [the] householde toke the say of salt to the sargeaunt of the pantery, and delyverde it to therle of Essex and a towell *with*hall, whiche the saide yerle caste aboute his nek. In like wise the *sergeant* of the chaunderye [bore] a taper garnishede with iiij wrethen bowtes and bowles and *with* banekolles⁶⁶ and penssell, *with* praty imagery and scripture, the whiche the lorde Nevell, sone and heire of therle of Westmerlande, bare. Item, the sergeaunt of the eury delyvered to the saide trezorer a pere of gilt basons *with* a towell fowlden upon theym, whiche were delyverede to the lorde Straunge; and as followeth they proceeded towarde the chirche: furst ther were vj^{xx} torches borne unlight ij and ij togeders by henxmen, squiers, gentilmen and yomen of the coroune, the governance⁶⁷ of whom had [Nicholas] Knyfton,⁶⁸ ... Gedding,⁶⁹ Pers of Wreyton, and John Amyas; after theym the chapell; after the chapell ther wer *withoute* order

⁶² ... Rake] *no Christian name given.*

⁶³ ... Burle] *no Christian name given.*

⁶⁴ Brandon] *superfluous minium on final -n cancelled.*

⁶⁵ the tresourer] *cancellation between the and tresourer.*

⁶⁶ Banekolles] *-r cancelled between -a and -n.*

⁶⁷ governance] *superior -a is written over a mark of contraction signalling the omission of -er. I have assumed the mark of contraction to be an error.*

⁶⁸ [Nicholas] Knyfton] *no Christian name given.*

⁶⁹ ...Gedding] *no Christian name given.*

certen knyghtes and esquiers; after them kinges of armes, herauldes *and* pursurvantes, having their cotes on ther armes; and sergeauntes of armes as been accustomed; and therle of Derbye and the lord Maltravers; after them the basonnns, the taper, then the salte of golde covered; and then a riche cresome, whiche was pinnyde on the right brest of my lady Anna, sister of the quene, hanging *over* her left arme; Sir Richarde Gilforde, knyght constable, *over* on the right hand *and* Sir John Turburvill, knyght mershall, on the lefte hande bering ther staves of office; and after theym my lady Cecill, the quenes eldest sister, bare the prince wrappede in a mantell of cremesyn clothe of golde furred *with* ermyn *with* a trayne whiche was borne by my lady the marquesse of Dorsett; and Sir John Cheyny supportede
 23r the medell of the / same; and the lorde Edwarde Widevill, the lorde la Warre, the sonne and heire of the lorde Audeley and Sir John of Aroundell bare the canapie; the marques of Dorcett and therle of Lincolln yave assistance to my lady Cecill. And at this cristenyng was my lady Margaret of Clarence, my ladye Gray Rithyn, my lady Straunge the elder, my lady la Warre, Maistres Fenys, my lady Vaux, my lady Darcy (ladye maistresse), my lady Bray, my lady Dame Kateryn Grey, my lady Dame Elynounour Haut [and] my lady Wodell, *with* dyvers othre gentilwomen.

And thus [they] procedede thorough the cloister of thabbey unto a litill doore beside the weest ende of the chirche in the south parte of the saide chirche, wher was ordeynede a riche and a large clothe of estate, for the wether was to cowlde and to fowlle to have been at the west ende of the chirche. And the queen Elizabeth was in the chirche abyding the *commyn*g of the prince, at whiche tyme tydinges came that therle of Oxinforde was *within* a myle. And there was the bisshop of Worcestre, lorde John Alkok, whiche cristende the prince in pontificalibus; and the bisshopp of Excestre, Lorde Pers Courtnay; and the bisshop of Saresbury, Lorde Thomas Langton; thabbot of Hide and the prior of the same place, in like wise

accompanyede *with* many noble doctours in riche copes and grey amys: Mayster Robert Morton, the maister of the rowles; the deane of Welles, Maister John Gonthorp; Doctor Fox, the kinges secretary, *with* many moo.

Howbeit they taried iij oures largely and more after the saide erle of Oxinforde, and after that, by the kinges commaundement, *procedede*; and therle of Derbye and the lorde Maltravers weren godfaders at the fonnt, and quene Elizabeth godmoder. And incontinent after the prince was put into the fonnt the officers of armes put on ther cootes, and all the torches weren light; and then entrede therle of Oxinford.

23v And from the font the prince was had to his / travers, and above his cremesyn clothede as by fore; and from thens in faire order was borne to the high auter and leide therupon by hys godmoder. After certeyn ceremony, whan the goospel was doon, *Veni Creator Spiritus* was begon and solempnely songen by the kinges chapell *with* orgons and *Te Deum* also, during whiche season therle of Oxinforde toke the prince in his right arme, and the bisshop of Excestre confermed hym; and the bisshop of Saresbury knytt the bande of lynene about his nek. And then the marquisse of Dorcet, therle of Lyncolln, and the lorde Straunge servede quene Elyzabeth of towell and water, and *Sir* Roger Coton and Maister West *servede* the other gosseps. And byside the saide high auter was ordeynede a travers for the prince, where Quene Elizabeth yave a riche cuppe of golde coverde, whiche was borne by *Sir* Davy Owen; and therle of Oxynforde yave a pere of gilte basonnys with a sayer, whiche were borne by *Sir* William Stoner; and therle of Derbye yave a riche salte of golde coverede, whiche was borne by *Sir* Raynolde Bray; and the lorde Maltravers yave a cofer of golde, whiche was borne by *Sir* Charles of Somersett; from thens *proceedede* to Seint Swythens shryne, and ther offrede, wher was a nother travers. Then *Iste Confessor* with an antyme of Seint Swythyne was

songen; and spices and ipocras *with* other swete wynys great pleynty; whiche doone the prince retournede *and* was borne home by my ladye Cecill, accompanyed as byfore (saving the salt, the basons, and the taper and all the torches brennyng); and in the entering of the norserye wer the kinges trumpettes and mynstrelles pleying on ther instrumentes; and then was he borne to the king and the quene and had the blessing of Almyghty God, Our Lady *and* Seint George, *and* of his / fader and moder. And in the chirche yerde wer sett ij pipes of wyne, that every man myght drynke ynow.⁷⁰ Memorandum: that the Bissshop wesshede at the font *with coverde basons*.

And after that the quene was purified and hole of an agu that she had, the king *and* the quene, my lady the kinges moder and al the court remeved to Grenewiche, Greenwich and ther they kepte the solempne fest of Al Halowes, greatly accompanied *with* November 1 estates and noble people as folowing: furst the marquis of Dorcet, therle of All Hallow's Day Lyncolln, therle of Oxinforde, therle of Derbye, therle of Notingham, the viscount Lisley, the lorde Maltravers, the lorde Straunge, the lorde Dodeley and many moo great lordes, knyghtes *and* esquiers in great nombre. And that day the king went in a gounne of clothe of golde furred and in no robes of estate. And also the king yave his larges to his officers of armes as accustomed, and they did ther devoir therfor.

And like wise the king kept his Cristemas at the same place aforsaide, howbeit December 25 he was not accompanied *with* lordes, as he was at Alhaloutyde;⁷¹ nor the king kept Christmas

⁷⁰ every man myght drynke ynow] followed by the deletion of: and the king gave great largesse. In the left margin alongside the deletion is written: no. In the right margin is written: only but xx li for lake of advertiseme[nt] but ther ben president[l]y ynow to be shewede of a C li or a C marces. These alterations are in the hand of Scribe C, probably Garter John Writhe. The last two letters of advertisement were lost when the pages were cut.

⁷¹ Alhaloutyde] preceded by the cancellation of -h.

ther non astate in the halle, but his grace gave to his officers of armes on the iij dayes as of olde he have and other kinges accustomed.

* * *

1487

And on Newyeres day Thomas Lovell delyverde the kinges larges in boke,⁷² but January 1
that and al other lordez [and]⁷³ ladies yeftes ben in our regestre, as the rewarde of New Year's
my lady the kinges moder, the marquis of Dorcett, therle of Derbye, &c. Day

24v

/ And after Cristemas the mooste reverende fader in God, the lorde John
Morten, aforesaide was on a Sonday the [viiij] day of Janyver intronoyised at
Ca[n]terbury,⁷⁴ greatly accompanied *with* lordes both *espiritueles* and *temp[er]eles*,
as it aperethe more at large in a book made of the same fest. And as I undrestande
he by his *journey* towardes his *trononyzacion* after his licence of the king at
Lambeth, and gretely accompanied, roode furst to Croydon; and from thens to
Knowle; from thens to Maydeston; from thens to Charring; and from thens to
Chartham, wher he lay the Satirday at nyght. *And* on the Soneday, when he entrede
Cauntrebury and al the belles of the citie were rong, he alight and went on his fete. Canterbury
And at the great gate *within* fourthe met hym the *procession* of Christe chirche and
sensed hym. And whan he was entrede a litil *within* the west doore ther was
ordeignede a stole with a riche clothe of silke and cousthyns, wher he knelede a
tracte of while or tyme and lete falle many a tere of his yene; and *after* *proceded* to
the high auter. And then *Te Deum* was songe; and then he *and* al the *prelates* did on
theym riche coopes, *and* with *procession* went *and* recountrede the pall sent from

⁷² Thomas Lovell...boke] *contains extensive erasure, where the sentence intially read:* And on Newyeres Day Thomas Lovell delyverde the kinges and the quenes larges, but for the quene so little a largesse wer any was yeven was ther non in our dayes sene, wherfor I passe over to sett the service in boke.

⁷³ [and]] *written et.*

⁷⁴ Ca[n]terbury] *written Carterbury.*

our holy fader the pope, whiche was borne by the bisshop of Rochestre. Then the retourned by fore the high auter, wher the bisshop of Worcestre red *and* declared the popez bullez and made a great proposicion of the same and eshewing the vertue and the betokenyng of the pall; whiche so delyvered to the saide lorde of Canterbury [who] sat in a cheire, and all the⁷⁵ prelates that wer ther kyste the saide relique or palle and after the cheke of the saide archebisshop; and in like wyse after theym al the religiose people of that house.

25r This / doon, tharchebisshop and al other prelates went into the vestory. The bisshop of Ely was deken and redde the gospels; the bisshop of Rochester bar the crosse and redde the pistell; the bisshop of Saresburý was chaunter and byganne the office of the masse. As for al the solempnytie of that masse and in that fest, it is written in the other boke, wherfor I passe over her. But it was the best orderde and served fest that ever⁷⁶ I sawe that myght be comparede to. *And* the kinges servantes and officers of armes that wer ther, on the morne when they toke ther leve, were wele and woorshipfully rewardede. Also ther was the marquis of Dorcet *with* viij or ix other barons,⁷⁷ besides knyghtes and esquiers, whiche were in marvelous great nombre and al in his lyverey of mustredeveles.

And after candell masse the king being at Shene had a great counsell of his lordes both spiritueles and tempereles, at whiche tyme ther was a great ambassade of Fraunce. And at that counseill was therle of Lyncolln, whiche incontynently after the saide counseil departede the land and went into Flaunders to the lorde Lovell and accompanied hym silf *with* the kinges rebelles and enemyes, noysing in that

Sheen
Candelmas
February 2

⁷⁵ all the prelates] people *cancelled between the and* prelates.

⁷⁶ ever] *minor cancellation after* -r.

⁷⁷ barons] -o *interlineated above, and* -e *cancelled after* -n.

countrey that therle of Warwik shulde bee in Irelande, whiche him selffe⁷⁸ knew and dayly spake *with* him at Shene⁷⁹ afor his departing. And in the begynnyng of Lenton, after his arryvyng in thoos parties, ther they dayly preparede⁸⁰ them to the see; and in conclusion so departed into Ireland, al thorough the narow see.

The king departede the ij^{de} weke of Lente and roode into Essex; and so into March 11-17 Suffolke to Bery; and from thens kept his Ester at Norwiche in the bisshops paloys; Norwich Easter and al the dyvyne servyce was al that season doon ther by the moost reverende fader in God the archebisshop of Canterbury. And on the Thursday the king did his April 12
 25v halmes and the observance of the maundy in the hall of / the paloys. And also ther wer with the king at the fest the reverende fader in God the lorde Richard⁸¹ Fox, bisshop of Excestre. Item, the duc of Suffolk, therle of Oxinford, therle of Derbye, the lorde fitz Water (stewarde of the kinges howse), Sir Robert Willoughby, and a great nombre of knyghtes and esquiers, and in substance al the nobles of that parties; for in that tyme they had dayly tydinges of the preparing of his rebelles and enemyes, whiche then wer in Selande and Flawndres to the see warde and, as was reportede, [were] to lande in this realme, in what parte it was no certeynte. Wherfor the king, on the Monday in Estre weke, rode to Walsingham, and ther *with* good April 16 devocion did his offering; and from thens fourth towards the middes of his realme, that is to say to Coventrye, whether dayly his true servantes and subjectes drewe towards his grace;⁸² and rode by Caumbrige, Huntyngdon and Northampton; and Huntingdon April 20

⁷⁸ whiche him selffe knew] selffe is inserted above in the hand of Scribe C, probably Garter John Writhe.

⁷⁹ spake with him at Shene] in Irland cancelled between him and at.

⁸⁰ daly preparede] –rep cancelled between daly and preparede.

⁸¹ Richard] written above the cancellation of John.

⁸² his grace] –h cancelled between his and grace.

on Sent Georges even came to Coventrye,⁸³ wher he [kept]⁸⁴ his fest of Seint George. Coventry April 23

And ther tharchebisshop of Canterbury, the bisshop of Wynchester, the bisshop of Ely, the bisshop of Lincoln, the bisshop of Worcester, the bisshop of Excester and the priour of Coventrye, al in pontificalibus, redde and declarede the popes bulles touching the kinges *and* the quenes right; and ther in the quere in the bisshops see, by the auctoritie of the same bulles, cursed *with* boke, bell *and* candell al thoo that dyd any thyng contrary to ther right, and approving ther tytles good. And that yere [the king] ordeyned the duc of Suffolk to bee his depute at Wyndesore for the fest there, whiche was accompanied *with* the lorde Maltravers, the lorde Dodely and other.

26r And when the king had very worde that his enemyes and rebelles wer landed in Irelande, the great party of the nobles of the south parties, to ther great and importunat charges, wer whith his grace at his citie of Coventrye. [He] / lycenced dyvers of theym to goo to ther countreys and prepared theym silf,⁸⁵ and [so that] they myght upon a day sygned retourne unto his grace for aide and strengeth of theym silf and of the hole realme. And some nobles wolde not departe from his grace, but sent parte of ther people into ther countries for ther releve, upon warnyng as above is saide. And [the king] hym silf roode to Kenelworth to the qwen⁸⁶ and to Kennilworth c. May 15 my lady the kinges moder, whether *within* a shorte whyle after came tydynges that his enemyes were londede in the north parties besidesse Furnesse Fellez. Incontynent the king assemblede his counseill for the ordering of his hooste; and the

⁸³ Coventrye] mark of suspension signalling omission of *-er* placed against *-v*, but subsequently cancelled.

⁸⁴ [kept]] written *kelpt*.

⁸⁵ prepared them silf] *sic*.

noble and corayious knyght therle of Oxenforde desired and besaught the king to have the conduyt of the fowarde, whiche the king grauntede, and accompaniede hym with⁸⁷ many great coragious and lusty knyghtes, that is to say: therle of Shrewesbury, the vicount Lisley, the lorde Gray Rythyn, the lorde Gray, the lorde Hastings, the lorde Ferres of Charteley, *with* great nombre of other banerettes, bachelers and esquiers. The lorde Powes, Sir Edward Wydvyle (whos sole God pardon⁸⁸), Sir Charles of Somerset, Sir Richard Haut, with many oothre galantes of the kinges howse, wer the for ryders and also [the] wyng of the right hande of the fowarde; and Sir Richard Pole *and* other of the lefte hande. And when the king had thus preparat and ordeynede his fowarde, [he] ordeynede for his *proclamacions* and goode rule of his hooste, by the advise of the reverende fader in God the archebisshop of Canterbury, the bysshop of Wynchestre, the bisshop of Excestre, and of al othre tempereles lordez ther present and of othre his councellers, in maner as ensuethe:

26v / The king our souveraigne lorde straytly charge and commaunde that nomaner of man of what so *ever* state, degre or condicion he bee robe ne spoyle any chyrche; ne take oute of the same any ornament therunto belonging; nor touche ne sett hande on the pixe wherin the blessed sacrament is conteynede; nor yet robbe ne spoyle any maner man or woman, upon peyne of deth. Also, that nomaner of persone ne persones, what so *ever* they bee, make no quarell to any man, nor sease, nor vex, ne trouble any man, by body or goodes, for any offence, or by coloure of any offence hertofoor doon or comyttede ayenst the roial magestie of the king our saide

⁸⁶ roode... qwen] *interlineated above by Scribe C, probably Garter John Writhe.*

⁸⁷ with] *superfluous initial minum cancelled on -w.*

⁸⁸ whos sole God pardon] *-g cancelled between sole and God.*

souveraigne lorde, *withoute* his auctoritie and especial *commaundement* yeven unto hym or theym that so doon in that behalf, upon peyne of deth. Also, that no *maner* of *persone* ne *personez*, what soever they bee, ravisshe no relygios woman, nor mannes wif, doughter, maydyn, ne no mannes ne womans *servant*, nor take ne *presume* to take any *maner* of vytayll, horsemēt, nor mannes mete, *withoute* paying ther for the resonable pryce therof assisede by the clerke of the market or other the kinges officers therfor ordeynede, upon peyne of deth. Also, that nomaner of *persone* ne *persones*, what so ever they bee, take uppon theym to logge theymsilf, nor take nomaner of logging ne harbygage, but suche as shalbe assignede unto hym or theym by the kinges herbygeours; nor disloge no man, nor chaunge no⁸⁹ logging after that he be assignede, *without* advyse and assente of the said harbygeours, upon peyne of imprisonment and to be punysshede at the wille of our saide souveraigne

27r lorde. Also, that no *maner* of man, what so ever he bee, / make no quarell *with* any other man, what soo ever he bee, for nomaner of cause, olde ne newe; ne make no *maner* of fray *within* the hooste ne *withoute*, upon peyne of imprisonment and to bee punysshede according to ther trespas and defautes. And if ther happen any suche quarell or affray to be made by any evyll disposede *personnes*, that then nomaner of man, for any acquentaunce or feliship that they bee of, take noo *parte* with no suche mysdoers in any suche affrayes or quarelles, upon peyne of imprysonament, and to be punysshede at the kinges wille; but that every man endeavour hym silf to take al suche mysdoers, and brynge theym to the marshalles warde, to be punysshed according to ther desertes. Also, that nomaner of *personne*, what so ever he bee, hurte, trobel, bete ne lette nomaner of *personne* – man, woman or childe – brynging any vytayle unto the kinges hooste, upon payne of imprisonment and his bodye to

⁸⁹ no] *interlineated above*.

bee at the kinges wille. And over this, that every man being of the reteyne of our saide souveraigne lorde, at the furste sounde or blaste of the trumpet to sadill hys hors; at the ij^{de} doo brydell; and at the iij^{de} be redy on horsebake to wayte upon his highnesse, upon peyne of imprisonment. Also, that nomaner of persone, what so ever he bee, make no skryes, showtinges, or blowing of hornesse in the kinges hooste after the wache bee sett, upon peyne of imprisonment and his bodye to bee at the kinges wille. Also, that no vagabounde, nor other folowe the kinges hoste, but suche as bee reteynede or have maisters within the same, upon peyne of imprisonment and to be punysshede in exemple for other; and that no coman woman folow the kinges hooste, upon payne of imprisonment and openly to be punysshede in exemple of al othre. Also, whan soever it shall please the king our
 27v souveraigne lorde to commaunde any of⁹⁰ hys officers of armes to charge / any thing in his name, by hys high comaundement, or by the comaundement of his counstable or marshall, that it be observede and kept upon payne of imprisonment and his body to be punysshede at the kinges pleasur.

And from thens the king procedede⁹¹ to Conventrye, wher the bisshop of⁹² Coventry Wynchestre toke his leve and went to the quene and the prince; and the substance of
 c. June 8
 his companye waytede upon the king under the standerde of his newew therle of Devonshir. And from Coventrie the king remeid unto Leycestre, wherby the Leicester commaundement of the moost reverende fader in God, tharchbisshop of Canterbury,
 c. June 10
 then chancellor of England, the kinges proclamacions were put in execusion; and in especiall voydyng commen women and vagaboundes, for ther wer imprisonede great nombre of both, wherfor ther was more reste in the kinges hooste and the

⁹⁰ of] repeated.

⁹¹ procedede] mark of suspension signalling omission of –re cancelled above –p.

⁹² of] repeated.

better rule. And on the morow, whiche was on the Monday, the king lefte ther the
 forsaide reverende fader in God and roade to Loughborough; and the saide lorde Loughborough
 chauncellers folkes were *commyttede* by his nevew Robert Morton unto the stander June 11
 of therle of Oxinforde in the fowarde. And at Loughboure the stokkes and
prisounes wer reasonabley fylled *with* harlattes and vagaboundes. And after that
 were but fewe in the hoste unto⁹³ the tyme the felde was doon.

And on Tewesday the king remevede and lay al nyght in the felde under a wode June 12
 callede Bonley Ryce. And on the Wedensday the kinges *marshalles* and *herbigers* of June 13
 his hoste did not so welle ther diligence that way: when the king remevede ther was
 no *propre* grounde appoyntede wher the kinges hooste shulde logge that nyght then
 28r folowing. But it was a royall / and a *merveolouse* fayre and a wele temperat day,
 and the king *with* his hooste wandrede her and ther a great espace of tyme, and so
 came to a fayre longe hille wher the king sett his folkes in array of batell, that is to
 say a bow and a bill at his bak; and al the fowarde were wele and warely loggede
 under the hille to⁹⁴ Notyngham warde. And when the king hade sene his people in
 this fayr array [he] roode to a village iij myle a this side Notyngham, on the highway
 syde, wher in a gentilmannes place his grace logede; and in that village, and in a
 benefelde to Notyngham warde, longede al his batell, whiche evenyng wer taken
 certeyn espies whiche noysede in the contrey that the king had ben fledde. And
 summe wer hangede on the ashe at Notyngham brygge ende.

And on the morowe, whiche was *Corpus Christi* day, after the king had harde June 14
 the dyvyne *servyce* in the pariche chirche and the trumpettes hadde blowne to horse, Corpus Christi
 Day
 the king, not letting his hoste to understand his entente, rode bakewarde to see and
 also welcome the lorde Straunge, whiche brought *with* hym a great hoste I now to

⁹³ And after... doon] *minor ink smudges behind the words host and unto.*

have beten al the kinges enemyes (only of my lorde his faders – therle of Derbye – folkes and his). And all wer fayre embaytailled, whiche unknowne turnyng to the hooste, causede many folkes for to mervaille. Also the kinges standerde *and* muche cariage folowde after the king unto the tyme the king was advertysede by Garter Kyng of Armes, whom the king commaunded to turne them al ageyn, whiche so dide and theym al in bataile on the hef heder side of the great hille a this side Nottingham unto the tyme the king came.

28v And that nyght the kinges hooste lay undre the ende of al that hille towarde Nottingham to Lenton warde; and his foward byfor / hym to Notyn[g]ham⁹⁵ brige warde; and therle of Derbyes host on the kinges lifte hande to the medowes besides Lenton. And that evenyng ther was a great skrye, at whiche skrye ther fledde many men, but it was great joy to see how sone the king was redye and his trwe men in array. And from thens on the Friday the king, undrestanding that his enemyes and June 15 rebelles drew towardes Newarke warde, passing by Southwelle and the furside of Trente, the king *with* his hoste remevede thedarwardes and logged that nyght beside a village callede Ratcliff, ix myle outh of Newarke. And that evening ther was a great skrye, whiche causede many cowardes to flee, but therle of Oxinforde and al the nobles in the fowarde with hym wer sone⁹⁶ in a good array and in a fayre bataile, and so was the king and al the very men that ther wer. And in this estrye I harde of noman of worship that fledde but raskelles.

And on the morne, whiche was Satirday, [the king] erly arros and harde ij June 16 masses, wherof the lorde [Richard]⁹⁷ Fox, bisshop of Excester, sange the ton; and

⁹⁴ to] *written above cancellation of* of.

⁹⁵ Notyn[g]ham] *written* Notynham.

⁹⁶ wer sone in a good array] *agane cancelled between soon and* in.

⁹⁷ [Richard]] *written* John.

the king had v good and true men of the village of Ratecliff, whiche shewde his grace the beste way for to conduyt his hoost to Newark, whiche knew welle the countrey and shewde wher wer marres, and wher was the ryver of Trent, and wher wer vilages or grovys for busshementes or strayt weyes, that the king might conduyt his hoost⁹⁸ the better. Of whiche guydes the king yave ij to therle of Oxinforde to conduit the fowarde, and the remenant reteynede at his pleasur. And so in good order and array, before ix of the klok, beside a village called Stook, a large myle Battle of
Stoke oute of Newarke, his fowarde recountrede his enemyes and rebelles, wher by the
29r helpe of Almighty God he hade the victorye. And ther was taken / the lade that his rebelles callede King Edwarde (whoos name was in dede John) – by a vaylent and a gentil esquier of the kinges howse called Robert Bellingham – whiche also that same day [rallied]⁹⁹ to the stander of a manly man of Warre callede Martyn Swerte. And ther was slayne therle of Lincoln, John, and dyvers other gentilmen, and the vicount Lovell¹⁰⁰ put to flight; and ther wer slayne of Englisshe, Duche and Irisshe iij^{ml}; and that day the king made xij banerettes and lij knyghtes whos names ensueth:

Theis bee the names of the banerettes:	The names of the knyghtes
made at the same bataill:	

Sir Gilbert Talbot, (Theis iij wer	Sir James Audeley
Sir John Cheyny, made beyfor the	Sir Edwarde Norres
Sir William Stoner batell.)	Sir Robert Clifforde

⁹⁸ hoost the better] -b cancelled between hoost and the.
⁹⁹ [rallied]] verb omitted.
¹⁰⁰ vicount Lovell] lover cancelled between vicount and Lovell.

	Sir George Opton
And after the batell wer made	Sir Robert Abroughton
the same day:	Sir John Paston
Sir John of Aroundell,	Sir Henry Willoughby
Sir Thomas Cokesay,	Sir <i>Richard</i> Pole
Sir John Fortscu,	Sir <i>Richard</i> Fitzlewes
Sir Edmund Benyngfelde,	Sir Edwarde Abrough
Sir James Blount,	Sir George Lovell
Sir Richarde Crofte,	Sir John Longvile
Sir Humfrey Stanley,	(Theies noble knyghtes
Sir Richarde De Laver,	welle and liberally payde
Sir John Mortymer,	the hole fees and thies
Sir William Trouthbek.	that folowen have payde
	as yet but parte)

29v / Syr Thomas Terell

Sir Roger Bellyngam

Sir William Carew

Sir William Trouthbek

Sir Thomas Pool

Sir William Vampage.

Theys that folow hath

promysede to pay al sone:

Sir James Harryngton

(whiche is not willing never

to doo as a gentilman shulde

/ Syr Edwarde Darell

Sir Edwarde Pykerynge

Sir Thomas of Wolton

Syr William Sander

Syr Robert Brandon

Syr Mores Barkley

Sir John Dygby

Syr Raf Shirley

Sir William Litilton

Sir William Norres

Sir Thomas Hanserde

doo as he saith as yet. I pray	Sir <i>Christofor</i> Wroughton
God lerne him better.)	Syr Thomas Lyn
Syr John Devenysshe	Sir Mores Aborough
Sir John Sabarottes	Syr Thomas Manyngton
Sir Thomas Lovell	And that same somer at Coventrye
Sir Humfrey Savage	the kinges baner was splayde.
Sir Antony Browne	Item, at Yorke: Sir [William] Tod,
Sir Thomas Grey	mayre of the same.
Sir Nicholas Vaux	Sir Richarde York, mayre of the Staple.
Sir William Tyrwytt	Item, at Deram Sir <i>Richard</i> Salkilde
Sir Amyas Pallet	payde half his fees.
Sir Rauff Langforth	Item, at Croft on Seint Laurences even:
Sir Henry Bould	Sir <i>Richard</i> Clervaux.
Sir William Redmyll	Item, at Repon on Seynt Bartholowes
Sir Thomas Blount (hath	day: Sir John Waren
truly payde)	Sir Thomas Hasheton ¹⁰¹
Sir Robert Cheyny	And in the kinges retourning,
Sir John Wyndam	in Harnessy Park, he dubbed
Sir John a Musgrove	Sir William Horne, meire of London
Sir George Nevell the Baster	And the same day, Sir John Persevall
Sir James Parker	marchaunt of London.

30r

/ The kyng our *souveraigne* lorde, the thirde yere of his moost noble reigne at Warwik, the monethe of Septembre last passede, determynede the coronacion of September 1487

¹⁰¹ Hasheton] –h *interlineated* above.

Elizabeth his der wiff, eldeste doughter and heire of the famous prince of excellent memorye of King Edward the iiijth, to be solempnysede at *Westminster* the day of Seynt Kateryn then next ensuyng; and therupon directe[d] his moost honourable *lettres* unto the nobles of this his realme to geve ther due attendaunce upon the same; and directe[d] also othre *lettres* unto dyvers nobles to *prepare* and arredey theym silf to be with his grace at London at a *certeyne* day to theym appoyntede ther to, to be made knyghtes of the bath and so to reseve the honourable order of knyghthode in worshiping the saide coronacion, whoos names bee expressed in order hereafter folowing.

And a vj dayes before the sayde coronacion ther was a comyssyon made oute November 19 of the chauncery to the high and myghty prynce, [the] duc of Bedeforde, great stuarde of Englande for that feste; and to dyvers other estates like as sheweth by the copy folowyng:

HENRYCUS, &c. carissimo avunculo suo Jaspari duci Bedefordie, ac carissimis consanguiniis suis Johanni comiti Oxonie, magno camarario nostro Anglie Thome comiti Derby, et Willelmo comiti Notingham, nec non dilectis et fidelibus suis Johanni Radecliff de Fitzwater militi, Johanni Suliardem militi uni Justiciario nostro Regi ad placita coram nobis tenenda et Johanni Hawes, uni Justiciario nostrorum de communi Bancho salutem. Sciatis quod nos de industria et circumspectione vestris plenius confidentes assignavimus vos conjuntim et divisim ad omnia et singula que ad officium Senescalli Anglie ad coronationem preclarissime consortis nostre Elizabeth Regine Anglie pertinent hac vice tantum facienda et exercenda et ideo vobis mandamus quod circa premissa diligenter intendatis et ea faciatis / exequimini modo et forma debitis et antiquitus usitatis. Damus autem universis et singulis, quorum interest in hac parte, tenore presentium

firmiter in mandatis *que* vobis in execusione premissorum officii predicti intendentes sint auxiliantes, consulentes *et* obedientes in omnibus prout decet. In cujus rei, *et* c. Teste me ipso apud Westminsterum IX' die Novembris. Anno regni nostri tercio

Whiche duc *with* other, by force of the saide commission, satt the said day in the White Hall at Westminster and lete make a *proclamacion* by an officer of armes, that al *maner* of men, what estate or degre they wer of,¹⁰² that helde any lande by *servyce* royall, that is to say to do any *servyce* at the coronacion of the quene, shulde *comme* in and eschew ther clayme; and they shulde ther upon bee answerede and have that [which] right and law requirede.

Werupon therle of Oxinforde put in his clayme by bylle too bee chaumbrelayn¹⁰³ as ensueth:

A treshonourable *seigneur*, Jasper, frere et uncle dez roys, duc de Bedford et counte de Penbrok, senescall dEngleterre.

Supple le votre John de Ver, counte de Oxinforde, que *cum* il tient lez maners de Fringrith [en]¹⁰⁴ la countie dEssex et [T]ormede en la countye de Hertforde de *notre* dit *seigneur* le roy *par* serjauntie destre chambrelayne *notre* treshonourable dame la reigne et sa chamber et de huys de tell le *jour* de sa coronement de garder preignant *comme* sone droit le lite *notre* dit dame la reigne lez basynz et tous autre chosys al chambrelayn apperteignantes et auxi du une clerk en le chequer *notre* dit *seigneur* le

¹⁰² of] followed by a cancellation.

¹⁰³ too be chaumbrelayn] the cancelled between too and bee.

¹⁰⁴ en] written in.

roy pour demaunder et receyver loie *notre* dit dame la reygne que pour se fair *par* adra checun jour del dit ore pour sey lyver vj *d.* et dit que toutz sees auncestrez que heire il est seisez de lez ditz maners ount este chaumberleynes les reignes dEngleterre de tempe dount memorie ne courte et *par* mesure le tous les jours dez coronementes
 31r / de ditz reignes dEngleterre de temps dount memorye ne court ont gardes les chambres et les huys dycele et ount ewe lez litz basins et toutz autre choses que a lez ditz chambrelayns apperteignier le dit jour come lore droyt *par* reason del tenure dez maners avante ditz come en leschequer *notre* dit *seigneur* le roy appiert de recorde pluis au pleyne que il please a *votre* al hautesse de luye accept a son dit officer fair a ceste coronement.

Also therles of Derbye and Notingham and Sir John Wynkfeld made¹⁰⁵ ther clayme as ensueth:

A le tresnoble prince Jaspas, duc de Bedeforde,

Come William, counte de Notingham, Thomas, counte de Derbye, et John Wynkfelde, chevalier, esteant seisez del countye de Warene le quel countie et tennez *par* la service de estre pantelers cheson jour du coronacion de roy ou reigne. Please *votre* grace de eux admitter de occupie le office avaunt dit le jour du coronacion du reigne si comme ils et lure auncestres, segnours de counte, suisdit ount use de occuper de temps dount memorye ne court a vesqui le fees et custumes avaunt dit office annexez *et* coteux trenchanz et la salar et compagne.

The duc of Suffolk made his clayme as ensueth:

To the right high and myghty prince Jasper, duc of Bedeforde, stuarde of Englande,

Besecheth humbly John duc of Suffolk, sonne and¹⁰⁶ heire to William, late duc of Suffolk, that wher as the moost blessed prince, King Henry the vj, late king of England, was seased of the maner of Nedthinger with thappurtenances in the countie of Suffolk in his demeane as of fee and so therof seased by his *lettres patenz* gave and *graunted* the saide maner with thapurtenantes to the saide William, late
 31v duc of Suffolk, and to / his heires by the servyce that he and his heyres shulde bere a rodde septre of ivery *with* a dove of golde of the hight of the same befor the quene of England the day of her coronacion of whiche *service* the same John hath ben allowede at festes of coronacion of Dame Elyzabeth and of Dame Anna, late quenes of England.

Therle of Notyngham and the lorde Latymer made ther clayme as hereafter ensueth:

A treshonourable *seigneur* Jaspar, duc de Bedforde et counte de Penbrok, senescall dEngleterre,

Come William, counte de Notingham et Richard, *Seigneur* de Latymer, estean seises del barony del [B]edeforde¹⁰⁷ in *lour done* come de fee lesquel ut ilz teignent *par servicer* de estre avincour checun *jour* du coronacion le roy ou reygne. Please *votre grace* de eux admitter de occuper le office avant dit le *jour* de coronacion le

¹⁰⁵ made] -y cancelled between -a and -d.

¹⁰⁶ sonne and heire] -e cancelled between and and heire.

reygne sicone ilz *et* lours auncestres, *seigneurs* de la dit barony, ount use de occupier dount memory ne court *preignant pour* le exercise de le dit office le almes dysshe devant luye servyce.

The barons of the V portes claymede by bylle as ensueth:

A treshault et trespuissaunt *prince* le duc de Bedeforde, seneschall dEngleterre,

Supleaunt humlement lez humbles et feialx lyeges du roy, *notre* souveraigne *seigneur*, lez barons de cink portes, que come le ditz suplyaunes a[v]ent¹⁰⁸ tyel lybertye dount memory ne court *que* quaut ascun roy dEngleterre ou reygne serount corones soloient lez ditz barons *par* semences de bref de roy a ceulx direct *par* xl
 32r *jours* devant / la dit coronement estre garniz pur venir a faire lore custumblis services et honours duez, cest assaviour, le *jour* de corone[m]ent¹⁰⁹ due roy *notre* ditz *seigneur* ou del reigne quant il ou elle [v]eigne¹¹⁰ destre corones *et* quant *notre* dit *seigneur* le roy ou la reigne reviendra de son coronement soloient et duissent lez barons dez ditz cink portz porter aultre et desiues le roy ou reigne une draper de soy eu dore en lieux accustumables *par* xvj barons dez portez avant ditz, issunt que nul entre soit *par* entre eux, et soloient lez avant ditz xvj barons ont les plus nobles et vailliaunes de ceux de mesme le v portes illoguez *venir* en suete honestement vestues et apparalez, et quant ils ferount loffice portant le suis ditz drap sur quart

¹⁰⁷ [B]edeford] *written* Sedeford and *preceeded by the cancellation of* -d.

¹⁰⁸ a[v]ent] *the scribe has written* aient.

¹⁰⁹ corone[m]ent] *appears to be written* coroneaient.

¹¹⁰ [v]eigne] *the scribe has written* reigne.

launces de suis argentees checun launces avrent une champ[er]nel dergent¹¹¹ de suis
 erres del purveaunce du tresorour notre dit souveraigne *seigneur* le roy et a checun
 launces devoient aler quartre barons issint que le dit draper¹¹² serroit porte par xvj
 barons et soloient yoeux xvj barons ensemblement out ceutz autres barons dez cink
 portez que illeoguez estre vendre soloient, avoir et seer a la chef table pour manger
 en la graunt sale du roy ou de reigne sur de mayne dextere de mesme le roy [ou
 roigne de droit et dauncien temps use et accustume, et quaunt ils sunt licence ou
 conuge de roi]¹¹³ notre *seigneur* ou de notre dame le reigne de retourner ou de
 partier ils averount le suisdit draper ovesque lez launcez champerneyles et toutz
 autres ceus appartenances come ils ont de tout temps uses et estre seises devant
 cestes hoeures. Please a votre tresnoble *seigneur* de considerer¹¹⁴ les liberties et
 usage suisdit et sur ces par votre tresage advis et discrecion que lez ditz supliauntes
 puissent et present et de tout temps en apres avoir et enjoier mesmes les liberties et
 usages selon que ceo quils les ount uses et [?enjoies] du temps dount memory ne
 court come droit et reason demandement.

The clayme of Humphrey Tyrrell of Kent as ensueth:

32v / Sheweth unto your good and gracyous lordeship Humphrey Tyrell, sonne and
 heyre of Henry Terell, by John Bradfelde, Richard Higham and Thomas Marowe,
 his gardens, that wher the saide Henry was seasede of an C acers of londe xx acres
 of medow, xl acres of pasture lxvj and £x vj s. viij d. of rent of assise with

¹¹¹ dergent] followed by a cancellation, possibly -z.

¹¹² le dit draper] souveraigne seigneur cancelled between dit and draper.

¹¹³ [ou roigne... roi]] the scribe has omitted a portion of the text.

¹¹⁴ Please... de considerer] jour incorrectly inserted between seigneur and considerer.

thappertenances in Chaddewell and Littil Turrok in the countye of Essex in his demeane as of fee and soo seasede and helde the same lande, medow, pasture and rent of King Edward the iiijth, late king of Englande, by the service of graunt serjaunt, to be gardein of the napery of *our* souveraigne lorde the king *and* of suche estate died seased after whos deth the same landes and tenementes descendid to your said supliant as sonne and heire to the saide Henry Terell *your* said supliaunt then and yet being *within* age and for that cause seasede warde to the saide late king. Please it your lordeshipe to consider the *premyssez*, and that *your* said suppliant may bee admitted to the said *service* by suche a depute as it shall please *your* lordship to provide, and to have suche fee as to the saide *servyce* belongeth for the love of God and in the way of charytie.

Here is shewde the clayme of theyre of Alyngton:

To the right high *and* myghty prince Jaspar, duc of Bedforde, steward of England,

Sheweth unto *your* good lordeship Gylys of Alyngton, by Richard Garden, hys gardien, that wher he holde the maner of Wymondeley *with* the appertenances in the countie of Hertford¹¹⁵ of our souveraigne lorde the king by graunt *serjaunte*, that is to say to serve the king or the quene ther day of ther coronacion at the furste cuppe for his fee. Pleasith your good lordship to admytte and receyve the sayde
 33r Gylys by his saide garden or his depute / to doo the *service* above saide at the coronacion in lik wise as it was alowed to the saide suppliant at the coronacion of *our* souveraigne lorde the kinge.

¹¹⁵ Hertford] –t *interlineated above*.

The clayme of my lorde of Burgaveny:

Suple a votre tresnoble *seigneur* je, George Nevell, *seigneur* de Burgaveny *que* come illes est seise de le maner de Skulton avec les appertenances en le counte de Norffolk autrement appelle le maner de Bordeles en Skulton en le dit counte le quel maner¹¹⁶ il tient de notre *seigneur* le roy *que* ore est *par* les services de estre lardonar al roy et al reigne le jour de loure coronement *que* please it a votre dist tresnoble *seigneur* les *premisses* considerer¹¹⁷ et de admitter et suffrer votre dist suppliant pur faire de ditz service et de aver toutz lez feez et regardest a le ditz officez denez et appendauntez.

The clayme of the lorde fitz Water:

Suple votre tresnoble *seigneur* je, John, *seigneur* fitz Water, chyvalier, senescall dell hostell notre *seigneur* le roy, *que* cume il¹¹⁸ et toutz sez auncetres, *seigneurs* fitz Water, qil heire il est, ount use de temps¹¹⁹ dount memory ne court de sewer devant le roy et lay reygne al temps de lours coronement et de eux server en¹²⁰ mesire loffice *que* il¹²¹ poetestre admitte a la dist office et service daunt temps duez et accustumes *et* lez toutz esquellz dount notre dame la reigne serra servy a le pri[m]ier¹²² cours¹²³ la jour de sen coronacion.

¹¹⁶ le quel maner] –l cancelled between le and quel.

¹¹⁷ considerer] followed by a cancellation.

¹¹⁸ il] written ille before the final –le was cancelled.

¹¹⁹ de temps] –d cancelled between de and temps.

¹²⁰ en] followed by the cancellation of –se.

¹²¹ il] initially written ille before the final –le was cancelled.

¹²² primier] written prinier.

¹²³ le pri[m]ier cours] cancellation between pri[m]ier and cours.

The clayme of therle of Warwik [is] in the kynges handes.

The clayme of the wafers:

A le tresnoble *prince* Jaspar, duc de Bedeforde

Supple a *votre* tresnobles *seigneur* je, Thomas Say, *que cum* il est seise de le maner
 de Lifton Overhall en la counte dEssex et le dist maner il tyent de *notre seigneur* de
 33v roy *que ore* est par lez servicez de luy wafers et server al dit roy / et al reigne le jour
 de lour coronement *que* please it a *votre* dist *seigneur* lez premisses a considerer de
 admitter et sufferer *votre* dist suppliant pour faire lez ditz services et de avere touz
 lez fees et regardest al dist office denez et appendaunces &c.

The clayme of therle of Aronndell:

Supple Thomas, counte dAroundell, de luy receyvaire a fair sonne office de chief
 boteler que luy appertient de droyt pour le counte dAroundell en temps de jour
 coronacion de reigne receyvant lez fees out dues.

The clayme made by the gardens for John Aspelond:

A treshonourable *seigneur* Jaspour, duc de Bedeford et count de Penbrok, senescall
 dEngleter,

Supple a *votre bonne grace*, Bryon Roucliff, un de les barons del eschequer *notre seigneur* le roy, et Robert Castell, gardeyns de un John Aspland, demez age, fitz et heire de John Aspelonde, trespasse *que cume* lavant dist John Asplande, le fitz, tenet certeing tenementes [en]¹²⁴ Heydon en la countie dEssex quel sount la moite del maner de Heydon avant dit de *notre seigneur* le roy *par* serjauntie cestas avoir de tenez un towell quant *notre seigneur* le roy laver a lez mayns deunt memmery le jour de sa¹²⁵ coronement del roy et ensemblament de[v]aunte la reigne la jour de sa coronement *pour* quell service il de voit au lavaunt dit towell et quel [moite] del maner de Heydon avant dit jades fust en la season John Wilshire citezin de Londours que ceo tenoit de Richard de ijde nedgarres roy dEngleter *par* la service suisdites come piert *par* la recorde et entaunt que lavaunt ditz John Asplond *et* deinz age en garde de les avantditz suppliautes ils priount *que* la vaunt dit John Aspland puist estre acceptez de faire la dit service de sergeauntie in tiel maner [et]¹²⁶ forme comme il apperteint a luy est ount de[m]iz age la fayre ensy *que* il ne soit [...] a son / droyt ne a sees heires enfaunt lez ditz servicez pour son dit tenir
 34r autrefoyes quant il ou sez heires serennt de playne age.

The clayme to make potage appered not at that fest.

The kinges highnesse for the *determynacion* and good accomplissement of the saide coronacion by hym as above *determyned*, the Satirday nexte byfore the feste October 27 of Alhalowes beganne his journey; and both he and the quene remevede from

¹²⁴ [en]] *written in.*

¹²⁵ sa] *written say before the final -y was cancelled.*

¹²⁶ [et]] *written and.*

Warwik towardes London, and in¹²⁷ his way at Seint Albons kepte the fest of Alholowes. And on Alsolne day the morne after, when he had harde dyvyne service and dynede, his grace removede from thens to Barnet and ther lay al nyght. And on the morne as he was commyng towardes London, in Harnesses Park, the mayre, shryffes and aldremen and dyvers comens of London therto chosen oute of every craft, met¹²⁸ his grace al on horsebak, ful wele and honourably¹²⁹ besene in on lyverey, to attende upon his highnesse, wher Sir William Horne, maire, was dubbede knyght; and by twene Iseldon and London Sir John Percyvale was also dubbed knyght.

And ayenste the comyng of the king into his citie of London al the streytes that his grace shulde ride thorough *with* his roiall company were clensede, and of both sides the strete the citezins of every crafte that roode not wer sett in row, every craft in due order in ther lyveres welbesene, from Bisshops Gate unto Powles. And so at afternone the king, as a comely and roiall prince, apparailled accordingly, entred into his citie wele and honourabley accompanied as was fitting to his estate with many great lordez and other clenly horsed and richely besene; and so came riding thorough the citie to the weste doore of Powles, wher his grace a lightyde. And to receyve hym into the chyrche was¹³⁰ the quere of Powles / in ther habites and copes. Ther was present the bisshop of Canterbury, and many other bisshops and prelates of the chyrche to geve ther attendance upon his hyghnesse. And at his entre into the chirche his grace was sensende *with* the grate senser of Powles by an angell commyng oute of the roof, during whiche tyme the quere sange a solempne antyme

¹²⁷ in] *interlineated above*.

¹²⁸ every craft met his grace] *park cancelled between every and craft, and craft and met joined and then separated.*

¹²⁹ ful wele and honourably] *hol cancelled between and and honourably.*

and after *Te Deum Laudamus* for joy of his late victory and prosperouse commyng to his saide citie.

And in his so commyng thorough the citie al the howsez, windowes and stretes as he passed by wer hogely replenysshede with people in passing great nombre, that made great joye and exaltacion to be holde his most royal persone soo prosperously and princely commyng into his citie after his late tryumphe and victory ayenste his enemyes; and so to be holde the faire and goodly sight of his so commyng the quenes grace and my lady the kinges moder, *with* other dyvers ladies and great astates in ther company, were secretly in an hous besides Seint Mary Spetell *withoute* Bisshops Gate. And when the sight was passede theyme, they went from theyns to Grenewiche to ther a beddes. And after the kinges highnesse was thus receyvede in Powles, and had [o]ffred¹³¹ at places accustomed ther, he went in to the bisshops paloyes of London, and ther restede al nyght. And on the morne, whiche was Sondag, he went [in] a *procession* in Powles and harde the sarmond ther.

And the Fryday next byfor Seint Kateryns day, the quenys good grace, royally November 23 apparelled and accompaniede *with* my lady the kynges moder *and* many other great estates, both lordez and ladyes richely besene, came frowarde to the coronacion.

35r And at ther commyng fourth from Grenewiche by water ther was / attendyng uppon her ther the maire, shriffes and aldremen of the citie, and dyvers and many worshipfull comeners chosene oute of every crafte in ther lyveres, in barges fresshely furnysshed *with* baners and stremers of silk, richely besen *with* the armes and bagges of ther craftes; and in especiall a barge called 'the bachelers barge', garnysshed and apparielede passing alother, wherin was¹³² ordeynede a great red

¹³⁰ was] *the scribe has actually the abbreviation for with.*

¹³¹ [o]ffred] *written affred.*

¹³² was] *-s unclear and seemingly accompanied by a superfluous mark of suspension.*

dragon spowting flamys of fyer into Temmys; and many other gentilmanly pajantes wele and curiously devysed to do her highnesse sport and pleasur *with*. And her grace thus roially apparellede and accompanied, and also furnyssed on every behalf with trumpettes,¹³³ clarions and other mynstrellyes¹³⁴ as apperteignyng and fitting to her estate royall, *comme* from Grenewyche afor saide and loded and at Towre warff; and so entred¹³⁵ into the Towre, wher the kinges kyghnesse welcommede her in suche *maner* and forme as was to al thastates and other ther being present a very good sight *and* right joyous and comfortable to be holde. And ther the gentilmen, called by the kinges moost honourable *lettres* to receyve the order¹³⁶ of knyghthod were created knyghtes of the bath in *maner* and *fourme* as the picture therof made shewethe, whos names *with* the names [of]¹³⁷ the esquiers¹³⁸ (governours by the kinges appoyntement to attende upon the tyme of ther saide creasocion) bee her after written:

the sone <i>and</i> heir of therle of Devonshir:	John Crokker
	his brother
the lord Dudley: Edward Blount	Edward Barkley: William Wodall
Edward Bensted	Thomas Troys
William Gasixyne: Thomas Totost	Wylliam Lucy: William Trevrye
Jamys Flemmyng.	John Bell
Thomas Butteler: Thomas Laurence	Thomas Hungreforde: Robert Knowles

¹³³ with trumpettes] *initially joined and then separated.*

¹³⁴ mynstrellyes] *error, perhaps a cancellation, between final -l and -y.*

¹³⁵ and so entred] *-m cancelled between so and entred.*

¹³⁶ And...orders] *underlined*

¹³⁷ of] *written with.*

¹³⁸ whos names with the names [of] esquiers-] *whose names with the underlined.*

John Langforth.

... Karleton¹³⁹

35v	/ Guydo Wolstan:	[Nicholas] Audeby ¹⁴⁰ Alexander Oxton.
	Richard Pemery:	John Fortson William Watesley
	John Shelton:	John Wharff Pyers Brent.
	Hugh Loterell:	the ¹⁴¹ serieunt porter Thomas Penyngton.
	Thomas Pultney:	William Trussell Henry Lisley
	Hugh Conwey:	... ¹⁴² Otewell Butteler.
	Nicholas Lisley:	William Burges Robert Gethyn.

The Satirday next befor the day of the quenes coronacion her grace, being at the November 24
 Tower of London, after dyner was rially apparelde, having about her a kyrtil¹⁴³ of Day of the
 white¹⁴⁴ cloth of golde damask and a mantell of the same suete furrede *with* ermyns,
 fastened by for her brest *with* a great lase curiously wrought of golde *and* silk and
 riche knoppes of golde at the ende taselled, and her faire yelow her hanging downe

¹³⁹ ... Karleton] *no Christian name is given.*

¹⁴⁰ [Nicholas] Audeby] *no Christian name was given.*

¹⁴¹ the] *followed by a cancellation.*

¹⁴² *A space is left for the insertion of a name, but no name is given.*

¹⁴³ about her a kyrtil] *kir cancelled between a and kyrtil.*

pleyne by hynde her bak *with* a calle of pipes over it. She had a serkelet of golde richely garnysshed *with precious* stonys upon her hede; and so emparelede departed from her chambre of astate unto her litter, my lady Cecille, her sister, beryng her trayne, and many great astates, both lordes and ladies, *with* othre nobles in great nombre, gevyng also ther attendaunce uppon her highnes. And when she was
 36r dressed in her saide / litter, the tymbre werke therof coverde *with* cloth of golde of damaske and large pelowes of downe covered with lik clothe of golde laide aboute her most roiall persone to susteyne the same, her grace so proceded from the Towre through the citie of London to Westminster, al the stretes ther she shulde passe by clenly dressed and besene *with* clothes of tappestrye and arras, and some stretes, as Cheepe, hanggede *with* riche clothes of golde velvettes and silkes.

And a longe the stretes from the Tower to Powles stode in order al the craftes of London in ther lyveries. And also ther was a merveolous sight of people, some in howses and wyndowes and other in stretes, to be holde the sight of the quenes passing thorowgh in her royall apparell, accompanied and orderde as hereafter is shewde. And in dyvers pa[r]tes of the citie were ordeynede wele singing childerne: some arrayde like angelles and other like virgyns to singe swete songes as her grace passed by. And ther rode nexte byfor the lytter¹⁴⁵ the right high and myghty prince, the duc of Bedeforde, great stuarde of England for the tyme being of this fest; and therle of Oxinforde, great chambrelayn; and byfor theym¹⁴⁶ therle of Derby, lorde Stanley, constable of Englande; and therle of Notingham, marshall of Englande; next byfor theym Garter.¹⁴⁷ And the maire of London and the ij esquiers of honour,

¹⁴⁴ white] –h cancelled between –t and –e.

¹⁴⁵ lytter] –l written over another letter.

¹⁴⁶ theym] repeated.

¹⁴⁷ Garter] followed by a cancellation.

that is to say Nicholas Gaynysforde and ...Verney¹⁴⁸, welle horsede in gownes of cremesyne velwett, having mantelles of ermyne, roode next byfor theym *with* ij latkins, bawdrik wise, and on ther hedes hattes of rede clothe of golde ermyns, the
36v bekens / forwarde. And then byfor theym roode the duc of *Suffolk* and other great astates; and byfor theym kynges of armes, herauldes and *poursevantes*, whiche roode nexte by hynde the newe made knyghtes of the bathe, riding in a suett in ther blewe bacheler gownes in order *after* ther baynnes. And next byfor the newe¹⁴⁹ made knyghtes roode al oother banerettes, knyghtes and esquiers, wele horsede and richely besene, and some of theyme on *merveolous* dooing¹⁵⁰ horses. And on *every* side to make the way for the presse of people thofficers of the *marshall*, many¹⁵¹ in nombre, al in rede gownez of a liverye *with* tippede staves in ther handes, went on foote.

And over the quenes grace sitting in the litter was borned a cele, a canapye or a palle of clothe of golde with valaunces of the same, richely fringed, upon¹⁵² iiij gilte stavys, always susteyned by iiij knyghtes of the body, wherunto were assigned xij suche knyghtes (*every* to ease other by the way) in forme and place as ensueth:

Syr Richarde Pole]	assignede to bere the canapie from the Tower to the begynnyng of Mark Lane.
Sir Edward Burgh		
Sir John Saynlowe		
Sir James Parkar		

¹⁴⁸ ...Verney] *no Christian name given.*

¹⁴⁹ newe] *followed by a cancellation.*

¹⁵⁰ dooing] *followed by the cancellation of do.*

¹⁵¹ Many] *followed by a cancellation.*

Sir Edwarde Ponynges	}	
Sir Antony Browne		from the begynnyng of Mark Lane
Sir William Stoner		unto thend thereof.
Sir Robert Clifforde		

Sir Davyd Owen	}	
Sir James Blont		to bere from Marke Lane
Sir Richard Hault,		to Grasshe chirche.
Sir Nicholas Vaux		

37r / The forsaide *Sir Richard Pole* with his iij felowes to ber ayene the saide canapie from Grasshe chirche to Seint Peters in Cornylle.

The forsaide Sir Edwarde Ponnynges and his feliship: from Seint Peters in Cornhill to the standerde in the same.

The forsaide Sir David Owen and his felyship: from the standerd in Cornhill to the stokkes.

And then the forsaide *Sir Richard Pole*, &c: to ber from the stokkes to the great coundite in Chepe.

Sir Edward Ponynges, &c: from the great condit in Chep to the standerde in Chepe.

Sir David Owen, &c: from the standerde in Chepe to the coundit in the same.

Sir *Richard Pole*, &c: from thens to Powlles chirche yerde.

Sir Edwarde Ponynges, &c: from thens to Ludgate.

Sir David Owen, &c: from¹⁵³ thens to the coundit in Flete strete.

And then Sir *Richarde Poole*, &c: from thens to Temple barre.

¹⁵² upon] *repeated and then cancelled.*

¹⁵³ from] *-o cancelled between -f and -r.*

Sir Edward Ponynge, &c: from thens to the Stronde crosse.

Sir David Owen, &c: from thens to the bishop of Chesters place.

Sir Richard¹⁵⁴ Poole, &c: from thens to Charing crosse.

Sir Edward Ponynge, &c: from thens to the mewes.

Sir David Owen,¹⁵⁵ &c.: from thens to Westminster.

37v And next folowing the litter by fore the henchemen was led by Sir Roger Cooton, knyght, maister of the quenes horse, the / hors of astate sadeld *with* a womanys sadell of rede clothe of golde tissue (wiche after the opynyon of dyvers herauldes shulde have folowed next after the henxmen); and then vj henxmen riding in sadelles of the sute of the sadell of astate upon faire white palfereys harneshed *with* cloth of golde garnysshed *with* white roses and sonnes richely embroderde. And nexte theym folowed ij chares coverde with riche cloth of golde, wele and clenly horsede: in the furst chare satt my lady of Bedeforde and my lady Cecill; in the ij^{de} chare satt the duchess of Suffolk, the duches of Norfolk and the countes of Oxinforde. And then folowed vj baronesse – the lady Straunge, lady Gray, lady Lawar, lady Ferres of Chartley, lady Dudley, lady Powes – upon faire palfereys in gownes of cremesyn velwett al in a sute, ther horseharnesse and the sadelles of the same sute that the henxmens horses wer of. And after theym came ij other chares, richely coverede and wele horsede, *with* the remenant of the quenes ladies and gentil woman; and after those chares, the gentilwomen of my lady Bedforde in a sute; and next theym the gentil women of my lady Cecilles in a nother sute. And so folowing iche other, the gentilwomen of every astate that wayted upon the quene came riding upon goodly palferees wele and richely besene *with* great beddes and

¹⁵⁴ Richard] *written over the cancellation of* Edwarde.

cheynes of golde aboute ther nekes in merveolous great nombre. And the quene thus riolly commyng to Westminster had her voyde, &c.

38r And on the morne, the day of the coronacion, she was appareld / in a kirtill and November 25
a mantell¹⁵⁶ of purple velwet furred with ermyns, with a lace afor the mantell in her Coronation
her and a serkelett of golde richely garnysshe with perle and precious stonys. And so apparellede, my lady Cecill bering her trayne, she remevede furthe of Westminster hal and [th]er¹⁵⁷ stode under a cloth of astate unto the tyme the procession was orderde, from the¹⁵⁸ whiche place to the pulpit in Westminster chirche she wentt uupon new ray clothe. And al the day from thens forth the bar[o]ns¹⁵⁹ of the V portes bare the canapie according to ther priveleges. And the order of the procession was as ensueth: furst esquiers proceded and knyghtes folowing theym; and after theym went the new made knyghtes wele besene in dyvers silkes, every man as hym best likede after his degre; and after theym the barons and other estates in order as they wer, the heraldes on every side the procession, and sergeauntes of armes to make rome; then folowed abbottes; and next theym, bisshops in pontificalibus to the nombre of xv bisshops (besyde abbottes), wherof the bisshop of... bare Seint Edwardes chales,¹⁶⁰ the bisshop of Norwiche bare the patent; byfor whiche prelates went the monkes of Westminster al in albes, and the kinges chapell folowing theym; and next the quere of all the bisshops went tharchebissop of York, except the bisshop of Wynchester and the

¹⁵⁵ Sir David Owen] *miniscule* –o cancelled between David and Owen.

¹⁵⁶ mantell] –t written over –d.

¹⁵⁷ ther] written ster.

¹⁵⁸ from the] *joined and then separated.*

¹⁵⁹ bar[o]ns] *the scribe started to write banerets: –r was then inserted between –a and –n, and a mark of contraction, signalling omission of –er, was cancelled after –n.*

¹⁶⁰ No identity is given for the bishop who carried St. Edward's chalice.

38v bisshop of Ely, whiche went on ether hande the quene undre the canapie to susteyne her grace; and after tharchebissop of Yorke was Garter King of Armes and the maire of London next byfor the counstable and *marsh*all, befor / rehersed; and next unto theym therle of Aroundell bering the *virge* of iverye¹⁶¹ *with* a dove in the tope; and after hym the duc of Suffolk bering the septre; then therle of Oxinforde, great chambrelayn, in his *parliament* roobees, having in his hand the staff of his office; and the duc of Bedforde bar hedede in the roobes of astate bering a riche corowne of golde; then folowed the quene apparelde as is afor rehersed; and next her my lady Cecill, whiche bar her trayne; and next her folowing the duchesse of Bedeforde and other duchesse and comttesse apparelled in mantelles and sircootes of scarlet, furred and powderde,¹⁶² the duchesse having on [t]her hedes coronalles of golde richely garnyshed *with* perle and *precious* stones, and the comtesse on her hed had serkelettes of golde in like wise garnysshed, as dooth apper in the bok of picture therof made. But the more pitie ther was so hoge a people inordynatly presing to cut the ray cloth that the quenes grace yode upon, so that in the *presence* certeyne persones wer slayne and the order of the ladies folowing the quene was broken *and* distorbled.

And the quenes grace thus comyng forth, when she came to the entre of the west dore of the chirche of Westminster, ther was saide by the... this orison:¹⁶³ *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus*.¹⁶⁴ And that doon she procedede thorough the quer into the pulpit, wherin was a sege royall dressed *with*¹⁶⁵ cloth of golde and cushins

¹⁶¹ therle of Aronndell bering... iverye] byfor the counstable *cancelled between Aronndell and* bering.

¹⁶² furred and powdered] *et cancelled before* and.

¹⁶³ No identity is given for the prelate who said the *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus*.

¹⁶⁴ *Omnipotens...Deus*] *underlined*.

¹⁶⁵ with] *followed by a cancellation*.

accordingly. And tharchebisshop of Canterbury ther being present and revested as apperteyneth to the selebracion of the masse, receyved the quene commyng from her royall sege with the lordez bering her corowne, septer and rodde, and the bisshops susteynyng her as is above saide. And the greces byfor the high auter wer honourably dressed and arrayed with carpettes and cushins of astate, whereupon the quene lay prostrate afor the arche bisshop whiles he saide over her this orison:

39r *Deus qui solus habes*,¹⁶⁶ &c. And that doon / she aros and kneled, and my lady... toke her kerchief from her hede,¹⁶⁷ and tharchebyssshop opond her brest and anoynted her ij tymys: furst in the former parte of her hede, and secondly in her breste afor, sayng thies wordes: *In nomine patris et filii*, &c. *prosit [hec tibi]*¹⁶⁸ *unctio*,¹⁶⁹ with this orison: *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus*.¹⁷⁰ And that doon the said lady closed her brest, and folowingly the saide archebisshop blessed her ring, seing this orison: *Creator*;¹⁷¹ and cast holy water upon it and then put this same ring on [the]¹⁷² iiij finger of the quenes right hande, saing theyes wordes: *Accipe annulum*;¹⁷³ and then said *Dominus vobiscum*,¹⁷⁴ with this collet: *Deus cuius*, &c.¹⁷⁵ And then after the said archebisshop blessed the quenes corone, seing: *Oremus Deus tuorum*.¹⁷⁶ And that doon he sett the corowne uppon her hede, wherupon was a coyff put by my seid lady for the conservacion of the holy unction (whiche is afterwarde to be delyverede

¹⁶⁶ *Deus...habes*] *underlined*.

¹⁶⁷ *No identity given for the noblewoman who removed the kerchief from the queen's head.*

¹⁶⁸ *[hec tibi]*] *the scribe has written tibi hec.*

¹⁶⁹ *In nomine...unctio*] *underlined*.

¹⁷⁰ *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus*] *underlined*.

¹⁷¹ *Creator*] *underlined*.

¹⁷² *the*] *written her.*

¹⁷³ *Accipe annulum*] *underlined*.

¹⁷⁴ *Dominus vobiscum*] *underlined*.

¹⁷⁵ *Deus cuius &c.*] *underlined*.

unto the saide archebisshop), seing theys wordes: *Officium nostrum*,¹⁷⁷ &c. And then he delyverede unto the quene a septer in her right hande and a rodde in her left hande, saing this orizon: *Omnipotens Domine*. The quene thus corownede was lede by the above saide bisshops up into the sege of her estate, and al the ladies folowing her. And whiles the offratory was in playing at organs, she was ledde corownede from her sege roiall by the saide ij bisshops unto the high auter, her septer and roode of golde borne byfor her as is afor saide. And then tharchebisshop turned his face to the quer warde, and after this the quene was, as byfor, brought up ageyn to her sege roiall of astate, wher she satt stille.

Th[us]¹⁷⁸ *Agnus Dei*¹⁷⁹ was begone, and after *Per omnia secula seculorum*,¹⁸⁰
 39v turned hym to the quene,¹⁸¹ blessyng [her] with this orison: *Omnipotens Deus / carismate*,¹⁸² &c, wherunto the quene answerde: *Amen*.

In the tyme of singing of *Agnus Dei*¹⁸³ the pax was brought to the quene by the bisshop of Worcester, whiche brought; and when the quene had kissed it she descendid and came to the high auter and had a towell holden byfor her by ij bisshops. And ther she lowly inclynyng herself to the grounde seide her *Confiteor*,¹⁸⁴ the prelates seing *Misereatur*, and tharchebisshop the absolucion; and then the quene, sumwhat areysyng hersilf, receyved the blessed sacrament. And thies thinges reverently accomlishede, the quene retournede to her sette roiall and

¹⁷⁶ Oremus Deus tuorum] *underlined*.

¹⁷⁷ Officium nostrum] *underlined*.

¹⁷⁸ Thus] *written this*.

¹⁷⁹ Agnus Dei] *underlined*.

¹⁸⁰ Per omnia secula seculorum] *underlined*.

¹⁸¹ the quene] –w *cancelled between the and quene*.

¹⁸² Omnipotens Deus carismate] *underlined*.

¹⁸³ Agnus Dei] *underlined*.

¹⁸⁴ Confiteor] *underlined*.

ther abode til the masse was ended. The masse doon her grace, accompanied *with* prelates and nobles, descended from her sege roiall of astate and went to the high auter, and then the saide archebisshop, arrayde in pontificalibus as he saide masse, *with* all the mynisters¹⁸⁵ of the auter¹⁸⁶ byfore hym, went byfor the auter of the shryne of Seint Edwarde the king; and after hym folowed al other prelates and lordes; and [at] the quenes grace commyng byfor the saide auter of the shryne, the said archebisshop toke the corowne from her hede and sett [it] upon the same auter.

And in the forsaide chirche, on the right side betwixt the pulpit and the high auter, was ordeynede a goodlye stage coverde and welebesene *with* clothes of arras and wele latizede, wherin was the kinges grace, my lady his moder and a goodly sight of ladies and gentilwommen attending upon her, as my lady Margaret Pole, doughter to the duc of Claraunce, and many othre.

And when the dyvyne service was thus solelymply ended and al doon, the retourne of the quene to her paloy *with* all her goodly *and* royall company was after
 40r the maner as ensueth: / furst esquiers, knyghtes, and then the barons of the eschequer and jugges, officers of armes, and then al thabbottes and bisshops in the cappis or robes of parliament al on the right side; and the barons in ther roobes and therles in ther roobes of astate, saving the great chambrelayn whiche was in his parliament robes, went al on the lefte side; and after theym went ner the presence the dukes and Garter, and the maire of London next byfor the constable and mershall. And when the quene was come into the hall, she went into the white halle, and so to here chambre.¹⁸⁷ And in the meane tyme the high and myghty prince, duc of Bedeforde, in a gowne of clothe of golde richely furrede, on a goodly courser

¹⁸⁵ all the mynisters] mynstrell *cancelled between the and* mynisters.

¹⁸⁶ the auter] same *cancelled between the and* auter.

¹⁸⁷ to here chambre] *majascule -S cancelled between here and* chambre.

richely trapped *with* a trapper enbroderde *with* red roses [and] a border of golde smythes werk¹⁸⁸ enraumpisshede *with* rede dragons, a longe white rodde in his hande, a riche cheyne aboute his nek; therle of Derbye, lorde Standleley¹⁸⁹ and constable of England, also in a riche gowne furred *with* sables, a *merveolus* riche cheyne of golde many fowldes aboute his neke, also his courser richely trappede and enarmede (that is to say, *qarterly* golde: in the furst quarter a lyon gowles, having a mannes hede in a bycokett of silver; and in the ijde a lyon of sable), and this trapper was right curiously wrought *with* the nedell, for the mannes visage in the bicokett shewde veryly wel faveroured; and he had his staff of office in his hande. Therle of Notingham roode also on a nothre cowreser richely trapped in a trapper of cloth of golde bordered *with*...¹⁹⁰ and his gilte staff of his offices in his hand. Thus theys iij great estates roode aboute the hall. And in especiall therle marshall had great plenty of his *servantes* with tipped staves to voyde the people, for the preyse was so great.

40v

And after that¹⁹¹ / the quene was retourned and had wasshede, tharchebisshop¹⁹² of Canterbury saide *grace*. Dame Kateryn Gray and Maystres Dittonn wente undre the table, wher the satt on ether side the quenes fetee al the dyner time. Tharchebisshop of Canterbury satt at the tables ende on the right hande. The duches of Bedeforde and my lady Cecill, the quenes sister, satt at the other ende on the lifte hande. And the countesse off Oxinforde and the countesse of Ryvers knelede on ether side the quene, and at *certeyne* tymys helde a kerchaef byfor her grace. And in the ende of the hall, on high byfor the wyndow, the[r] was made a stage for the trumpettes and mynstrelles, whiche when the furste course was sett forwarde by gan

Coronation
feast

¹⁸⁸ a border of golde smythes werk] border *and* of intially joined and then separated with a slash.

¹⁸⁹ lorde Standleley] *preceded by the cancellation of Ro.*

¹⁹⁰ *The scribe has left the space blank.*

¹⁹¹ after that] *repeated.*

to blowe; the *sergeauntes* of armes byfor theym; the contrroller and tresorer; and then the iij estates on horsbak afor rehersed. And the lorde fitz Water, sewer,¹⁹³ in his surcott *with* tabarde sleeves, and a hode abought his nek, and his towell above all, sewde the masses as ensueth, al borne by knyghtes:

Furst a warner byfor the course.

Conys of high grece.

Sheldes of brawne in armour.

Moten roiall richely garnyssed.

Frumetye *with* veneson.

Valance bake.

Bruet riche.

Custarde royall.

Hart powderd graunt chare.

Tarte poleyn.

Fesaunt in trainde royall.

Leyse damask.

Swan *with* chawdron.

Frutt synaper.

Capons of high grece.

Frutt formage.

Lamperrey in ¹⁹⁴ galantyne.

A soteltie, *with* writing of balades,

Crane *with* cretney.

whiche as yet I have not.

Pik in latymer sawce.

Herounsew *with* his signe.

Carpe in fowle.

Kid reversed.

Perche in jeloy deperte.

¹⁹² tharchebisshop] -p lost in the binding.

¹⁹³ sewer] preceded by the cancellation of -w.

¹⁹⁴ in] followed by the cancellation of lo.

And in like forme as many disshes also coverde was servede to the
 41r archebisshop of Canterbury, savyng / they were bore by esquyers, or shulde have
 ben and in substance wer. Also at¹⁹⁵ the table on the right hande of the hall next to
 the walle begane the barons of the V portes, and byneith theym the benchers of the
 chauncery.¹⁹⁶ And at the table next the walle on the lefte hande next the cupborde
 satt the¹⁹⁷ mare of London and his brethern; and by neith theym satt other
 merchautes and citezins. And at the table on the right side the hall in the myddes
 satt the bisshops and abbottes al on oon side, and on the other side sat the lordes
 temperall; and byneith theym the jugges, barons of the eschequer, knyghtes and
 great nombre of noble people. And at the table on the lifte side satt the duchesse,
 countesse, baronesse, banerettes wiffes and bachelers wyffes, and other noble
 gentilwomen, al on oon side to the nombre ner hand of iiij^{xx}. Also ther was made a
 goodly stage oute of a wyndow on the lift side of the hall, richely besene *with*
 clothes of arras and wele latysede, for the king and the high and myghty princesse
 his moder might *prively* at ther *pleasur* see that noble feste and *service*. And at the
 right ende of the table ther was ordeynede a stage for kinges of armes, heraulde[s]
 and purservantes, whiche kinges of armes stode corownede, and behelde the noble
service the wise that they cowde, having dyvers straungers *with* theym.¹⁹⁸ And
 when the hall was honourably servede thorow, the trumpettes blew to the ij^{de}
 course, whiche was accompanyede as the furste course.

¹⁹⁵ at] *interlineated above*.

¹⁹⁶ chauncery] *minor error precedes -y; perhaps a superfluous letter*.

¹⁹⁷ the] *a minor cancellation adjoins -e*.

¹⁹⁸ And at...having dyvers straungers with theym] *the sentence actually reads: ...ther was ordeynede a stage for kinges of armes stode corownede, herauld[s] and purservantes, whiche kinges of armes stode corownede.... The insertion of stode corownede, between armes and heraulds is an error of transcription, probably caused by eyeskip.*

	A warner byfor the course.	Bittowre. ¹⁹⁹
	Joly ipocras.	Fesawnte.
	Mamene with lozenges of golde.	Browes.
	Pekok in hakell.	Egretes in beowetyer.
41v	/ Cokkes.	/ Venesone in past royall.
	Partricche.	Quince baked.
	Sturgyn fresshe fenell.	Marche payne royall. ²⁰⁰
	Plovers.	A colde bake mete florisskede.
	Rabett sowker.	Lethe ciprus.
	Seyle in fenyn enterly served richely armes.	Lethe ruby.
	Red Shankkes.	Fruter augeo.
	Snytes.	Fruter mounteyne.
	Quayles.	Castelles of jely in
	Larkes ingraylede.	temple wise made.
	Creves de endence.	A soteltie.

And as the high borde was servede,²⁰¹ Garter King of Armes *with* other kinges of armes, herauldes and *purseruantes* did ther obeysaunce, and at the *presence* in the name of al the officers yave the quene²⁰² thankinges as foloweth, seiying: “Right high and myghty prince, moost noble and excellent princess, moost *christen*

¹⁹⁹ Bittowre] *preceded by a cancellation.*

²⁰⁰ Marche payne royall] *a second –y in payne cancelled.*

²⁰¹ And as the high borde was servede...] *followed by the cancellation of:* the kynges mynstrelles playde a songe by for the quene.

²⁰² yave the quene] *quew cancelled between the and quene.*

quene,²⁰³ and al our most drad and souveraigne liege ladye, we, the officers of armes and *servantes* to al nobles, beseche almyghty Gode to thank you for the great and habundaunt largesse whiche *your* grace hathe geven us in the honour of *your* most honourable and right wise coronacion, and to send *your* grace to liff in honour and *vertue*.” And that doon she was criede as ensuethe in v places of the hall, by the saide Garter, largesses iij tymes: “de la treshault, trespuissaunt, tresexcellent princes, la tres noble reigne dEngleterre et de Fraunce et dame dIreland, largesse.” And at every ij^{de} crye as ensueth, largesse as a for: “de la treshault,²⁰⁴ trespuissant, tresexcellent princesse, la tres crestion roigne de Fraunce *et* dEngleterre et dame dIreland.” That doon, the officers went to the cupborde to therle of Aroundell, the /
42r great botteler, and drank. Then playde divers mynstrelles both of the kinges and²⁰⁵ the quenes mynstrelles, and after theym the mynstrelles of other astates.

Then the quene was *served* of frute and wafers. And then *Sir* John Turburvile, knyght marshall, drew the surnap. And then the torches hanging in the hall [wer] lightede. And when the quene was up and had wasshed, and grace seide, came in the voyde. The[n] blew the trumpettes, and the maire of London, Sir William Horne, *servede* the quene of ypocras after the spices, and toke the coppe of golde coverde for his fee. And then the quene departede *with* Goddes blessing, and to the reioysing of many a trwe Englisshemannes hert.

And on the morow the king harde masse in Seint Stephins chapell, and the November 26 quene [and] my lady the kinges moder, also greatly and nobly accompanied *with* duchesse, countesses, vicountesse, baronesse and other ladies and gentelwomen to the nombre of iiij^{xx} largely; and that the quene kepte her astate in the *parlyament*

²⁰³ moost christen quene] king *cancelled between* christen and quene.

²⁰⁴ de la treshault] *cancellation between* la and treshault.

²⁰⁵ divers...and] *inserted above, probably in the hand of Scribe B.*

chambre, and my lady the kinges moder satt on her right hande, and my lady of Bedeforde and my lady Cecill satt at the bordez ende on the lefte hande. And at the side table in the same chambre satt the duchesse of Suffolk, the duchesse of Norfolk, the countesse of Oxinforde, the countesse of Wiltshir, the countesse of Ryvers, the countesse of Notingham, my lady Margaret Pole, my lady Straunge, my lady Gray, my lady La Warre, my lady Dudeley, my lady Mountjoy, and many other ladies whos names I have in order as: Dame Kateryn Grey,²⁰⁶ Dame Kateryn Vaux, Dame El[i]zabeth Gilforde, Dame Elizabeth Wynkfylde, and Dame Elysabeth Longvyll. And at the other side table satt the lady Ferres of Chartley, / my lady 42v Bray, and dyvers other ladyes and gentilwomen. And Geynsford drue the *urnap* and made the quene the hole astate, and my lady the kinges moder half astate, and terss²⁰⁷ also.

And after dyner the quene and the ladyes dawnse; and on the morne she November 27 remevede to Grenewiche for the great besynesse of the *parlyament*, elles the fest had dured lenger.²⁰⁸ Amen.

Thies bee the names of the astates, lordes, lad[i]es and knyghtes that wer at the coronacion of quene Elizabeth, eldest dowghter of the full noble memoury of king Edward the iiijth:

tharchebisshop of Canterbury,	Thabbottes: ²⁰⁹
then chaunceller of England	thabbot of Westminster
tharchebisshop of York	thabbot of Seint Austeyns

²⁰⁶ Dame Kateryn Grey] –b cancelled between Kateryn and Grey.

²⁰⁷ terss] It is difficult to be certain what is meant by this word, but it appears originally to have been written tersso before –o was cancelled.

²⁰⁸ else the fest had dured lenger] a cancelled between fest and had.

the bisshop of Wynchester	of Canterbury
the bisshop of London	thabbot of Abenden
the bisshop of Norwiche	thabbot of Seynt Albens
the bysshop of Chechestre	thabbot of Reding
the bisshop of Ely	thabbot of Glowcestre
the bisshop of Rochester	thabbot of Peterborough
the bisshop of Seyntas	thabbot of Cisteter
the bisshop of Harforde	thabbot of Colchestre
the bisshop of Lyncoln ²¹⁰	thabbot of Malmesbury
the bisshop of Worcestre	thabbot of Wynchecombe
the bisshop of Seynt Davys	thabbot of Selby
43r the bisshop of Saresbury	thabbot of Evesham
the bisshop of Landaff.	thabbot of Waltham
/ thabbot of Holme or of Seint Benet	thabbot of Barmesey was mytred,
thabbot of Thorney	thowgh he wer no lorde of the <i>parliament</i>
Lordes temperell: ²¹¹	the lorde Gray
the duc of Bedeforde	the lorde Burgaveny
the duc of Suffolk	the lorde Dudeley
therle of Aronundell	the lord La warre
therle of Oxinforde	the lord Audeley
therle of Northumbreland	the lorde ftz Water

²⁰⁹ Thabbottes] *underlined*.

²¹⁰ Lyncoln] -k *cancelled between -n and -c*.

²¹¹ lordes temperell] *underlined*.

therle of Shrewesbury	the lorde Hastings
therle of ²¹² Essex	the lorde Dynham, <i>trezor</i> ²¹³
therle of Wi[l]tshyre	the lorde Dawbeney
therle of Ryvers	the lorde Storton
therle of Huntyngdon	the lorde Cobham
therle of Derby	the lorde Beauchampe of Powyk
therle of Notingham	the lorde Grey of Wilton
therle of Devonshir	the lord Dacre of the north
therle of Urmonde	Sir William Stanley, the
the lorde Edmonde of Suffolk	lorde chambrelayne
the vicounte Wellys	the lorde fitz Waren
the vicounte Lisley	the lorde Morley
the lorde Straunge	the lorde Beauchamp of Seyntamant
therle of Devonshyrse sone <i>and</i> heire	the lorde Barnes

The names of the ladies:	the countesse of Wiltshire
my lady the kinges moder	the countesse of Ryvers
the duchesse of Bedeforde	the countesse of Notingham
the quenes sister, my lady Cecill	The names of the baronese:
the duches of Suffolk	the lady Straunge
the duchesse of Norfolk	the lady Grey
the countesse of Oxinforde	the lady La Warre

²¹² of] *repeated*.

²¹³ *trezor*] -o is unclear and may equally be -e.

43v	/ the lady Dudeley	the lady Ferres
	the lady Hastynges	the lady Mountjoy
	And at that tyme the substance of	therle of Essex, bachelor
	al therles of the realme wer wedowers	therle of Wilshire, bachelor
	or bachelers, that is to say:	therle of Huntingdon, wedower
	therle of Aroundell, wedower	therle of Urmonde, wedower
	therle of Notingham, wetower	the viscount Lysley, wedower
	therle of Westmerlonde, wedower	
	The names of the banerettes:	Sir James Terell
	Sir John Cheyny	Sir Hugh Hastings
	Sir Thomas Abrough	Sir Thomas Malyvery ²¹⁴
	Sir <i>Richard</i> Tunstall	Sir John Savage
	Sir Thomas Montgomery	Sir William Evers
	Syr Gilbert Talbott	Sir John Everingham
	Sir John Aroundell	Sir James Harington
	Sir Edwarde Stanley	Sir John Grey of Wilton
	Sir William Stoner	Sir James Stranges
	Syr Thomas Cokesey	Sir Thomas Grey
	Sir John Fortscue	Sir Rauff Hastings
	Sir Edmonde Benyngfelde	Sir Edmounde Mauntforde
	Sir James Blount	Sir John Counstable of
	Sir <i>Richard</i> Crofte	Holdreness

²¹⁴ Malyvery] *the majasculc* –M is unclear, perhaps written over an error.

Sir *Richard* Delaber

Sir John Melton

Syr John Mortymer

Syr John Savell

Sir Walter Harbert

The names of the knyghtes bachelers²¹⁵ Syr Davy Owen

Sir Robert Willoughby

Sir Charles of Somerset

Sir *Christofor* Willoughby

Sir Edward Ponyges

Sir William Willoughby

Sir John Clifforde

Sir Henry Willoughby

Sir *Walter* HungerfordeSir *Richard* up Thomas

Sir John Turburvyle

Sir John Morgon

Sir Edward Aborough

44r / Syr Hugh Persall

/ Syr Humfrey Savage

Sir *Richard* Egecombe

Sir John Beron

Sir Richard Clifforde

Syr Thomas Bourser²¹⁶ of Ledes

Syr John Fogge

Sir John Bourser

Sir William Haut

Sir Thomas Bourser of Barnessee

Sir *Thomas* Milbourne

Syr Roger Dymmoke

Sir William Norres

Sir William Tyrwitt

Sir John Risley

Sir Antony Browne

Sir John Alwyn

Sir John Winkfelde

Sir Robert Poyntes

Sir Gilbert Debenham

Sir Roger Lukenore

Sir *Richard* Haut

Sir Henry Heydon

Sir Thomas Grey

Sir Raynolde Braye

Sir Nicholas Vaux

²¹⁵ bachelers] –s *lost in the margin*.²¹⁶ Bourser] –r *written above the cancellation of* –gh.

Sir John Verney	Sir Henry Roose
Sir James Audeley	Sir Amyas Powlett
Sir George Nevell	Sir William Redmyll
Sir Robert Clyfforde	Sir Thomas Blount
Sir George Opton	Sir Robert Cheyny
Sir Robert of Browghton	Sir James Parker
Sir John Paston	Sir Edwarde Derell
Sir ²¹⁷ Richard Pole	Sir Thomas... ²¹⁸
Sir Richard Fitzlowys	Sir Morres Barkley
Syr Gregory Lovell	Syr John Digby
Sir John Longvyll	Syr Thomas... ²¹⁹
Sir Thomas Terell	Sir John Wroughton
Sir Roger Bellingham	Sir Thomas Lynne
Sir William Carew	Sir Mores A Barow
Sir William Vampage	Sir Thomas Barow
Sir John Devenysshe	Sir Richard Salkilde
Sir John Sabacots	Sir Henry Ferres
Sir Thomas Lovell	
44v / Sir John Donne	/ Syr William Lucy
Sir William Sandys	Sir Thomas Hungreforde
Syr John Deveres	Sir Guydo Wolston ²²⁰
Syr John Seynlow	Syr Thomas Pomery

²¹⁷ Sir] –ir *obscured by an inkblot.*

²¹⁸ Sir Thomas...] *no surname is given.*

²¹⁹ Sir Thomas...] *no surname is given.*

²²⁰ Sir Guydo Wolston] *Wof cancelled between Guydo and Wolston.*

Sir William Brandon	Syr Roger Knyfton
Sir Thomas Cornwall	Syr John Norbery
Sir Roger Corbett	Sir Davy William ap ²²¹ Morgon
Sir John Harley	Sir Thomas Vaughan ²²² up Roger
Sir William Knevet	Syr James Rateclyff
Sir Richard... ²²³	Sir Rauff Shelton
Sir Henry Wentworth	Sir Hugh Loterell
Sir William Sayy	Sir Thomas Poulteney
Sir Robert Medelton	Syr Hugh Conway
Sir John Nevell of Lyversage	Syr Nicholas Lisley
Sir Marmaduc Constable	Sir William Pyrton
Sir William Malory	Sir James Lawrence
Sir Robert Plompton	Sir Thomas fitz William
Sir John Manyngham	Sir Robert Walton
Sir Olyver Manyngham	Sir Richard ... ²²⁴
Sir Robert... ²²⁵	Sir Edmonde Mountforde
Sir James Lawrence	Syr William of Hylton
Sir Randolph Pygott	Sir John Slyveld
Sir Roger Coton	Syr Bartholomew de Ryvers
Sir Thomas Bowles	Syr Robert Rateclyff
Sir Alexander Baynam	Syr Henry Boulde
Sir Gervys of Clifton	Syr William Yonge

²²¹ ap] *written vap or uap.*

²²² Sir Thomas Vaughan] –v *cancelled between Thomas and Vaughan.*

²²³ Sir Richard...] *no surname is given.*

²²⁴ Sir Richard] *no surname is given.*

Syr Edmounde Cornuall	Syr William, chief jugge
Sir Thomas Manyngton	Sir Thomas Bryan
Syr William Gascon	Syr William Hody
Syr Thomas Butteler	Syr Guy Fayrefax

Syr Edwarde Barkley

45r / Sir John... ²²⁶

Sir Roger Townesende

Sir Thomas Twhaytes

Sir William Horne, maire of London

Sir William fitz William, recorder of London

Syr Hugh Bryce

Sir Edmond Shawe

Sir Nicholas Bilsdon

Sir Henry Collett

Sir William Capell

Sir John Senkell

Sir John Persevall

Syr William Parker

Syr Richard Yorke

Ladies:	Dame Elyzabeth Brandon
Dame Gascon	Dame Elizabeth Longvillde
Dame Kateryn Grey	Dame Margaret Cotton
Dame Kateryn Vaux	Dame... Blount ²²⁷

²²⁵ Sir Robert...] *no surname is given.*

Dame Anne Wynkfelde	Dame.... Blount ²²⁸
Dame Johanna Gilforde	Dame Clifford
Dame Elyzabeth Lovell	Dame Lysley.
Gentilwomen: ²²⁹	Maistresse Geynsforde
Maistres Fenys	Maistresse Crowmer
Maistres Seint John	Maistresse Margery
Maistres Verney	Maistres Crofte
Maistres Zouche	Maistres Breton
Maistres Denton	Maistresse Ovedale

45v / The kyng oure souveraigne lorde, the same yere of his noble reigne,
 incontynently after the *parliament* removed from *Westminster* unto the maner of
 Grenewiche, wher he kepte his Cristemesse ful honourably as ensueth: furst on Greenwich
December 24
 Cristemasse even *our* saide souveraigne lorde the king went to the masse of the Christmas
Eve
 vygill²³⁰ in a riche gowne of purple velwett furred *with* sables, nobly accompanied
with dyvers great estates, as shalbe shewde hereafter; and in like wise to
 evenson[g]e, savyng he had his officers of armes byfor hym. The reverende fader in
 God the lorde [Richard] Fox²³¹ did the dyvyne *servyce* that evensong, and on the December 25
Christmas
Day
 morow also. The king sat at dyner also on Cristemesseday in the great chambre

²²⁶ Sir John...] *no surname is given.*

²²⁷ Dame... Blount] *no Christian name is given.*

²²⁸ Dame... Blount] *no Christian name is given.*

²²⁹ Gentilwomen] *underlined.*

²³⁰ the masse of the vygill] *the inserted, in the form of p^e, before masse .*

²³¹ the lord [Richard] Fox] *written John.*

nexte the long galary,²³² and the quene and my lady the kinges moder with the ladies in the quenes chambre.

* * *

1488

And on Neweyeres day the king, being in a riche gowne, dynede in his chambre January 1
and yave to his officers²³³ of armes vj *li.* of his largesse, wher he was cryed in his New Year's
style accustomed. Also the quene yave to the same officers xl *s.* and she was cried Day
in her style. Item, my lady the kynges moder yave xx *s.* She was cride largesse iij
tymes: “de hault, puissaunt, et excellent princesse, la mer du roy *notre seigneur*,
countesse de Richemonde et de Derbye, largesse.” Item, the duc of Bedforde yave xl
s. [and]²³⁴ he was cryed largesse: “de hault et puyssaunt prince, frere et uncle des
roys, duc de Bedeforde, et counte de Penbroke, largesse.” Item, my lady his [wiff]
gave xiiij *s.* and iiiij *d.* and she was cride larges: “de hault et puissaunt princesse,
duchesse de Bedeforde et de Bokingham, countesse de Penbrok, Stafford, Harford
et de Northampton, et dame de Breknok, largesse.” / Item, the reverende fader in
God²³⁵ the lorde [Richard] Fox,²³⁶ bisshop of Excester, privy seale, yave xx *s.*²³⁷
Item, therle of Aroundell gave x *s.*, and he was cride largesse: “de noble et
puissaunt seigneur le counte dAroundell, et *seigneur* de Maltravers, [largess]” Item,
therle of Oxinforde yave xx *s.*, and he was cryede largesse: “de noble et puissaunt le

²³² the long galary] *the scribe has simply written the l. galary.*

²³³ officers] *—cers made unclear by inkblot.*

²³⁴ [and]] *written et.*

²³⁵ in God] *initially joined and then separated.*

²³⁶ the lord [Richard] Fox] *written John.*

²³⁷ Item, the reverende fader in God...xx *s.*] *accompanied by the following style: Item, largesse de noble princesse la seur de la reigne notre souveraigne dame et vicountesse de Welles. This is clearly the style of the lady Cecily, sister to the queen, mistakenly incorporated from elsewhere during the copying.*

counte dOxinforde, marquis de Devlyn, vicount de Bulbik, et *seigneur* de Scales, graunde chaumbrelayn et admirall dAngleter, largesse.” Item, my lady his wyff, xx s., and she²³⁸ was cried largesse: “de noble et puissaunt dame la countesse dOxinforde, marquise de Develyn, vicountesse de Bulbik, et dame de Scales.” Item, therle of Derbye yave xx s., and he was cried largesse: “de noble et puissaunt *seigneur* le beauper de roy *notre souveraigne*, counte de Derbye, *seigneur* de Stanley et de Man, counstable dEngleter, largesse.” Item, therle of Devonshire yave xiiij s. and iiij d., and he was cried largesse: “de noble et puissaunt *seigneur* le count de Devonshir, et *seigneur* de Couton, largesse.” Item, my lorde Welles gave for him and his lady his wiff xx s., and he was cryede largesse: “de noble et puissaunt *seigneur*, uncle de roy *notre souveraigne*, le²³⁹ counte de Wellys,²⁴⁰ largesse.” Item, Sir William Stanley,²⁴¹ the king[es] chambrelayn, yave x s, and he was cryed largesse: “de noble *seigneur* le chambrelayn de roy *notre [souveraigne]*, largesse.” Item, therle of Urmond gave xx s. and he was cried largesse: “de noble et puissaunt *seigneur* le counte de Urmonde, *seigneur* de Rocheforde, chambrelayne de la royne *notre souveraigne* dame, largesse.” Item, the lorde Straunge gave x s. Item, the tresorowre yave vj s. viij d. and the countroller yav[e]²⁴² a corone,

46v wherfor they wer cryede largesse: “dez / nobles officers le trezouror et le countroller de tres noblel lestell de roy *notre seigneur*, largesse.” Item, the secretary yave vj s. viij d., and he was not criede, for it is not the custume to crye noman of the chirche, nor no lower degre than a vicount *withoute* it bee the stewarde or the chambrelayn. And al other barons, banerettes, knyghtes and esquieres *with* ther

²³⁸ she] *followed by cancellation of -s.*

²³⁹ le] *inserted above.*

²⁴⁰ le counte de Wellys, largesse] *-w cancelled between Wellys and largesse.*

²⁴¹ Stanley] *flourish on -n, probably a mark of abbreviation, cancelled.*

wiffes, wer wont to bee cryede in generall. And that was left this yer, savyng my lorde Straunge, that yave any largesse. Thys Cristemasse ther wer many lordes moo in the courte, some comyng and some goyng, whiche yave no rewardes to the officers of armes, whoo shalbe shewde in the²⁴³ great nombre of the xij day. And on New[ye]res day at nyght ther was a goodly disgysyng, and also this Cristmasse ther wer many and dyvers playes.

On the xijth even the king went to the evensong in his surcott overte *with* tabert January 5
 sleeves, the cappe of astate on²⁴⁴ his hede and the hode aboute his showlders in Eve of
 docters wise. And that nyght ther was no lorde in roobes saving the kyng. That feste Epiphany
 lorde John Morton, archebisshop of Canterbury, dide the dyvyne servyce. And on
 the morowe at matens tyme al other astates and barons had ther sircotes overtes January 6
with ther hodys, and in the procession tyme they were all in ther roobes of astate; Epiphany
 and the king and the quene wer corouned; and my lady the kinges moder had on a
 riche corounall. The duc of Bedeforde bare the cappe of astate next byfor the king,
 and therle of Oxinforde, great chambrelayn of England, bar the kinges trayne; therle
 of Derbye and therle of Notingham went next byfor the cappe of astate, whiche wer
 47r on the right hand alitille byfor the swerde; and next byfor the counstable, / Garter
 King of Armes; and on his lift hande the kinges secretary and the tresowrer of
 Englande before theym; and byfor hym the tresowrer and countroller of the kinges
 house; byfor theym all other officers of armes, herauldes and *pourservauntes*; and
 byfor theym carvers and cupeberes in [t]her roobes. And the gentilmen usshers yave
 ther attendaunce on the Chambrelayn, or shulde have²⁴⁵ doon. The duc of Suffolk

²⁴² yav[e]] *written yava.*

²⁴³ shewde in the] *repeated.*

²⁴⁴ on] *initially written of.*

²⁴⁵ have] *repeated.*

folowed next unto the king, and accompanied the lorde Dawbeney, one of the embassatours of Fraunce. The bisshop of Excester accompanied the prothonatory of Sandovill, and all other erlys and vicountes folowede theym; and then the quene corowned; and my lady the kinges moder in like mantell *and* surcott as the quene *with* a riche corownall on her hede, went aside the quenes half trayne;²⁴⁶ and Fowler bar on his right arme, cast over his shulder, the trayne of my lady the kinges moder. And then folowde the countes of Oxinford and the countesse of Ryvers with riche circulettes on ther hedes; and soo al other ladyes and gentilwomen folowed theym; and then the barons, banarettes and gentylwomen folowed theym.

And when the high masse was doon the king went to his chambre, and from thens to the hall, and ther keptt his estate in maner as ensueth: corownede *with* a riche corowne of golde sett *with* ful many riche *precious* stonys, and under a merveolous riche cloth of astate, and tharchebisshop of Canterbury on his right hande; and the quene also corowned under a clothe of estate hanging *summwhat* lower than the kinges, on his lift hande; which al iij estates wer *servede coverde*. And the erle of Oxinforde, great chambrelayn of Englande, waytede on the kinges coroune, and therle of Urmonde, the quenes chaumbrelayn, / knelede betwene the quene and my lady the kinges moder, wayting on the quenes coroune. Sir David
 47v Owen was kerver that day; Sir Charles [of Somerset] cupeberer, and they were in ther robes; Sir William Vampage sewer, *and* whiche was in no roobes but in a gownne of rosset damask;²⁴⁷ Sir John Fortscu waytede upon the cupborde in a gowne of cremesyn velwet *with* a riche coler aboute his nek.

²⁴⁶ and my lady the Kinges moder...trayne] *the sentence actually reads:* ...and my lady the Kinges moder in like mantell and surcott as the quene, with a riche corownall on her hede, went aside half the quenes half trayne. quenes *was repeated before the first word was cancelled. ???*

²⁴⁷ rosset damask] *velwett cancelled between rosset and damask.*

And after the secunde cours, when the mynstrelles hade pleyde, thofficers of armes descendede from ther stage, and Garter gave the king thankinges for his largesse and besought the kinges highnesse to owe thankinges to the quene for her largesse. And that doon, the largesse bothe of the king and of the quene was cryede, and Edwarde Beauchampe, on of the kinges marshalles, drwe the surnape and made the king and the quene both hole astates; to my lady the kinges moder half astate; and the same to tharchebisshop of Canterbury.

At the table in the medell of the hall sat the deane ande thoo of the kinges chapell, whiche incontynently after the kinges furst course sange a carall. The duc of Bedeford beganne the table on the right side of the hall; and next unto hym the lorde Dawbeney, an ambassator of the French kinges; and next unto hym the duc of Suffolk; and then the protonathory of Sandevill, also an ambassatour of the French kinges [and] therle of Aroundell; and ayenst hym satt therle of Notingham; and ayenst hym satt therle of Huntingdon, then the vicounte Welles and the vicount Lisley *with* al other barons and knyghtes ensuyng in order at that table to thende thereof. And at the table on the lifte side of the hall beganne my / lady Cecill, the quenes sister, and next unto her the²⁴⁸ countesse of Oxinford, the countesse of Ryvers, the lady Straunge *and* so forth, with ladyes and gentilwomen al on oon side, &c.

And that in the iij^{de} yere of the kinges reigne he solempnysed the fest of Ester at Windsor Wyndesore, and the quene and my lady the kinges moder, companyede *with* therle of Derbye, therle of Essex, the lorde Edmunde of Suffolk, the lorde Nevell, the lorde Morley, the lorde Latymer and the lorde Barnesse, and yave²⁴⁹ his largesse to his officers of armes. And the reverende fader in God the bisshop of Excester did the

Windsor
April 3-6
Easter

²⁴⁸ next unto her the countesse of Oxinford] *her* and *the* joined and then separated by a slash.

dyvyne *servyce*, and as touching his maundy and other almesse as of olde tyme accustomed.²⁵⁰ And after in the same wek the king roode unto Hampton to see the vj galyes that wer ther at ons; and ther the king fested the patrons and the capitayns, and they presented his grace *with* swetewynys, sugurys, spyces and many other godly thynges.

And hys grace kept his dyvyne *servyce* the day of Sent George in his oune April 23 chapell above the castell, by cause he had differrede the feste [to]²⁵¹ the Sondey St. George's Day then next folowing. At the furst evensonge of Seint Georges even the king, not non other lorde of [the] *garter* ther beyng present, ware no gowne²⁵² of the livery, but other gownes of silke under ther mantellys,²⁵³ &c. And ther was upon the right side of the king therle of Oxinforde and the lorde Dawbeney; and on the lifte side, therle of Derby and the lorde Dynham; and thus the king kepte the quere, and on the morne was at matens; and the quene [and] my lady the kinges moder wer in gownys 48v of the Garter the same as the kyng and / the lordes wer in; and at *Te Deum*²⁵⁴ and *Benedictus*²⁵⁵ [were] sensed next after the king and byfor the knyghtes; but noon kisede the gospels nor pax, save the king and the quene. Therle of Oxinforde bare the trayne of the kinges mantell that season &c. The king and the quene and my lady the kinges moder also went [in] a *procession* aboute the cloystre; and the king both dynede and sowped in his oune corner glased chaumbre; and the forsaide iiij lordes satt at his borde. And on the morne the kyng and the lordes harde ther masse of

²⁴⁹ yave] inserted in the left margin in the same hand

²⁵⁰ as of olde tyme accustomed] –as cancelled between tyme and accustomed

²⁵¹ to] written of.

²⁵² gowne] –n interlineated above.

²⁵³ mantellys] followed by an abbreviation for which I can find no interpretation (appears to be –g with superior –o).

²⁵⁴ *Te Deum*] underlined.

requiem in his oune chapell, and offerd, &c. And so did the quene and my lady the kinges moder.

On the Sonday next folowing, the king kept a great and a noble feste at Windsor Wyndesore aforsaide, in maner and fourme as ensuethe; first on Seint Georges April 27 even ther wer assembled great nombre of estates of this realme, and in especiall of the kinges counsell, as tharchebisshop of Canterbury, thar[ch]bisshop²⁵⁶ of Yorke, the bisshop of Lincoln, the bisshop of Excester, the chieff jugge of the kinges benche; for that season arryved many ambassatours of dyvers countreys, as of the king of Romainys and his sonne the duc; also from the king of Scottes and from the duc of Bretayne; for whiche great maters the king differred the chapter unto afternoone and commaunde the lorde Dynham and Sir Thomas of Breugh to enstalle in his name therle of Shrewsbury, the reverende fader in God the bisshop of Wynchester, prelate of the order, present at his charge, and also the lord Woodvile (whose soule God pardon). And this was a solempne masse of Our Ladye songon by theym of the college, wherfor²⁵⁷ the saide erle²⁵⁸ yave to the singers of the quere a great rewarde.

And at after noone the king, accompanyede *with* his brether of the garter in ther mantelles and in the gownes of ther lyvery of the last yer, roode from the quadraunt on hakneyes to the college, and went to ther chapter and helde ther chapter a great tract of tyme. And from thens went to evensonge the quene and my lady the / kinges moder, being in like gowne of the lyverye riding in a riche chare coverde *with* riche cloth of golde, vj coursers in that same chare harnest *with* that same clothe of golde;

²⁵⁵ *Benedictus*] underlined.

²⁵⁶ thar[ch]bisshop] *written* tharbisshop.

²⁵⁷ wherfor] *preceded by a cancellation*.

²⁵⁸ erle] *initially written* yerle *before the -y was cancelled*.

also xxj ladyes and gentilwomen folowing the quene, cledde al in cremesyne velwett gownes and riding upon white palfereys, ther sadelles of cloth of golde, the harnesse of golde smythes werk *with* white roses demy trapper wise. Item, Sir Roger Cooton, maister of the quenes hors, riding upon a courser trapped *with* golde smythes werk, leding the quenes hors of astate in his²⁵⁹ hande *with* a sadill of cloth of golde; and therupon iij corounes of silver gilt *with* sambres of that same cloth of golde hanging unto the knees of the hors of bothe sides, the hors harnest in golde smythes werke demy trapper wise.

And at that evensonge the king and the knyghtes of the garter wer sensede, and nother the quene nor my lady the kinges moder. That [evening] the king fastede,²⁶⁰ and therfor the voyde was incontynent *after* he came into the great chambre. And *after* that the knyghtes sowped al on oon side and satt *after* ther estates.

On the morne all the knyghtes of the garter reassemblede in the lyverey of the April 28 newe yer – that is to say of white clothe *with* garters – al on horsbak *with* riche horse harnesse, and the kinges courser trapped *with* a trapper of Seint George of white clothe of golde; and the lorde Barnesse bar the kinges swerde, his courser trappede *with* a riche trapper of Seint Edwardes armys; and thus in order and as ner *after* ther stalles as they myght, roode downe to the chapell and so straite to the chapter, and then to matens. The quene and my lady the kinges moder, in lik astate as byfor, came to matens and bode the masse; but they had nother sensing nor pax, nor they offrede nott. And also the came to the ij^{de} evensonge. And when matens wer doon therles *and* the lordes went the next way to the denes place to brekfast; *and* from thens to the chapter ayene; and *after* to procession *and* to the high masse;

²⁵⁹ his] her *cancelled and his written in the left margin.*

²⁶⁰ That [evening] the king fastede] *the clause actually reads: That that the king fastede.*

and after to dyner. And the king kepe his astate in the hall in maner²⁶¹ *and forme* as ensueth:

49v / The day of the feste the king kepte his estate in the hall, the bisshop of Winchester on his right hande. And that day no nother estate sat [at] the kinges table. Item, ther was in the hall iij tables: at the table on the right hande satt all the knyghtes of the garter that wer *present*, al on oon side and after ther estates, that is to say: furst the duc of *Suffolk*, therle of *Aronndell*, therle of *Oxinforde*, therle of *Derbye*, therle of *Shrewesbury*, the lorde *Dynham*, the lorde *Wodevile*, the lorde *Dawbeny* and *Sir Thomas Borough*. And alitill byneith theym satt, on both sides the table, the dean, the chanoignes and the por knyghtes of the college in ther mantelles; and by neith²⁶² theym the residew of that quere. Item, at the borde in the medell of the hall satt the lorde *Boithvaile*, *embassatour* of the king of *Scottes*, and the lorde *Edmonde* of *Suffolk*, *lorde Gray*, the *lorde Morley*, the *lorde Latymer*, the *lorde Delawarre* and the *lorde Barnesse*; and a litill byneith theym satt the kinges chapell. Item, at the table on the lifte side of the hall satt the *president* of *Kusshemborough* *with* other *ambassatours* of the king of *Romayns*, and his sonnes the yonge duc[es]; also afor yenste theyme the *lorde Malpartens*, *ambassatour* of the duc of *Bretayne*, and the *lorde Hausey*, chiff justice of the kinges benche; and al that side satt furnysshede *with* knyghtes and *esquiers*. And that day the hall was merveously orderde *and servede*: knyghtes of the garter *servede*²⁶³ the king of water, *Sir Davy Owen* kerved, *Sir Charles* of *Somerset* was cupberer, *Sir William Vampage* sewer; and *Edwarde Beuchampe*, marshall, drew the surnape. And also incontynent after

²⁶¹ maner] *damage to the paper fully obscures* –a.

²⁶² by neith] *written byneith before being separated with a slash*.

²⁶³ servede] *repeated*.

the king hath wasshede, the knyghtes of the garter served the king of the voyde, and other gentillmen the prelate; and then wer served knyghtes of the garter.

And from theyns the king and the lordes²⁶⁴ went to the kinges chambre, and after a tract of tyme toke ther horse and roode to the college; and after theym the quene and my lady the kinges moder with ladies and gentilmen richely besene, as
 50r afor is rehersed. And the king and his brether of the garter entrede the chapiter / hous, and with theym the prelate of the order, the dean, and Mayster Olyver Kyng, then regestre, and²⁶⁵ Garter King of Armes and noo moo. And the black rode kept the door withoute fourth. And [when] the king with the other of the order of the garter had helde ther chapyter, they went unto evensong, and after evensonge²⁶⁶ roode up ageyne. The quene and my lady the kinges moder folowede as afor. And then the king souped in his great chambre, the prelate at his borde, and the²⁶⁷ remenaunt²⁶⁸ at aside table in the presence; after souper, the remenaunt at a side table in the presence. After souper was had the iij^{de} voyde was brought in by knyghtes and othre the kinges servantes and delyverde to the knyghtes of the garter; and then the king went to his chambre. And all this fest was accomplisshede by daylight, the ordynances wer so well kept.

The names of parte of the ladies and gentilwomen that awaytede on the quene and my lady the kinges moder at this fest: my lady Anne (sister unto the quenes grace), the countesse of Ryvers, the lady Margaret of Clarens (wiff of Sir Richard Poole), Dame Kateryn Grey, my lady Bray, my lady Longevile, Mastres Paston,

²⁶⁴ lordes] *initially written lordies before –i, was cancelled.*

²⁶⁵ and] *followed by cancellation of –l.*

²⁶⁶ evensonge] *written evengone.*

²⁶⁷ the] *–e obscured by an ink-smudge.*

²⁶⁸ remenaunt] *–re interlineated above.*

Mastresse...²⁶⁹, Maistres Seynt John, Maistres Nusant, Maistres Blount, Maistres Crofte, Maistres Scrope, Maistres Lacy and Maistres...²⁷⁰

On the morne [of] the Monday the king and the knightes of the garter toke avene April 28 in the quadraunt [on] [t]her hakneyes, some in gounes of blak cloth and some in gounes of velwet; and so roode to the college doore wher they did on ther mantelles; and so *procedede* to the chapter; and *after* that to the masse of requiem.²⁷⁰ And byfor the offering of mony the duc of *Suffolk* and the erle of Aroundell offerde the swerde of the lorde William, late erle of Aroundell; therle of Oxynforde and therle of Derbye, his helme *and* creste; therle of Shrewsbury *and* the lorde Dynham, the swerde of the lorde Dodeley;²⁷¹ the lorde Dawbeney and the lorde Wodvyle, his helme *and* creste; whiche swerdes *and* helmys wer delyverde to the forsaide²⁷² lordes by Garter King of Armes. And then²⁷³ the / king offerde; and *after* him every knyght *after* his estate; and whan masse was doon and *de profundis* saide, the fest was accomplisshede.

England now rejoyssse, for joyous may thou bee,

To see thy king so flowring in dygnitie.

O moost noble king, thy fame doth spring *and* sprede,

Henry the vij, our souveraigne, in yche region.

Al Englande hath cause thy grace to love and drede:

Seing ambassates seche for *proteccion*,

For aide, helpe, socour, whiche lieth in thyn eleccion.

²⁶⁹ *no identity is given.*

²⁷⁰ requiem] *the scribe appears to have inserted a superfluous superior -i above -ie.*

²⁷¹ the swerde of the] *repeated.*

²⁷² forsaide] *-e partially obscured by damage to the paper.*

Englund now rejoyse, for joyous may thou bee,
 To see thy Kyng so flowring in dignitie.
 This realme, a season stode in great ieopardie
 When that noble prince discesede, king Edwarde,
 Which in his dayes gate honour ful noblye.
 After his discesse nygh hand al was marred.
 Eche region this londe dispised myschief when they harde.
 Werfor now rejoyse, for joyouse may thou bee,
 To se thy king so flowring in dignytie.
 Fraunce, Spayne, Scotlande, and Bretayne, Flawnders also,
 Thre of theym present keping thy noble feste
 Of Seynt George in Wyndesor, ambassates comyng moo,
 Yche of theym in honour; bothe the mor and the leste,²⁷⁴
 Seching thy grace, to have thy noble beheste.
 Werfor now rejoyse, for joyous may thou bee,
 To see thy king so flouring in dignitie.
 O knyghtly order, clothed in robes *with* garter:
 The quenes grace thy moder, in the same.
 The nobles of thy realme, riche in aray, after;
 lordes, knyghtes, and ladies, unto thy great fame.
 Now shall all ambassates knowe thy noble name
 By thy fest royall. Now joyous may thou bee,
 To see thy king so flowring in dignitie.
 / Here this day Seint George, the patrone of this place,

51r

²⁷³ then] *repeated*.

Honowrede *with* the garter, chief of chevalrye.
 Chaplayns, chapell singing, *procession* keping space,
With archebissshops and bisshops, besene noble;
 Much people *present* to see thee, King Henry.
 Wherfor, now Seint George, all we pray to thee,
 To kepe our *souveraigne* in his dignytie.

²⁷⁵ And that the iij^{de} yer of his regne his grace, the quene and my lady the kingis
 moulder kept the feste of Whitsontid at Windesore, accompanied *with* the erle of Windsor
 Derby. The reverent fadir in Gode, the bishopp of Excestre, privey seall, did the May 25-7
 divyn service. Also ther was the lorde Broke (stuarde of the kingis house), the lord Whitsuntide
 Daubeney, *Sir* Richard Egecombe (conttrouller of the kinges house), *Sir* Raynold
 Bray, *Sir* Thomas Lovell, *Sir* Gilbert Talbot, with many mor ouder knightis and
 esquiers.

After that, all the sommer following, [the king] huntid and sportid hym merely,
 and slew his gresse in the parke of Wodstok and in the foreste of Whichewod. And June-August
 that somer was the king of Scottes slaine by his sone and outhur his adherentis by
 sidis Sterlyn, and divers Scottes came to the king for releve. And also that yer *Sir*
 Edduart Wideville, a noble and a coragious knight, was slaine in Bretaine by
 Frenshemen. And incontinent afir that same tyme deide the duke of Britayne, for
 whos dethe that contre hade grete losse.

And the king, the quene and the kingis moudre, well accompaynyed with many Windsor
 oudir knightis and esquiers and noble companye, kept his All Hallowtide at November 1
 All
 Hallowtide

²⁷⁴ and the leste] lesse *cancelled between the and leste.*

²⁷⁵ *Commencement of the hand of Memory Scribe B.*

Windesore, that is to say *with* the lorde Richard²⁷⁶ Fox, bishope of Excetre and prive seall (whiche dide the divin service), therlle of Oxonforde, therle of Shrewsbury, therle of Essex, therle of Urmonde (the quenys chamberlayn),²⁷⁷ the lorde Edmond of Suthfolk, the lorde fitz Waren, the lord Latymer, the lord Dacre of the northe, the lorde de fitz Waultier, the lorde Saye, the lorde Barneis, the lorde Broke (stiwarde of the kingis house), the lorde Bothville (a scotisheman), Sir
 51v Gilbert Talbot, Sir Edduard / Bourgh, Sir Davy Owen, Sir Richard Gilforde, (vichamberlain), Sir Thomas Louvell, *Sir* Reynolde Bray, Sir James Parker, Sir Edduard Darell, Sir Richard Haulte, *Sir* William Sondis, Sir Rogir Cotton, *Sir* Thomas Leighton, Sir John Fortescu, *Sir* George Nevyll the baster.

And²⁷⁸ from Windesor the king, the quene and the housholde remeid to Westmynster to the gretest conseilte that was many yers withoute the name of Westminster
 parlement. And also ther wer at that season many enbassatours, that is for to say November
 from Fraunce, the lorde Charbonell and the prothonotoire of Sandevill, and from the king of Romanis, the lorde Malpertus, a Briton, and Maister Piers le puissant; also enbassatours from the king of Spaine.

Also at the breking up of the conseilte ther entrid into this reaulme a cubicular of the popes, whic[h]e broght to the kyng a suerde and a cappe, whiche for honnour of the pope was honnourably receipvid by the kinges commaundement, in maner as ensieweth: firste the king sente an officer of armes to the see side, also to cause thos religious places of Caunterbury and outhur townes by the way to make hym goode chiere, and well to entret theamme; after that his highnes sent certaine knightis to met hym as fer as Rochester; and after them the reverentz faders in Gode the

²⁷⁶ Richard] *written above the cancellation of John.*

²⁷⁷ chamberlayn] *-er unclear.*

²⁷⁸ And] *preceded by a paragraph break, although there is no break in the text.*

bishoppe of Durame, the bishoppe of Exceter, the bishoppe of Rochester, therle of Shrewsbury, therle of Wilshire, the lorde Morley, the lorde Hastings *and* the prior of Lantony, with many mor lordis and knightis (whos names I have not) receipved hym at Blakheth; and after theme the bishoppe of Winchestre and therle of Arundell met hym at Saint Georges in Southwerke, wher the cappe was sette upon the pointe of the suerde. And so the saide cubiculer, riding bitwen the bishoppe of Winchester and therle off Arundell, openly bar the said swerde thorowt Southwerke and on London brigge, wher he was also recepved and wellcomed by the maire of London and his brethern; and so as he procedet thorow the cite to Poules, stode all the craftes in ther clothinges, and at the west ende of Poules he was recepvid by the metropolitan and divers²⁷⁹ outhur bishopes in pontificalibus and²⁸⁰ *with* the procession; and so *proceded* to the high autar; and from thens²⁸¹ it was borne in to
 52r the / revestry.

In to the morne that same Saterdag, the king remevid from Westminster to the bishopes pales with the quene and my lady the kinges mouder. And ther was so grete a miste upon times that ther was no man cowde telle of a grete season in what place in Temys the king was. And [o]n²⁸² the morne when the king was commen into his travers, the cape was brought oute of the revestry to bifore the high auter by the said cubiculer, acompagnied *with* the bishoppe of Winchester and therle of Arundell and many outhur nobles, bothe espirituel and temporell. And the king come forth of his travers, wher the saide cubiculer *presentit* the king a *lettre* frome the pope, closit with corde and lede, that was rede by the reverent fader in God the

²⁷⁹ divers] *stain partially obscures* –ve.

²⁸⁰ and] *stain partially obscures* –nd.

²⁸¹ thens] *followed by small stain*.

²⁸² [o]n] *written an*.

lord John Morton, archebishope of Canterbury, then chaunceler²⁸³ of England. That doon the saide cubiculer holding the said suerde and cape made a noble *proposicion*, to the whiche the saide lord chaunceler answerde full clerely and nobly. *Present*: the ambassatours of Fraunce, also ambassatours of the kinges of Romanis, of the kinges of Castille, and of Bretagne, and of Flandres, *with divers* outhre straungiers, as Scottis, Esterlingis and outhre. And that finishid²⁸⁴ the king and all those estates went [in] a procession, and the cape was borne on²⁸⁵ the pomel of the suerde by the saide cubiculer. And when [the] procession was done, during al the masse hit was set on the high auter. The messe doone the archebishope song *certain orisons* over the king, whic[h]e come from his travers bfore the high auter to the highest stepe nexte the auter; whiche oroisons and benediccions done the archebishope, in ordre after the booke whiche was brought frome Rome, gerdit the suerde aboute the king and set the cape on his hede. And so the king so turned to his travers whilles *Te Deum* was a singing and the colet rede; and it was taken of again and as bfore borne by the said cubiculer to the bishopis palles, and thier delivert to the chamberlain.

That day the king made a grete feste and kepte open housholde, and by cause the palais was so littil for suche a feste the said cubiculer dynnyt in the doiens palace,²⁸⁶ acompagnied²⁸⁷ *with divers* bishopis and lordis, as the lorde of Saint Johns and outhre. And incontinent affir the king sente his ambassatours in to *divers* parties, that is to saie Maister Christofer Urswike, doian of Yorke, and Sir

²⁸³ chaunce[l]er] -l (possibly -ll) entirely obscured by an ink.

²⁸⁴ finishid] ink partially obscures -in.

²⁸⁵ on] written above a cancellation.

²⁸⁶ palace] smudged -a interlineated above.

²⁸⁷ acompagnied] initial -a partially obscured by ink.

52v John Don, knight, in to Fraunce, and *with* them Yorke the heraulde; Doctor / Sauvage, Sir Richart Nanfant and Richemond King of Armes in to Portugal, also *with* the garter for the king of Portingal; Doctor Wanswo[rth]²⁸⁸ and Sir John Riseley, knight, and Carlill herauld to the king of Romains; Sir Richard Eggecombe, knight, and Falcon the *pourservant* into Bretaine.²⁸⁹

And that yer he kepte his Cristmas at Shene, and the quene also, accompagnied Sheen
with miladi the kinges moulder, the Ladi Anne (the quenes sister),²⁹⁰ Elisabeth²⁹¹ of December 24-
 Boukingham, the Ladi Margaret of Clarence, the lady Rivieres, the lady Bray, the 25
 lady Eggremonde, the lady Gilfort, the Ladi Longville, the lady Nanfant, Mastres Christmas
 Verney, Mastres Saint John, Mastres Ferres, Mastres Paston, Mastres Blount,
 Mastres Scrope, Mastres Turbeville and ouden mor. Also the reverent fader in God
 the lorde Richard²⁹² Fox, bishope of Excester, dide the divin service, bothe
 Cristmas day and the xijth day. Item, the king was accompagnied *with* therle of
 Derby, therle of Essex, therle of Urmond, the lord Daubeney, the lorde Latimer, the
 lorde Edmund of Suffolke, the lord Powis, the lord Chamberlain, the lorde Saie, *Sir*
John Sauvage, *Sir* Davi Owen, Sir Richart Polle, Sir Richart Hault, Sir Reignolde
 Bray, Sir Thomas Louvell, Sir George Nevvill, *Sir* Edward Stanley, Sir Richart
 Gilfort, Sir Edward Darell, Sir James Parker and Sir Richart Croftis. All thise were
 continually ...²⁹³

²⁸⁸ Wanswo[rth]] *the last few letters are lost in the binding.*

²⁸⁹ Bretaine] *followed by a lengthy cancellation:* and after Clarenceux King of Arms and Master John Lacy, clerk of the prive seall to the king of Daunemark.

²⁹⁰ the quenes sister] *kinn cancelled between qwenes and sister.*

²⁹¹ Elisabeth] *preceded by the cancellation of the.*

²⁹² Richard] *written over an erasure, probably John.*

²⁹³ All thise were continually...] *nothing more is written for this paragraph.*

Here folewen the names of the lordes, ladies, and knightes and esquiers the
 whiche acompanied the king at Shene at Cristemas the iiijth yer of his regne: ²⁹⁴
 the quene,
 my lady the kinges moulder
 the lorde Richard²⁹⁵ Foxe, bishope of Excestre
 therle of Derby.

* * *

53r

/ The king kept his Ester at Hertford, whier at that season the reverent fadir in Hertford
 God the lord Richard²⁹⁶ Foxe dide the divine service, and on Saint Georges day April 16-19
 also. And on the morne he songe the mas of requiem. And of the brethern of the Easter
 gartier ther was therll off²⁹⁷ Derby, the lord Scrope and Sir Richart Tunstall.

This season thier came in to this londe a greate ambassade frome the king of
 Romaines, that is to say Don Ladron de Guavera, the vicounte of Piversalle, a doctor
 called Mestir Lewys and Mestir Piers le puissant; and also a noder ambassade in
 thair compaignye that came frome the king of Portyngall. Wherefore the king sent for
 the lorde John Morton, then archebishope of Canterbury and chauncelier of
 Englande, for to have his counseill and advis. And also ther had ben an ambassatour
 of the king of Naples, as long as the king had leyn at Hertford. And at that season
 thier was the quene, the lady the kingis modir, therle of Derby, therle of Essex,
 therle of Ormond, Sir Richart Gilford, Sir Raynold Bray, Sir Thomas Lovell, Sir

²⁹⁴ Here folewen...the iiijth yer of his regne] *despite the promise of an extensive list, only four names appear at the bottom of fol. 52v. No spaces or blank leaves were left, and the scribe simply commences discussion of Easter 1489 on the subsequent folio.*

²⁹⁵ Richard] *written over an erasure beginning with J.*

²⁹⁶ Richard] *written over an erasure.*

Charles Sommersett, Sir Richart Haulte, Sir John Ryseley, the kingis aumener, the kingis secretary and the lorde Bothewell, a scotisheman. And also this same Estir, the king of Denmarckis oncle, called Yonker Garrard, was sworne the kingis servaunt.

And on Saint Vitalles day, the xxviiijth day of Aprill, was slayne therle of April 28 Northumberlonde besidys Thurske, near Blackamor Egge. Tydingis heroff had the king sone ansuerde all the abovesaide ambassatours, and on the [xijth]²⁹⁸ day of May May 12 departed from Hertforde towardses the northe, and lay that nyght at Dunstable, accompanyed with the bishop / off Excestir, privey seall, and outhere, as is rehersid in the book off the kynges gystys.

This bene the names of part of the nobles whiche atended on the kinges grace into the northe parties the iiijth yer of his reigne:

The xijth day of May his grace remeved frome Hertford to Dunstable Dunstable accompaynyed with the lorde Richard²⁹⁹ Fox, bishop off Excestir and privey seall, May 12 therle off Derby, therle of Essex, therle off Surrey, the lorde Edmund off Suffolke, the lord Barnesse, the lorde Bothwell, Mestir Christofer Urswicke (the kingis aumener), Mestir Ollivier king (the kingis secretary), Sir Thomas Lovell, Sir Edward Darell, Sir Henry Wenworthe, Sir John Ryseley, Sir Edward Wingfeld, Sir Rogier Cotton (whiche was knight herbergier), the kingis coffrier, with all the substans of oudir officers of the kingis honnourable housholde; Sir Adam Forman, Sir... Turnbull,³⁰⁰ Thomas Brandon (whiche bare the kingis estandard), John Crokker, Thomas Morton, Edward Bensted.

²⁹⁷ off] repeated as off followed by of.

²⁹⁸ xijth] the scribe incorrectly wrote xxijth.

²⁹⁹ Richard] written above the cancellation of John.

³⁰⁰ Sir... Turnbull] no Christian name is given.

The xiiijth day from Dunestable to Stonystratford: the reverent fadir in God the lord John Morton, archebishop of Canterbury and chauncelier off Englonde, Sir Thomas Bourghshier off Barnesse, Sir John Fortescu, the lorde Zouche, Sir Rogier Lewkenor, Sir John Devenyshe, Sir Richart Gilford, William Scotte off Kent, Nicholas Cromer, Edmund Hampden.

Stony Stratford
May 13

54r Item, on the xiiijth day from Stonystratford to Northehampton: John Saintjohn, Mathew Browne, Sir Thomas Grene, Sir Nicholas Vaux, Sir Richart / Northampton Hault (whiche after was made knight marshall at Leyrcestir, and Wellis undir hym), the lorde Laware, Sir John Donne, Sir William Willoughby.

May 14

Item, on the xvth daye from Northehampton to Herborow (thier and by the way): therle of Oxenford. And in his compaynye: Sir John Wingfeld, Sir Robert³⁰¹ Broughton, Sir Thomas Terell, Sir Richart Fitzlowis, Sir William of Carow, Philip Lewis, Simond Wisman, Rogier Hastings, John Raynsford, John Colt, John Peke,³⁰² Robert Terell Thomas of Brereton³⁰³
Sir Robert Cheyne Thomas Totoste
... Lawder³⁰⁴ John Whytyng, with
James Isaack the compeynye of the
William Denton marquis of Barkeley
John Darell of Kente therle of Shrewsbury
therle of Arundell the lord Hastings
the lord Gray Ruthyn Sir Edward Rauley
the lord Cobham Sir James Harington

Market
Harborough
May 15

³⁰¹ Sir Robert] –b cancelled between Sir and Robert.

³⁰² John Peke] after John Peke, the scribe places the names of those attendant upon the king in columns.

³⁰³ Brereton] –er obscured by a stain.

Sir George Nevell	of Northampton shir
Sir Henry Roos	Sir John Sauvage
John Dudeley	John Gyse
Thomas Yden	Robert Throgmarton
William Crokker	Robert Harington
Edward Blount	

Item, on the xvjth day frome Herborow to Leircestir (thier and be the way):

May 16

Piers Courtois	therle of Wiltshir
the Viscounte Lisle	the lord chamberlain
the lord Straunge	(and <i>with</i> hym many noble
and in his compeyney	man whos names I have not)
siche as her after shalbe	Sir Ris up Thomas
shewid of Lancashire:	Sir John Mortemier
the lord Latymyer	Sir Thomas Cookesey
the lord Dudeley	Sir Thomas Blount
fol. 54v / Sir Simon Montford	/ Sir Thomas of Manyngton
Sir Richart Crofte	Sir Mores of Barkeley
Sir Richart Cornualle	Sir Humfrey Sauvage
Sir Richart Corbet	James Hyde

And on the morow at the moustres off Lancashir *with* the lorde Straunge:

Leicester

Sir Thomas Bottler,

May 17

³⁰⁴ ... Lawder] *no Christian name is given.*

baron of Warington ³⁰⁵	Raff of Brereton
Sir John of Langton,	Andrew of Brereton
baron of Walton	Gerard of Ynshe
Sir John Waren,	John of Ravenscrofte
baron of Stockport	Rauff of Egleston
Sir Thomas of Pooll	Richart of Asheton
Sir Piers of Legh	John of Irlonde
Sir Thomas Talbot	Thomas Hyde
Sir Alixandre Hoghton	Thurston of Anderton
Sir Richart Sherburne	Henry of Farington
Sir William Trowtbeck	Thomas of Legh ³⁰⁶ of Adlyngton
Sir William Stanley	John Legh of Legh
of Howton	Thomas of Legh of Bouthe
Sir John of Bouthe	Nicholas Beron
of Barton	Richart Medilton
Sir Alixandre Standishe	John Flemmyng
Sir Henry Boulde	Clement Skelton
Sir William Norreis	Rogier Hilton
Sir Thomas Striklond	Elis of Prestwiche
Sir Thomas Mauleurier	James Bottler of Rawcleff
Sir <i>Christofer</i> Standishe	William Skillicorne
Sir John Talbot	William Hesketh
Sir John off Legh	Thomas of Rigmaiden
Sir Rauff Longford	William Kirkby

³⁰⁵ Warington] –r *smudged*.

Sir Geffroy Mascy	Richart ³⁰⁷ Dalton
John of Stanley	Hamond Massy
Piers of Stanley	Radclef of Urdishall
Thomas Laurens	Radclef of the Tour
Edmund Trafford	Elis Entwesell
Thomas Cotton	Thomas Lancaster
Piers Gerard	Hugh of Aghton
Thomas Doucunfeld	Rouland Scarsbrek
Thomas Mainwaring	... Halsall ³⁰⁸
John Mainwaring	Robert Worsley
William Dampont	Rauff of Orell of Tourton
55r / Rogier Lever	/ James of Clifton
Rogier Bothe	Richart Heton
Richart Radcliff	Robert Langley
Henry Banester	Richart Molyneaulx

The xvijth day frome Leircester to Notinng^ham, and by the way in a medow besides Nottingham
Montsorell, ther the king tooke the vew of therle of Derbys folkes: May 17

Sir Rogier Tokettis	Robert Harrecourt
Sir William Stoner	John Donham
Sir John Babington	Sir Nicholas Styrley
Sir Edward Norreis,	Sir George Hopton

³⁰⁶ Legh] *cancellation conjoined to -h.*

³⁰⁷ Richart Dalton] Tunstall *cancelled between these two words.*

³⁰⁸ ... Halsall] *no Christian name is given.*

The xviiijth day at Notyngham al day:

the lord Saintamond,	Sir Hugh Conway
the lord Powis	Sir Henry Perpoint
Sir John Saint Low	Sir George Nevell the Bastard
Sir Thomas of Borough	Henry Vernon
Sir Thomas Geiseley	Robert Strette
Sir Charles Sommerset	Walshe, coustumer of Bremstow

The xix^[th] day to Wourshop: ...Pudsey,³⁰⁹ esquier for the body.

Worksop

May 19

The xxth day frome Worshop to Pontfret the archebishop of York met the king
beside Tykhill: Sir John Everyngham and other.

Pontefract

May 20-22

The xxijth day at Pontfret all day wher war put vj of the rebellis to execucion,
that is to say ij ware bihedid in the market place besides the high cros (and one of
their heddis set on the pillory; anoder on the barriers nexte the priory), and ij hangid
in their jackes and cheyned on Saint Thomas hille to Yorck ward; anodir hongid at
Ferybrigge townes ende; another hangid at Wentbrigg.

Item, the same day certain lordes and ouder nobles whiche had bene in the chase
of the kinges rebelles came to Pontfret to see the king, that is to say:

the lord Welles	Sir Gervais of Clifton
the lord Grey Codnar	Sir Robert Clifton
55v / Sir Thomas Tempeste	/ Sir Thomas Mylburne
John Howsey	whiche came from Salesbury
Sir James Blount, whiche	Sir James Andeby
came frome Calais	

³⁰⁹ ...Pudsey] *no Christian name is given*

Item, on the xxijth day frome Pontfret to Yorck:

York
May 22

Sir Richart Yorck	Sir William Tyrwhyte
Sir Richart Tode	Sir John of Musgrave
Dauid Philipe	Richart Musgrave
Bryan Sandford	Sir John of Melton
Henry Scroppe	Ollivier Saint John
The baron of Graystok	The abbot of Saint Marye abbeye

And all the residew of the said moneth the king lay stille in the bishoppes palais. And thier was one named Bladis drawen and quarterd in the pavement of Yorck; and divers ouder war hanged in divers parties of the towne; and one called Warton was hanged in the posterne whier the rebelles entred. And in this season the king pardont some day iijC knelyng on their knees, and some day ijC – some day mor and some day lasse – so that season his grace pardont upon a xvc.

Also the king being at Yorck ther entred divers nobles, wherof some had bene in the chase and some came frome....:

George Percy	therle of Northumberlonde
Sir John of Medilton	the lord Dacre of the northe
Sir Humfrey Stanley	the lord Clifford
Richart Clifford	Sir Richart Tunstall
James Metcalff	Sir Robert Ryder
Sir Rauff Bygod	Sir <i>Christofer</i> Warde
Sir John Pykeryng	Sir William Malory
Sir Martin of the see	Sir <i>Christofer</i> Moresby
Sir James Danby	Sir William Gascon

	Sir Marmenduc Conestable	William Cognyers
56r	/ Sir William Bekewith	/ John Hastings, son and
	Sir Thomas fitz William	heire of Sir Hugh
	Sir Randolffe Pygot	Geffroy Franc
	Sir James Strangweys	James Roos
	Sir John Nevell	the lord Lumley
	Sir John of Waterton	the baron of Hylton
	Sir Piers Medilton	Sir Robert Hylyerd
	Sir John Sayvell	Sir John Conestable of
	Sir William Stapilton	Holderness
	Sir Robert Denmocke	John Radcleff
	Sir Thomas Markenfeld	Rouland Plays
	Sir William Yvers	Sir Rogier Belingam
	Sir John Pudsey	Miles of Wilsthorpe
	James Pykering	and other mor.

And at the kinges returne he established in the northe parties therle of Surrey;
 Sir Richard Tunstall and Sir Henry Wentworthe. The same yer the king kept his Nottingham
 Whytsontid at Notingham, acompaynyed *with* therle of Oxonford and therle of June 7-9
 Northumberlonde; and frome thens remeved to Windesore, and their hontid and Whitsuntide
 sportid hym.

On this season the Flemmyngis holding the Frenshe partie, and on especial
 thoos of Brugges with the asistence of the lord Guardis, had beseged Dixemue on Seige of
 Flaunders. The lord Dawbeney, the kinges lieutenant of Calais, and the lord Morley, Dixmude
with divers oudir noble knightes and esquiers of the garryson and of the crewe of
 56v Calais and of the Englishe marche in thoos parties, rescued Dixemve / and brake the

sege. And thier ware slayne the substance of al those whiche had beseged it, as well the lord Guardes servauntis, as the garnyson of Scottes, whiche lay at Ostenguen with the substance of the Bruggelingis. And of the Englishe partie ther was slayne that gentill yong knight the lorde Morley, and many noble man hurt, as Sir James Tyrell (sore wounded in the legge with a quarell), and a gentill and a couragieus esquier called Robert Bellyngam, the whiche foughte in his cotte of armes fast gerdid with his swerd upon his harnois. And thier was wonnen moche artillerye, wherof moche was brente with the gounne pouldre.

And also it is not to be forgotten, but to by had in ramenbrance, the goode courage of an Englyshe yoman called John Person, whiche was somtymes a baker of Coventre; whiche John Person, after that a gowne had borne away his foote by the small of the legge (yet that notwithstanding), what setting and what kneeling, shotte after many of his arows. And when the Frenshe men fledde and his fellowes³¹⁰ ware in the chase, he cried to one off his fellowes and saide: "Have thow thise vj arawes that I have lefte and folow thow the chase, for I may not", the whiche John Person died within few dayes aftir, on whose saulle Gode have mercy.

From thens the saide lorde Daubeney by apointment toke hostenges, and so with moche honnour turned to Calais to refresche the hurt peple. The lorde Guerdes, hering of this rescusse, assembled a greate power and recouverd hostinges; and
 57r frome thens leid the sege to Newport, whier he lay well viij dayes / and which ordonnance bette parte of the walles. And on mydsomer day he made a gret assault in ij or iij places, but he was rebouted and loste many of his peple, as it was saide mor then xiiijC. And thenne the saide lorde Guerdes departed to Brugges ward, and thier was slayn a bastard off Bourbon and the lord Pyennes, a lord of Pyguardye.

³¹⁰ and his felows] *cancellation between* and *and* his.

The names off the nobles being with the lorde Daubeney at Dixemue: *in primis*, Sir Humfrey Talbot (marshall of Calais), Sir Gilbert Talbot, Sir James Terell (leutenaunt off Gysnes), Sir Waultier Hungerford, Sir Gilbert Debnam (baneret), Sir Henry Wilougby, Sir Edward of Bourowgh, Sir Edward Ponynge, Sir Anthony Browne, Nycholas Tempeste, Robert off Bellyngam, ...Danet, ...Loveles,³¹¹³¹²

This yer the feste of Saint George was deferred unto the xixth day off July, and Windsor
thenne it was honnourably kept be the erle of Arundell, then lieutenant.³¹³ Also at July 19
that same tyme, on the Saterdag evene of the feste, ther was enstalled by the lord
57v Scrop and by the lord Dynham, the vicounte Wellis, / John, and Sir John Sauvage,
baneret, the whiche v knightes kept fulwell and honnourably in all thinges
apperteyning to the said noble feste. And on the morne after the feste, at the mas of July 20
requiem, ther ware offred the swerdes, helmes and crestis of therle off
Northumberlond, and off Sir Edward Wideville. During this season the king went
an hunting in Envillchase.

And a littell before Oure Lady day the latter, thier came ambassatours oute off *ante ?August*
Fraunce, that is to say the abbot off Saint Mattelyns, Sir William Zaintes (lord of 15
Marenys and baylly off Senlys) and Norroie King off Armes off Frenshemen, whiche
ware sone ansuerde; and Sir John Ryseley and Mest[er] Estephene Fryon ware sent
with theym into Fraunce³¹⁴ in ambassade.

And thenne the kinge roode into Wiltshir an hunting and slew his gres in iij Wiltshire
places in that shire (and also he was at Ramsbury with the bishoppe off Salesbury):
furst was in the forest of Savernacke; the ijd in the goode parke off Fastarn; the iijd

³¹¹ ... Danet, ...Loveles] *neither Christian names are given.*

³¹² Loveles] *followed by approximately 1/3 page of blank space, perhaps to include further names of nobles present at Dixmude with the lord Daubeney. This space was never filled.*

³¹³ lieutenant] *written above the cancellation of president.*

in Blackamor forest; and so retournede to Windesore; and soo remeved to Westmynster. And then sone aftir thier came ambassatours off the king off Westminster Romaines, and also oute of Flourens, and also ambassatours out of Bretaygne.

The parlement was countynued in to the xvjth day of Octobre, and that day the October 16 lordes entred the parlement house withoute any mas or oudir solompnitie, but as it had bene still. At the whiche season the king kepit a chappitre off the gartier at Westmynster, whier the king off Romaines was choysen knight of the gartier. The Westminster
58r king ramenbring on his / furst begoten sone was not yet creatid prince, ne yet doubyd knight, wherfore he determynned on Saint Andrews evene then nexte folowing, bothe to dobe hym knyght and alsoo to his creacion, and thier upon directid his lettres myssyves for the sonnes and heires of divers of the greate estates of this royaulme. And the oudir nobles that had their londes in their hondes, they had pryve sealles also to geve their atendaunce.

Item, upon All Halow even the quene tooke her chambre at Westmynster, gretly Westminster
acompanyed with ladyes and gentilwomen – that is to say the lady the kinges October 30 modir, the duchesse off Northfolk and many oudir – havynge before hir the greate parte off the nobles of this royalme present at this parlement. And she was ledde by therle off Oxenford and therle of Derby. And the reverent fader in God the bishop off Excestir song the mas in pontificalibus, and aftir *Agnus Dei* and that the bishop had used, the quene was led as before. And therles off Shrewsbury and of Kente hylde the towelle when the quene toke hir rightes; and the torches ware holden by knyghtes; and aftir mas, accompanied as before; and when she was comen into hir greate chambre she stode undir hir clothe of estate. Then their was ordeyned a voide off espices and swetwyn. That doone, my lorde the quenes chamberlain in very

³¹⁴ into Fraunce] repeated.

goode wordes desired, in the quenes name, the people thier present to pray God to sende hir the goode oure.

And so she departed to her inner chambre, whiche was hanged and steyled with riche clothe of arras of blew with flourdelissis off golde, without any oudir clothe
 58v off arras of ymagerye, which is not convenient aboute / wymen in suche cas. And in that chambre was a riche bedde and a palliet, the whiche palliet had a merveillous riche canope of cloth of gold with velvet paly of divers coulleurs, garneshed *with* rede roses, enbrodured with ij riche pannes of ermyns, couverd *with* raynes of lande. Also ther was a riche autar well furnyshed with reliques, and a riche cupborde well and richely garnished. And then she recomanded hir to the goode praiers of the lordes; and then my lorde hir Chamberlain drew the travers. And from thens forthe no maner off officier came within the chambre but ladies and gentilwomen after the olde coustume.

Within alittell season affir thier came a great ambassade oute of Fraunce – among the whiche ther was a kynsman of the quenes called Francois *monsieur* de Luxenburg, the prior of Saint Mattelyns, and Sir William de Zaintes (bailly of Senlis), and Monjoie King of Armes of Frenshemen – whiche desired to se the quene, and so they dide and in her awne chambre. Ther was with hir hir modir, Quene Elisabeth, and my lady the kinges modir, but ther entred no mor then ben affore rehersed, savyng my lord the quenes chamberlain and Garter King of Armes.

Item, on the xxjth day of November was my lorde prince receipvid in maner as November 21
 59r ensueth – by watter – when he came to his creacion: furst frome / Ashehurst to Shene, whier he lay and on the Wensday the xxvjth day of Novembre, the yer of Oure November 26
 Lord a thousand foure hondreth³¹⁵ iiij^{xx} and ix, and the vth yer of the reigne of King

³¹⁵ hondreth] followed by the cancellation of xx.

Henry the vijth. Furst the kinges barge was ryally prepared; and at Shene in the mornyng after mas and brekfaste thier, he entred the saide barge; and by the way, betwene Murtelake and Chelseth, ware ordeyned certain barges bothe of lordes espirituell and temporell, whiche lordes in their owne parsonns entred the princes barge (and none of thair *servauntes with* theyme), that is to say the bishoppe of Winchester, the bishoppe of Ely, the bishoppe of Salesbury, the bishopp of Duresme, *with* othir; therle of Aroundell,³¹⁶ therle of Oxonforde, therle of Derby, therle off Shrewsbury, therle off Essex, therle of Kente, therle of Huntingdon, with divers other lordes, knightes *and* esquiers, kinges of armes, herauldes and poursuivauntes, trompettes and mynstrelles within the saide barge.

And at Chelchethe mette with his grace the maire of London *with* all the croftes in their barges, empareilled with banyeres [and] penons royally besene. And when he came before Lambeth, ther met hym the ambassatours of Spayne; and with theyme many marchauntes of their nacion in shipbottes, shutting gownnes in nombre and after casting apples – as it had bene in fighting on the see with targes –

59v / all in rejoishyng of the princes comyng. And when he landed at the kinges brigge, all the wourshipfulist craftes of London stode in ordre on bothe sides frome the brigge to the kinges benche in Westmynster halle, wher abode the maire and the aldermen and so forth. The prince proceded to the kinges presence, whiche was in the great chambre of the bricketoure.

And on the xxixth day of Novenbre, when the king went to dinar, my lord prince November 29 hild the towelle; the lord Stourton bar the watter; therle of Northumberlond toke the say; the lord Mautravers and the lorde Gray Ruthyn hilde the bassyn; and the remenant waited on the sewer and bare dishes, that is to say Thomas West (son and

³¹⁶ Aroundell] A written over the top of two letters, possibly –ex.

heire to the lord Lawar), John Saint John, Henry Vernon, John Hastings, William Griffith, William Tyndalle, Nicholas Montgomery, William Uvedall, Mathew Browne, Thomas Darcy, Thomas Cheyney, Edmund Gorges, Waultier Denis, William Scotte, and John Gyse; and then their esquiers (gouvernours that war apointed by my lorde the kinges chamberlain), that is to say to awaite opon the prince: Thomas Brandon and Thomas of Brereton;

on therle of Northumberland:

James Hide

John Parker (whiche John

employed the money

otherwise that he had

receipvid of the sectours

for that cause and not

to his wourship)

60r / on the lord Mautravers:

John Baret

Henry Uvedall

on the lord Gray Ruthyn:

John Griffith

John Stanshow

on the lord Stourton:

David Baupie (male for by

hym thoffice of armes lost

moche of hir dowrie)³¹⁷

Edward Benstede

³¹⁷ (male...dowrie)] *inserted in the right margin.*

on Sir Thomas West:	Richard Fisher Thomas Mortemer
on Sir John Saint John:	Nicholas Awdeby Thomas Digby
on Sir Henry Vernon:	John Fortescu <i>Christofer</i> Longdale
on Sir John Hastings:	Richard Wrotesley Thomas Thorp
on Sir William Griffith:	John Leighton Stephen ³¹⁸ Dyngley
on Sir William Tyndalle:	John Carleton Thomas Ferres
on Sir Nicholas Montgomery:	James Cayle William Mendam
on Sir William Uvedall:	John Knolles John Almer
on Sir Matthew Browne:	John Lakyn

John Nell

on Sir Thomas Darcy:

William Paris

Thomas Gardener

on Sir Thomas Cheyney:

James Metcalff

John Warffe

on Sir Edmund Gorges:

Robert Githyn

Alexandre Oxton

on Sir Waultier Denis:

James Conyers

Hugh Denis

on Sir William Scotte:

John Sigesmont

Thomas Winter

on Sir John Gyse:

Henry Hamps

John Wistow

60v / And when it was night, the princes bayne was prepared in the kinges closet.
 And in the entre betwene the parlement chambre and the chappelle ware the baynes
 off therle off Northumberlond, and the lord Mautravers, and the lord Gray Ruthyn.

And all the remenant ware in the parlement chambre in ordre as above written.³¹⁹

And the king in his parson gave them the advertisment of thordre of knygt[t]hode.

And that same season wer al thos³²⁰ of the kinges chapell redyng the sauter for the good spede of the quen, wiche then traveled. And a non, upon ix of the cloke that same nyght, she was delivered of a princess, wiche³²¹ was cristened on Seint Andreus day in Westmynster cherche.

And on the morn when the prince had herd his mass he was, *with* al his forsaid November 30 compeny, princely conveid thorought Seynt Stephens chappell to the netherend of the steiers toward the vicars logyng, wher he tooke his hors; an[d] the remenant in the paless at the sterchambre steir foot toke ther hors; and therle of Essex bere the princes swerd and spores. And soo thei roode aboute the standard in the pales in to Westmynster hall, the prince formest and the oder folowyng in ordre after ther baynes. And before the kinges benche thei alighted of ther horses, and so proceded in to the Whitt hall and stode along bi the side table. In tyme the kyng came. And when the king was comyn the marquis of Barkeley and therll of Arundell led the
61r prince to the / presence; and therll of Oxonford, great chamberleyn of Englund, toke of therle of Essex the swerd and the spores, and then presented the right spore to the king. The kyng commaunded the marques of Barkeley to sett hit on the princes ryght hele, and lykewyse did therll of Arundell on the lyfft hele the toder spore. And then the kyng gard on his swerde and dubbed hym knyght, and after al his compenye in ordre, commaundyng oder lordis and knyghtis to present them and to sett on ther spores. And when the kyng had dubbed al thos knyghtys he create[d] a pursuvaunt for the prynce, and named hym Walyngford. And when the prince had offred his

³¹⁹ written] *ends the hand of Scribe B. The next sentence commences the work of Scribe C.*

³²⁰ thos] *followed by the cancellation of th.*

³²¹ wiche] *repeated.*

swerd and forgon and his spores, he went efft^{son}ez to the kyngis closett and put
 apon hym his robes of astate; and fro thens was led in to the parlement chambre to
 the kyngis presence by the marques of Barkeley and therll of Arundell; and therll of
 Derby bere his cape and cornall apon the golden rode, and the ryng of gold; and
 therll of Shrewesbury bere the swerd the pomell upward; and ther he was creat as
 acustumed. And thos lordes that led hym or bere any of the appartenans to his
 61v creacion³²² wer in ther robes, and oder nott, havyng officers of armes next / before
 them.

Then the king departed, and the prince that day kept his astate under the clothe
 of astate in the same parlement chambre. And at the bordes ende satte the marques
 of Barkeley; therlles of Aroundell, of Derby, and of Schrewesbury. And all the oder
 new mad knyghtis sat along the on side the chambre. And the prince licensed them
 to ett ther mett. And affter the mynstrelles had pleyd the officers of armez came to
 the presence of the prynce, and Garter Kyng of Armez gave hym thankynge in the
 name of al the office for his largess, wyche was xxil *li.* delyvered by the handes of
 Sir Thomas Lovell, knyght and trezorer of the kynges chambre. And after that the
 princes largess was cryed, the largess³²³ of the oder new made knyghtys was also
 cryed. And after dyner Sir William Uvedall was chosyn, and gave the kyng
 thankynge in the name of al his compeny.

And on the morn [of] Seynt Andreas day the fo[r]seid new born princess was November 30
 cristened in maner as ensew^{ith}. The riche font of Canterbury and Westmynster
 62r cherche wer / prepayred as of old tyme ben accustumed for kynges chyltren, wythe
 a riche rounde canepe ^{with} a grett gilt boll. This forsaid prynce was brought from
 the qwens chambre in to the Whitthall, born by my ladie marquise of Barkeley. And

³²² creacion] –e obscured by an inkblot.

to her gave assistance therlles of Arundell and of Schreuesbury; and my ladie Anne the qwenes sister bere next by fore her the crysme *with* a mervelous riche crosslace; and byfore her the vicount Wellis bere a riche salt of gold garnysched wythe *precyous* stones; and before hym therll of Essex bere a taper *with* certeyn boughtes floreshed and on lyght to the cherche ward; and before hym therll of Kent, wiche bere a peyre of gilt basyns; and before hym the constable and mareshall of England, *with* the staves of ther offices; and by fore them the officers of armez on every side the chappell, savyng Garter, wiche went next bfore the grett constable.³²⁴ And before the chappell wer vj^{xx} torches³²⁵ on lyght, borne by knyghtes, esquiers and oder gentilmen and yemen of the crowne. And when the said

62v princesse was brought to the porche of Westmynster cherche – wiche porche / was rially besen and [had] a riche celyng of brodrywerke – the lord John Alcoke, bishoppe of Ely, was the[r] redie in pontificalibus, wiche cristened the princess. Alsoo ther was in his abite of bishoppe, the lord John Morton, archebisshopp of Canterbury and chaunceler of England, wiche was godfader, and the high and excellent princess my ladye the kynges moder, and the duchess of Norffolk, doughter of the good Talbot, erl of Schreuesbury, wiche wer godmoders; and soo she was named Margaret after my ladie the kinges moder. And my ladie [Elizabeth]³²⁶ of Bokyngham bere the trayne; and the lord Strange gave her assistance, holdyng the mydys of the trayne; and the canepe was borne by iiij noble knyghtis banerettes, that ys to sey *Sir* John Savage, *Sir* Gilbert Talbot, *Sir* Edward

³²³ the largess] *repeated*.

³²⁴ wiche went next bfore the grett constable] *nexever* side *cancelled between* went and next.

³²⁵ torchess] *preceded by a cancellation*.

³²⁶ my ladie [Elizabeth] of Bokyngham] *no Christian name given*.

Stanley, *Sir James Blount*. And after folowyd a great numbre of ladyes and gentilwemen.

And after that she was cristened and brought bfore the high auter, the lord Thomas Roderam, archebishopp of Yeorke, beyng in pontificalibus, conferred her; and the ladie marquese of Barkeley was ther a[s]³²⁷ godmoder. They weshe[d] the
 63r gossibpes and went to the closet or / *canves*, and ther they had spices and wyn; and alsoo all oder nobles, ladies and gentyllwemen, and oder alsoo. And as son as she was put in to the font, all the torchess wer light and the taper also, and the officers of armes put on ther cotys of armes; and this *with* al thes lightes, turning to the kinges pales ageyne; and therll of Kent ber styll the basyns; and therll of Essex the taper brennyng; and next after them the viscount Lisle ber ij flagons gilt and a holywater stoke wythe a spryngell of gold garmyshid *with* *precyous* stones, wyche her godfader gave her; and the lord Lawarre ber a salt of gold garmynshed *with* *presious* stonys, wyche the ladye marquise gave her; and the... ber a cope of...³²⁸ wyche the duchess of Norfolk gave her; and the Vicont Welles bere a chest³²⁹ of silver and gilt full of gold, wiche my ladie the kinges moder gave her. And this in ordre, wythe nois of trompettis, she returned *with* Crystis blessing. *Amen*.

And the king, the qwen [and] my ladie the kinges moder by ganne Crismass at Westminster Westmynster. And at that season ther wer the meazellis soo strong, and in especiall amongis the ladies and the gentilwemen, that *sum* deid of that sikeness, as the ladie
 63v Nevill, doughter of William Paston; wherfor on Seint Johns day the qwen / was prively³³⁰ cherched or purified.

³²⁷ a[s]] *written at*

³²⁸ the... ber a cope of...] *details are missing in the text.*

³²⁹ chest] *followed by a cancellation*

³³⁰ prively] *-iv obscured by ink.*

And on Seynt Thomas day the king, the qwen, with the court by water remeved Greenwich
to Grenwich. On Cristmasday the bishoppe of Excester did the dyvyne *servyce*, and December 21
was accompeyned *with* therll of Northehumberland, therll of Derby, therll of Essex,
therll of Urmond and therll of Angwyshe, wiche that day sat at the bord end *with* the
bishoppe and ij oder erlles. Item, ther was the lord Edmonde of Suffolke, the
vicount Lisle, the lord Zouche, the [lord] Latymer, the lord Dynham (trezorer of
England), the lord Dawbeney (lieutenant of Caless), *Sir William Stanley* (the
kynges chamberleyn). Alsoo the wer a great *ambassad* of Fraunce, that ys to sey December 27
Franchois monsieur de Luxembourg, vicount of Geneve, the general of thordre of
the trenite of Fraunce, wiche on Seynt Johns day dyned at the kinges boorde. Item,
to the nombre of a xlij knyghtis or ther a bout, as *Sir Thomas Bourser*, *Sir Davy*
Owen, *Sir Richard Corbet*, *Sir John Riseley*, *Sir Reynold Bray*, *Sir Thomas Lovell*,
Sir John Don, *Sir William Knyvett*, *Sir William Vampage*, *Sir Richart Haut*, *Sir*
Edward Wyngfeld, *Sir William Hosey*, *Sir John Savage*, *Sir John Fortescu*, *Sir*
Water Hungerford, *Sir Water Herbert*, *Sir George Nevyll*, *Sir Thomas Cokesay*, *Sir*
Edward Darell, *Sir Richard Gilford*, *Sir Richard Nanfant*, *Sir Gilbert Debenham*,
64r *Sir Roger Coton*, *Sir John Musgrave*, *Sir William Parker*, / and oder; and esquiers
for the bodie: Edward Blont, Davy Philipp, Harry Pudsey, John Croker and
Nycholas Ruyston. The king³³¹ in al this fest wer noo robes of astate but oder
gownes of riche clothis of gold, and in especiall gowns whiche was wrought by the
ladyes in the stoolle and richely furred wythe sabuls.

* * *

³³¹ the king] -g cancelled between the and king.

On Newyers day the kyng rewarded his officers of armez as he ys yerly 1490
 accustomed. Item, the qwen gave them forty shillings. Item, my ladye the kinges January 1
 moder twenty s. Item, the reverent fader in God the bishoppe of Excester twenty s.
 Item, therll of Derby twenty *shillings*. Item, therll of Essex i noble. Item, thyerll of
 Urmond ij nobles. Item, the kinges chamberleyn three s. Item, the lord Danby xl.s.
 And as of old accustomed Garter King of Armez desired and besaut the king to ow
 them thankynges and affter cryed ther largess. On the³³² xij[th] day the ambassatours
 of Spayne dynd at the kinges borde, and the officers of armes had ther largess as
 the[y] wer acc[ust]umed. This Cristmass I saw no disgysynges and but right few
 64v pleys, but ther was an abbot of misrule that / made mucche sport and did right well
 his office.

And on the morn the king roode to Waltham forest a huntyng; and soon after Waltham
 with his court came to Westmynster, a[nd] ther had his consell ordeyned for suche Forest
 January 2
 maters and tethynges as he had by officers of armez out of Fraunce, of Bretaynye
 and Scotland, and oder his maters ageynst the parlement; and soon aughter returned
 the baylu of Seyn Lys out of Fraunce.

And on Candell Mass day the king, the qwen, my ladye the kinges moder, with February 2
 the substance of al the lordes temporell present at the parlement,³³³ and grett part
 alsoo of the espirituell lordis, wenten a precession from the chapell into the hall, and
 soo in to Westmynster hall, wiche hallis and alsoo al the kyng[es] chambres wer
 that day as richely beseen and hanged as ever I saw them.³³⁴ And the riche bed
 called 'hewdykes bede' was hanged in the kynges chambre. Therll of Oxynford,

³³² the] repeated.

³³³ And on Candell Mass day...parlement] several of the words of this clause have been smudged, as though by running something across the wet ink.

³³⁴ them] -th obscured by an inkblot.

65r grett chamberleyn of Englund, ber the kynges taper; therll of Urmond, the qwenys chamberleyn, ber the qwenys taper; and *Sir William Knevet* bere my ladye the kynges moders taper; the lord Lisle bere the kynges swerd; / the lordes constable and mareshall ber ther staves of offices in gownys of clothe of gold; Garter and Lion of Scotland Kynges of Armes, in ther cootys, we[n]ten next before them; and the archebishoppe of Yeorc accompeyned the popes cubiculer; therll of Shreuesbury and the popes collectour the ambassatours of Fraunce; the byshoppe of Ely...³³⁵ , and *Sir Richard Nanfant* the ambassatours of Castyll; and byfore them oder bishoppe[s], as the bishoppe of Norwiche, the lord trezorer and the lord st[e]ward of the kynges hous; and before them the officers of armes, as heraudys, *sergenttys* at armes³³⁶ and *pursuantes* on every syde the precession.

The kyng was that day in a riche gowne of purple pirled wythe gold furred wythe sabuls. The bishoppe of Excester, *prive seall*, dyd the dyvyne *servyce* in *pontificalibus*. Al thes strangers dyned yn the court that day, but nott in presence. At nyght the kyng, the qwene and my ladye the kynges moder came in to the Whit hall, and ther had a pley and after a voyde, great acompened wythe therlles of Oxonford, Northumberland, of Derby, and many oder lordes, knyghtes *and* esquiers, but no
65v strayngers. / And a non affter the bayly of Sayn Lyss returned; and the ambassatours of Fraunce had soon ther answer, and wer ryght greatly and largely rewarded, and well conduyt to the see syde by the kynges amoner and *Sir John Ryseley*, knyght.

Son after the Kyng sent a grett ambassad into Fraunce, that ys to say the lord *prive seall*, bishopp of Exetur,³³⁷ therll of Urmond, the qwenys chamberleyn; and the prior of Crystis cherche of Canterbury. And on them wayted Yeorc the herauld.

³³⁵ the byshoppe of Ely...] *details are missing from the text.*

³³⁶ at armes] *interlineated above.*

³³⁷ Exetur] *followed by a cancellation.*

Alsoo the abbott of Abyndon³³⁸ and Harry Swan and oder wer attaynt of treson in that parlement; and Edward Franke, Harry Davy, tailleur of London, and... wer beheded at the Tourhill.³³⁹

And after Mydlent ensewyng ther came to the kyng dyvers and many *post* March 14 ambassatours, that ys to say a legatt from the pope; also ambassatours from the kyng of Romainys; also a grett and a solempne ambassad from the duchesse of Bretayngne, this ys to sey the chaunceler of Bretayngne, the capiteyn of...³⁴⁰ Gwilliam Gwillemett, the seneschall of Gyngham, *with* oder. Item, anoder
 66r ambassad from the mareshall / of Bretayngne.³⁴¹ Item, oder ambassatours from the towne of Bruges. Item, and officers of armes from the kyng of Scottys. And al the above seyde ambassatours the kyng herd and alsoo delyvered at Westmynster in the April 8-11
 pashecyon weke, and retourned to Shen a geyne wher his houshold lay. Easter



³³⁸ Abyndon] *interlineated above.*

³³⁹ and... Tourhill] *details are missing from the text.*

³⁴⁰ captain of...] *details are missing from the text.*

³⁴¹ Bretayngne] *second -n partially obscured by an inkblot.*

TEXTUAL COMMENTARY

8v *A shorte...memory by licence and correccion*] The record of the first provincial progress of Henry VII (BL, MS. Cotton Julius B.XII, fols. 8v-66r), if not the entire memoir, was compiled under official or semi-official sanction. This authority might have belonged to Garter King of Arms, doyen of the Office of Arms, or simply represent the authority governing the officers of arms of England. It is unlikely that the memoir was intended for court or royal consumption in its extant form, and cannot have been an 'official' history commissioned by the Crown.

8v *first progresse*] Henry VII made several substantial journeys during the early years of his reign: to the northern provinces in 1486; to East Anglia in March 1487; again to Yorkshire and the northern provinces following the battle of Stoke in June; and to the north following the killing of the earl of Northumberland in 1489. Itineraries for Henry VII are found in Bacon, F., *The History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh*, ed. F.J. Levy (New York, 1972), pp. xvii-xx; Temperley, G., *Henry VII*, (London, 1917), pp. 411-19; Edwards, R., *The Itinerary of King Richard III, 1483-5* (London, 1983), pp. 40-1 (for 1485-7 only); McGee, C.E., *A Critical Edition of the First Provincial Progress of Henry VII*, unpublished dissertation (University of Toronto, 1977), pp. 245-8 (first provincial progress only). During the later years of his reign, Henry VII restricted his movements to the Midlands or to religious and recreational pursuits in Canterbury and Abingdon. Contemporary and near-contemporary sources for the first provincial progress include: *The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil*, ed. and transl. D. Hay, Camden Soc., n. s., vol. 74 (London, 1950), pp. 11-13; *Ingulph's Chronicles of the Abbey of Croyland*, ed. H.T. Riley, (London, 1893), 'Fourth continuation', pp. 513-14; Hall, E., *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancastre and York*, ed. H. Ellis (London, 1809), 'Henry the vii', fols. 4r-5r; *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*, introd. By V.F. Snow, 6 vols. (New York, 1965), Vol. III, pp. 483-4. For general and specific information on Yorkist and early Tudor royal progresses see: Olver, P.C., *Tudor Royal Progress*, unpublished dissertation (Swansea, 1984), esp. introd and chapter 1; Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London, 1992), pp. 106-12; McGee,

Critical Edition; Bennett, *Lambert Simnel and the Battle of Stoke* (Gloucester, 1987), pp. 36-9; and also Samman, N., 'The Progresses of Henry VIII, 1509-29', in D. MacCulloch (ed.), *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety* (London, 1995), pp. 59-74 (Henry VIII); Bennett, M.J., *The Battle of Bosworth* (1985; repr. Stroud, 2000), pp. 38-41 and R. Edwards, *Itineraries* (Richard III); Ross, C.D., *Edward IV* (London, 1974), p. viii (Edward IV).

8v coronation] Westminster, Sunday October 30, 1485. Crowned without a queen. A range of documents, both printed and unprinted and of differing quality, survive for this event. See 'Empcions and provisions' in *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII*, ed. Rev. William Campbell, RS, 2 vols. (London, 1873; repr. 1965), ii, pp. 3-29; the 'Little device' for the ordering of the ceremonial of this occasion – as adapted from the form used by Richard III – in BL, MSS. Egerton 985, fols. 1r-10r, Additional 18669, and Harley 5111, fols. 77r ff; W. Jerdan, *The Rutland Papers*, Camden Soc., (1842), pp. 1-24; and *English Coronation Records*, ed. L.G.W. Legg (Westminster, 1901), pp. 220-39. The *Liber Regalis* and *Forma et Modus* are printed in Legg, *English Coronation Records*, pp. 81-130, 172-90. Cf. Shramm, *History*, pp. 88-9. An heraldic account of the coronation is found in BL, MS. Egerton 985, fols. 41v-48r. See also S. Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Kingship* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 10-17; S. Anglo 'The Foundation of the Tudor Dynasty: the coronation and marriage of Henry VII', *The Guildhall Miscellany* II:I (1960), pp. 1-9; S.B. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, n.e. (New Haven and London, 1999), pp. 58-60.

8v Cristemas] No record of the Christmas festivities for 1485 has survived. The *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum, 1841-1845*, and hence the *Index of Manuscripts in the British Library* mistakenly attribute BL, MS. Egerton 985, fols. 27r-32r, to Christmas 1485. This is actually a transcript of the account in Julius B. XII, fols. 45v-48r of the festivities of Christmas 1487. Details of the celebration of Christmas 1486, 1488 and 1489 may be found at Julius B. XII, fols. 24r, 52v and 63r-64r respectively.

8v first parliament] Monday November 7, 1485, to Saturday December 10. Writs of summons issued on September 15 (*Materials*, i, p. 6). Several legal problems had to be overcome before parliament assembled, the most awkward of which was Henry

Tudor's attainder. The justices of the exchequer chamber decreed that he was discharged of the attainder *ipso facto* by taking upon himself to be king (*Y.B. 1 Henry VII, Mich.*, pl. 5; Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 61). Opened by Archbishop Alcock, then Chancellor of England; involved the attainder of enemies, the release of supporters from attainder, and the formal ratification of Henry VII's right to rule. Also vested the whole of the duchy of Lancaster in Henry and his heirs, after part had been given to feoffees by Edward IV (Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, i, pp. 260-1; *RP*, VI, pp. 267-84, with extracts printed in *Materials*, i, pp. 110-37). See also J.S. Roskell, *The Commons and their speakers in English parliaments, 1376-1523* (Manchester, 1965).

8v *In the [xivth] day of Marche*] Date of departure not supplied by scribe, but is somewhere between March 10 and March 14. The *CPR* points to the earlier date: documents were issued from Westminster, Ware and Royston on the March 10, suggesting that the privy seal was on the move at this time; from March 10, the locations provided by the *CPR* correspond closely to the record of the king's movements in the memoir, and the Chancellor of England, John Morton, was certainly in the royal retinue from the time it left Doncaster (Julius B. XII, fol.9r). However, his movements before this time are uncertain, and the possibility of divergent itineraries for the king and chancellor may be misleading. In addition, the discrepancy between the place and date of the issue of an order and the place and date of its enrolment, add further problems. A royal order dated London, March 13, suggests that the king left London no earlier than this date (*Materials*, i, p. 387), and I have assigned the date of departure to Tuesday March 14.

8v *Seint Johns of London*] Probably the priory of St. John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell, the house of the knights of St. John until their dissolution by Henry VIII in 1540. It was still under construction at the time of the first provincial progress. See W. Bessant, *Medieval London* (London, 1906), ii, pp. 270-83. *Materials*, i, pp. 344-359, contains copies of letters dated to the priory in early March 1486, suggesting that Henry VII sometimes held court at St. John's.

8v *Waltham*] E.B. Graves ed., *A Bibliography of English History to 1485* (Oxford, 1975), does not mention any extant records for Waltham for the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

8v *the high way*] The main route between Waltham and Cambridge can be seen on the map of parliamentary England 1439 to 1509 in Chrimes, *Henry VII*, pp. 142-3.

8v *Cambrige*] The royal entourage probably reached Cambridge around Thursday March 16. The Cambridge University, *Grace Book A*, ed. S.M. Leathes (1897), p. 202, contains one reference to the royal visit regarding the provision of 'bread, beer and other victuals', clearly set down after the event: 'Item pro forma inquisitiones panis et ceruisie et aliorum victualium *quando rex fuit hic* et pro scriptura rotularum et cera pro eisdem xix d' [my italics]. C.H. Cooper (ed.), *Annals of Cambridge*, (Cambridge, 1842), i, p. 232, also mentions the royal visit, but it relies on the Leland-Hearne edition of the memoir. Cooper gives the date of the king's arrival in Cambridge as March 12, in accordance with the earliest possible date of departure from London, discussed above; he also includes in his transcription of the payments of the town treasurers, Robert Ratheby and Richard Holmes, payment of 110s for fish given to the king. This may relate to the progress, as the king was traveling during Lent.

8v *Huntingdon*] The only published municipal records for Huntingdon do not include any material relevant to the progress of 1486. *A Collection of Ancient Records relating to the Borough of Huntingdon*, ed. E. Griffiths (London, 1827), offers only extracts of the archives of the town from the time of William the Conqueror to that of William III; *The Victoria County History of the County of Huntingdon*, ed. W. Page et al (London, 1932), contains no mention of King Henry's visit, either in its article on the borough of Huntingdon or in discussions of the economic, political and social history of the county. M. Noble and S. I. Ladds, 'Records of the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon: a Catalogue', *Transactions of the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society*, 4 (1920), contains nothing of value.

8v *Staunford*] C. Gross, *The Sources and Literature of English History from the Earliest Times to about 1485*, 2nd edn. (New York, 1951), and Graves, *Bibliography*, contain nothing for Stamford for the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

8v *Lincoln*] The records of the Lincoln corporation contain no reference to the royal visit of 1486, and the minute book proper commences only in the year 1511. The white book, a miscellaneous compilation covering the period of the progress, and the

chapter acts and the accounts of the common fund of the cathedral also bear no reference to the visit (McGee, *Critical Edition*, p. 59). The visit is discussed briefly in Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, p. 272, as are the earlier visits to Lincoln by Henry VI and Richard III.

8v Ester] Sunday March 26.

8v xxix poore men] The washing of the feet of a select number of poor men, one for each year of the king's age, imitates the actions of Christ and demonstrates the king's humility. This was a traditional part of the observances of Maundy Thursday. For a more detailed early account of the observance of this and other ceremonies of Holy Thursday, as pertaining to Elizabeth I, see J. Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Procession of Queen Elizabeth*, 2nd edn., 3 vols. (London, 1823), i, pp. 325-327. The practice was apparently also observed by great lords (G. Brennan, *A History of the House of Percy, from the Earliest times down to the present day*, 2 vols. (London, 1902), i, p.144).

8v observaunces of halowing of his ringes] The Good Friday blessing of cramp rings was held to be efficacious against cramp and falling sickness (Anglo, *Images*, p. 20). See also M. Bloch, *The royal touch: sacred monarchy and scrofula in England and France*, transl. J.E. Anderson (London, 1973), 2.2, pp. 92-107. A transcript of the Latin service during the reign of Henry VIII appears in D. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, 4 vols. (London, 1737), iv, pp. 103-104. For an English version, c. 1685, see *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, ed. Rev. W. Maskell (London, 1847), iii, pp. 335-340.

8v grotes] A silver coin minted from 1351 until 1662, valued at 4 pence. See Chrimes, *Henry VII*, plate 10.

8v Nottingham] Clearly the place where the king marshaled his retinue on progress in 1486 (YHB, ii, pp. 479-80; *Plumpton Correspondence*, ed. T. Stapleton, Camden Soc., vol. 4 (London, 1839), p. 51)¹. Neither the Bridgemasters' accounts nor the Chamberlains' accounts in *Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, ed. W.H. Stevenson, 4 vols. (London 1885), iii, say anything of Nottingham's preparations for

the royal visit. Repairs to roads, dykes, and buildings were made around the time of the king's visit, but belonged to an extensive maintenance project, the payments for which extend from January 1485/86 to June 1486. However, payment is registered for April 10 1486 (Stevenson, *Records*, iii, pp. 263-4) for the costs of one Richard Brown riding to Lincoln for information on the king's visit. The king evidently returned to Nottingham on the way from York to Worcester (W.A. Shaw, *The Knights of England*, 4 vols. (London, 1906), ii, 23; Stevenson, *Records*, iii, p. 264), although the herald-recorder of the memoir makes no mention of this second visit.

8v *they died at Newark*] Probably bubonic/ pneumonic plague or the so-called 'sweating sickness'. For an account of the sweating sickness, together with a summary of references to the affliction in contemporary accounts, see W. Busch, *England under the Tudors: Vol. 1, King Henry VII*, trans. A.M. Todd (London, 1895), i, pp. 23-4, 323, n.7. See also J.A.H. Wylie and L. Collier, 'The English Sweating Sickness (Sudor Anglicus): A Reappraisal', *Journal of the History of Medicine*, 36 (1981), pp. 425-45; G. Thwaites, M. Taviner, V. Grant, 'The English Sweating Sickness, 1485-1551', in *New England Journal of Medicine*, 336 (February, 1997), pp. 580-2.

8v *the meire and his brethern*] The civic officials of Nottingham from Mich. 1485 until Mich. 1486 were Richard Alestre, mayor; John Bellyn and John Williamson, sheriffs; Lawrence Lowe, recorder; John Coste and John Howett, chamberlains; and Thomas Cost, bridgemaster (Stevenson, *Records*, iii, p. 459). See also C. Wightman, *The Royal Entry in Medieval and Tudor England*, unpublished dissertation (University of Manchester, 1969), pp. 34-40.

8v-9r *bytweue both brigges*] Probably the bridges crossing the Trent and its tributary, the River Leen. Maps of Nottingham and an account of its geography, growth and fifteenth-century economic status are found in K.C. Edwards (ed.), *Nottingham and its Region* (Nottingham, 1966), pp. 364-76.

9r *at whos remeving...toke ther leve*] The departure of these three important members of the entourage, apparently not anticipated from the outset of the journey

¹ A far better and highly accurate edition of the Plumpton letters is *The Plumpton Letters and Papers*, ed. J. Kirby, Camden Soc., 5th ser., 8 (1996), and

(*Plumpton Correspondence*, p. 51) may be explained by the king's need for money. (*CPR*, pp. 86-87).

9r *Dancaster*] *The Calendar of the Records of the Borough of Doncaster* (Doncaster, 1899-1903), ed. W.J. Hardy, states that there are no rolls surviving for the years 1457-95.

9r *the frerez of Oure Lady*] The king attended mass in the church of the Carmelites, established in 1350, and housing the famous image, Our Lady of the White Friars or Our Lady of Doncaster. Henry's stay at the friary is noted in the *Victoria County History of the County of York*, ed. William Page (London, 1913), p. 267. The friary also hosted Henry of Bolingbroke in 1399, Edward IV in 1470, and Margaret Tudor in 1503.

9r *the parishe chirche*] Probably the 'faire and large paroch chirche of S. George, standing in the very area, where ons the castelle of the town stode' (*The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543*, ed. L.T. Smith, 5 vols. (London, 1907), i, p. 34).

9r *Pomfreyte*] Nothing survives to shed any light the king's visit to Pontefract. See the HMC, *Eighth Report, Part I, Appendix* (London, 1881), pp. 269-77, for a description of the town's surviving muniments.

9r *accompanied then and sone after*] The heralds' list includes many of the men who were to serve as the king's officers in the north (R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North*, (London, (1921), p. 72, n.4). This list of men arriving between Doncaster and York was evidently systematised during the writing up of the memoir, as the names are arranged by rank from lords spiritual and temporal to knights.

9v *Midlem*] Middleham, Yorks. A market town with Ricardian associations. See Leland, *Itinerary*, i, pp. 79-80. A ground plan and history of Middleham Castle are provided in the *Victoria County History of the Counties of England: Yorkshire North Riding*, ed. W. Page (1914; repr. London, 1968), pp. 251-3.

9v *And by the way ...Robyn Hoddez ston*] 'Robin Hood's Stone', first mentioned in a charter of 1422, reportedly lay about a mile south of Barnesdale, 'near Skelbrook...about 6 _ miles north of Doncaster on the east side of the Roman Road

this should be consulted in preference to the Stapleton edition.

from Lincoln to York (J.W. Walker, *The True History of Robin Hood* (Wakefield, 1673), p. 14. See also Smith, 'A York Pageant', p. 384; A.H. Smith, 'Robin Hood,' *Modern Language Review*, 28. 4 (October, 1933), pp. 484-5).

9v *Barnesdale*] A large forest in the wapentakes of Osgoldcross, Staincross and Strafford in the south part of the west riding of Yorkshire. It covered over thirty square miles, and from 1300 harboured outlaws (McGee, *Critical Edition*, p. 92).

9v *with xxxiiij knyghtes of his feed men*] These were knights holding land owned by a superior lord and granted to them in return for knight service. An order from the earl of Northumberland to several of his feed retainers survives in *Plumpton Correspondence*, p. 53.

10r *merveolous...array*] Perhaps a rather contrived means of affirming the great number rallying to the king's standard at this time, resembling a similar statement in an (heraldic) account of the reception of Philip, king of Castile, in 1506 ('A Narrative of the Reception of Philip, King of Castile, in England in 1506', in Gairdner, *Memorials*, p. 300). The speed with which the men assembled is somewhat overstated, as the king's intention was known, at least in part, some eight weeks earlier (*Plumpton Correspondence*, p. 50). For some idea of the numbers rallying to the king's banner at this time, see *Plumpton Correspondence*, p. 50; Williams, 'Humphrey Stafford', p. 182; and the herald's own list at fols. 9v-10r.

10r *certeyne rebelles*] Esp. Francis, Viscount Lovell, a favourite of Richard III and Lord Chamberlain of the late king's household, who fled to sanctuary in Colchester after the royal defeat at Bosworth. He subsequently escaped and went north to raise the insurrection to which the herald refers (*DNB*, XII, pp. 172-3).

10r *a gown...ermyne*] The royal wardrobe contained several magnificent gowns of cloth of gold of various colours, closely resembling those made for the king's coronation (*Materials*, ii, 'Empcions', pp. 3-29). See also PRO E101/412/20 *etc.* for a range of warrants and wardrobe orders.

10r *henshemmen*] Probably seven henchmen accompanying Henry, the number in the households of both Edward IV and Richard III. The accounts of the city of York for 1486-87 include a payment of 6s. 4d. to the boys who attended the king 'voc.

Hansmen' (Chamberlains' Account Rolls C4:1v, as printed in McGee, *Critical Edition*, Appendix C, pp. 254-6).

10r *the further...foote*] Tadcaster Bridge, on the extremities of York's franchises (*YHB*, ii, p. 482). It was traditional for the sheriffs of a county to greet the king at the boundary of their shire and escort him through the area they ruled in the king's trust. Here and elsewhere the sheriffs carried their white rods, as the symbol of their authority. Cf. the description of the reception of Henry VI at Coventry in *The Coventry leet book*, ed. M.D. Harris, EETS, o.s., 4 vols. (London, 1907-13), ii, p. 263, and that of Henry VIII at Lincoln in 1541 in 'Account of King Henry the Eighth's Entry into Lincoln, in 1541', *Archaeologia*, 23 (1831), p. 337.

10r *the shriffs of Yorke*] John Beverley and Roger Appleby. John Savile, High Sheriff of Yorkshire, was in the king's retinue.

10r *wele accompaniede...*] See *YHB*, ii, pp. 478, 479, 481-5, for an extended program of arrangements for the civic reception. The city intended to outdo its previous efforts and arranged for twice the usual number to accompany Beverley and Appleby at Tadcaster Bridge.

10r *the maire*] William Chimney, draper, freeman of the city from 1455, and holder of several political offices before his death in 1508 or 1509.

10r *And ner hand...good grace*] John Vavasour, recorder, presumably addressed themes similar to those of the York pageantry, expressing the city's joy at the king's accession and visit, and promising loyalty. For Vavasour's election, against the king's own wishes, see *YHB*, ii, pp. 478-9. Appears to have gained the king's favour during the rebellion of the earl of Lincoln (*DNB*, XX, pp. 197).

10r *al the orders of the frerez*] The major orders of York were the White Friars, or Carmelites; the Grey Friars, or Franciscans; the Augustinians; the Black Friars or Dominicans; the Benedictines of the Priory of the Holy Trinity; and the Gilbertines (*The Victoria County History of York*, ed. W. Page (London, 1913), pp. 283-96; A. Raine, *Medieval York* (London, 1955), pp. 62-5, 131-3, 202-6, 227-8, 283-7, 298-9).

10r *the prior of the Trinities*] Robert Hallows (*Victoria County History, York*, pp. 389-90; Raine, *Medieval York*, pp. 227-8).

10r *thabbot of Seint Mary Abbey*] William Sevons, elected prior of the Black Friars in 1485 (*Victoria County History, York*, pp. 107-12; Raine, *Medieval York*, pp. 267-9).

10r *the chanoignes of Seint Leonardes*] The canons managed the hospital of St Leonard (*Victoria County History, York*, pp. 336-345; Raine, *Medieval York*, p. 113-16).

10r *al the parisshe chirche*] For a catalogue of some forty-five parish churches, seventeen chapels, sixteen hospitals, and nine abbeys, priors or other religious houses, see Francis Drake, *Eboracum: or the History and Antiquities of the City of York* (London, 1739), pp. 234-6.

10r *with merveolous...welefaverde face*] The crowd of children gathered about St. James' chapel was preordained by the city fathers (*YHB*, ii, p. 482). See also Raine, *Medieval York*, pp. 307-309, for a description and brief history of the St James' chapel.

10r *the gate of the citie*] Micklegate Bar was one of the ancient passageways through the wall around York and a traditional place of reception. The city fathers had welcomed Richard duke of Gloucester and the duke of Albany at this point on June 17, 1482; the papal legate, the bishop of Imola, in March 1486; and Richard III in 1483 (*YHB*, i, p. 259, ii, pp. 470, 713). At the time of Henry VII's visit, Micklegate Bar included a built-in house for hire, and was fronted by a barbican, portcullis and heavy wooden door with wicket (Raine, *Medieval York*, pp. 26-7). McGee, *Critical Edition*, p. 108, makes the following suggestion regarding the positioning of Ebrauk's pageant: 'The barbican [might have served] as a backdrop and frame for the pageant. The gate itself, as a fixed structure, provided support for the temporary stage built for the occasion. Assuming these uses of the gate, one imagines the pageant stage in front of the gate, either directly above the entrance, or to one side to allow the procession to pass through easily'.

10v *ther was ordeynede...dyvers personages... mynstrelsygez*] The 'dyvers personages' were probably those citizens required to accompany Ebrauk (*YHB*, ii, p. 482), rather than effigies of any sort. Cf. the pageant of King David, performed later that day, which was clearly intended to involve a crowd of living people. Minstrels

were an important feature of most contemporary entertainment: music characterised every royal entry from that of Henry V in 1415 to James I in 1603. (McGee, *Critical Edition*, p. 109). Here it took the form of singing – probably by the city’s own minstrels – accompanied by organs: payments to the ‘ministrallibus huius Civitatis’ are recorded in the Chamberlain’s Account Roll C4:1v, as printed in McGee, *Critical Edition*, Appendix C, pp. 254-6). The minstrelsy of Ebraunk’s pageant was intended to provide angelic harmony, viz. the heavens from which the crown descended during the first part of the pageant (*YHB*, ii, p. 482). A heaven full of angelic musicians was a common fifteenth-century artistic motif, and provided a backdrop for the action in several pageants of the York cycle (Meagher, ‘First Progress’, p. 52). See also Wightman, *Royal Entry*, pp. 95-98; J. Stevens, *Music and Poetry at the Tudor Court* (London, 1961), pp. 233-264.

10v Ebraucus] Legendary founder of the city of York, son of Menpricius the tyrant. Details of Ebrauk’s biography circulating in the late fifteenth century belonged to: Ranulph Higden’s *Polychronicon* and Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia*. (*Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden monachi Cestrensis: together with the English translations of John Trevisa and of an unknown writer of the fifteenth century*, ed. J.R. Lumby and C. Babington (London, 1865-6; repr. 1964); The *Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. N. Wright (Cambridge, 1985)). Themes addressed in Ebrauk’s pageant include the transferal to Henry VII of authority over the city of York; the affirmation of the new king’s right to rule there (parallels of which are found in the Worcester pageantry, Julius B. XII, fols. 13vff; the account of the visit of Henry VI to Exeter in 1452 (*Liber Pontificalis of Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Exeter*, ed. R. Barnes (Exeter, 1847), p. ix); Bristol’s reception of Edward IV (*Ricart’s Calendar of Bristol*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith (Westminster, 1872), p. xviii, n.); and the reception of Margaret Tudor in Edinburgh in 1503 (Leland, *Collectanea*, iv, p. 289)); the people’s right to protection from their king (see esp. John Fortescue, *De laudibus legum Anglie*, ed. and transl. S.B. Chrimes (Cambridge, 1942), pp. 22, 62); the demonstration of the city’s goodwill toward their king; and at least one allusion to the suffering of the city on behalf of Henry VI.

11r *at the hider ende of House brigge*] Change of plans from that recorded in the civic muniments, where a shower of rose water had been intended at the entrance to Ouse Bridge, and the pageant of the six Henries at the highest point on the bridge (*YHB*, ii, p. 483). For details of the bridge itself, see Raine, *Medieval York*, pp. 207-225.

11r *garnysshed with shippes and botez*] The decoration of the pageantic set in this case is not mentioned in the city's plans.

11r-v *Salamon*] Biblical king noted for his wisdom and judicial merit, and used here as first to suggest the historical, constitutional and moral legitimacy of the new king's title, and then to intercede on behalf of the city. The second pageant according to the York records (*YHB*, ii, p. 483) was designed to begin with a council of kings, not described by the herald, but nevertheless alluded to in the first and fourth stanzas of Solomon's speech. The Solomon pageant represents a striking allusion to Henry Tudor as *ex officio* judge of the realm, offering a generalised compliment on the king's judicial prudence before and after his accession, and exhorts him 'to continue to rule with wisdom...under the same influence of providential grace by which King Solomon earned his own distinguished reputation' (Meagher, 'First Progress', p. 57). The allusion to York's loyalty to Henry VI reflects the same argument used in the city's petition for a reduction of the fee farm rent (*YHB*, i, pp. 390-1) – an argument for which Henry Tudor had given the cue (*Tudor Proclamations*, i, pp. 3-4). The association of the new king with the administration of justice was also a theme of Richard III's northern progress in 1483 (*YHB*, ii, p. 729) See *CPR*, pp. 74-110, for Henry Tudor's various government and legal actions before and during the progress.

11v *at the turning into Quonyeux strete*] Another change in the city's plans, where the authorities had intended an unspecified 'shew' like the rosewater shower at Ouse Bridge: there 'shalbe a shew, and fro the same small come hailestones to be maid by viace falling on the lordes and othre commyng ne before the king, hailestones to be made by craftes of cumfettes' (*YHB*, ii, p. 484). At this point the memoir reports a pageant of the assumption of our Lady, apparently originally intended as the final pageant near York Minster (*YHB*, ii, pp. 484-5). According to McGee, *Critical Edition*, p. 121, the location of the pageant of the Assumption at the corner of Coney

Street (one of the traditional wagon stops during the performance of a mystery cycle) disrupts the unity of Hudson's design. It cuts across the appearance of three legendary kings, each presenting his gift to Henry Tudor, and each affirming both the new king's legitimacy and York's loyalty. It is impossible to know whether the change of plans arose from a practical difficulty experienced by the city fathers, or simply reflects an error of transcription in the memoir itself.

11v-12r *a pajant of thassumpcion...*] Clearly an adaptation of the pageant of the assumption of Mary, produced by the guild of weavers as part of the York cycle of mystery plays. The cost of the use of the equipment was valued at 4s. 'pro stipendio pagine textorum' Chamberlain's Account Roll C4:1v (McGee, *Critical Edition*, Appendix C, pp. 254-6). Mary probably descended, delivered her speech, and ascended into the heaven of the show (*YHB*, ii, p. 484). See also E. Waterton, *Pietas Mariana Britannica* (London, 1879), pp. 257-265. Mary exhorts the king to rule with mercy; compliments the king on his religious devotion; and promises Mary's intercession on behalf of Christ. The definition of the king's relationship to God in terms of knight service is a theme which appears also in several of Lydgate's poems for Henry VI: *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, edited from all available mss. with an attempt to establish the Lydgate canon*, ed. H. N. MacCracken (London, 1911-34), volume 2, pp. 11-12, 58-9, 391-411; *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, ed. R.H. Robbins (New York, 1959), p. 238; and 'Edwardus, Dei Gratia' in *Political, Religious and Love Poems*, ed. F.J. Furnivall, EETS, new edn. (London, 1903)). See also Anglo, *Spectacle*, pp. 27-8. The characterisation of Mary as a mediatrix, and specifically as a mediatrix of mercy, is a common motif (See *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, ed. C Brown (Oxford, 1939); M. Eccles, *The Macro Plays*, EETS, 262 (London, 1969), p. 154; *York Plays: the plays performed by the crafts or mysteries of York on the day of Corpus Christi in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries*, ed. L. T. Smith (Oxford, 1885), p. 496).

12r *hanging oute of tapestry and other clothes*] Rich and colourful cloths were the most common form of decoration for occasions like these, and were found in street-decorations, indoors, and on pageant wagons during mystery plays: embroidered, painted and fringed hangings were integral to Hudson's plans and a primary expense

in York's preparation for the royal visit (Chamberlain's Account Roll C4:1v, in McGee, *Critical Edition*, Appendix C, pp. 254-6). See also A.F. Johnston and M. Dorrell, 'The York Mercers and their Pageant of Doomsday, 1433-1526', *Leeds Studies in English*, n. s., 6 (1972), pp. 10-35.

12r *some casting oute of obles and wafers*] Wafers and the like were the fifteenth-century equivalent of confetti or tickertape today. Throwing them was, as the herald observes, an expression of joy (Wightman, *Royal Entry*, pp. 94-5). Parallel displays occurred in Bristol (Julius B. XII, fol. 18v ff). Cf. the impressive display for Elizabeth in 1583 in Nichols, *Progresses*, i, pp. 405-406. A recipe for wafers is included in Legg, *English Coronation Records*, p. lxxviii.

12r *at the further end of Conyeux Strete*] This pageant took place where the city planned, 'at the common hall' on the south side of Coney Street at its west end (*YHB*, ii, p. 484); it was probably staged before the Common Hall gates. See Raine, *Medieval York*, p. 136, for description of the fortress-style Common Hall gates.

12r *King David*] David is a common character in early pageants and civic receptions, often as one of the Nine Worthies (Meagher, 'First Progress', p. 58; McGee, *Critical Edition*, p. 126). The pageantic King David submits to Henry Tudor his sword of victory, as Ebrauk had submitted the crown and key and Solomon his sceptre; he addresses the respect, allegedly held throughout Christendom, for Henry Tudor's prowess (the new king triumphed over adversity, as David overcame Goliath); sums up the qualities York pledges to the service of the new king: their strength and their fidelity; and concludes with a plea on behalf of the city of York, impoverished for Henry Tudor's sake. The latter theme is not necessarily the 'palpable untruth' described by Anglo (*Spectacle*, p. 27), but another reference to the city's support of Henry VI.

12v *the deane*] Robert Bothe, LL. D., dean from 1477-1487 (Davies, *Extracts*, p. 142, n.)

12v *recyvede the king as accustomed*] The ecclesiastical reception paralleled the civic reception in demonstrating the relative hierarchical relationship of clergy, king and God. One of the best discussions of the ecclesiastical reception is in C. L. Wightman, *Royal Entry*, pp. 111-76. See also McGee, *Critical Edition*, pp. 128-130.

For an account of the rituals observed at York when Richard III visited in 1483, see *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Soc., 35 (London, 1486), pp. 210-11.

12v *the king offrede*] Henry IV offered 6 s. 8 d. in York in 1403 (Wightman, *Royal Entry*, p. 175). Henry's offering in 1486 probably took the same form: a prayer and a donation.

12v *the king went and offrede at Seint Williams shryne*] Archbishop William Fitzherbert was allegedly poisoned by the wine with which he celebrated mass, not long after his return from exile c. 1153. He was canonised in 1284. The stone shrine, lodged in the Minster choir, housed Archbishop William's remains, and was still an important local place of pilgrimage at the time of the Henry Tudor's visit (Raine, *Medieval York*, pp. 31, 308; A. Clutton-Brock, *The Cathedral Church of York* (London, 1921), p. 126). See also Wightman, *Royal Entry*, pp. 128-9, for the practice of royal devotions.

12v *Te Deum*] Traditional hymn of thanksgiving, commencing *Te Deum Laudamus*, such as was sung after Prince Arthur's birth, and upon Henry Tudor's return to London after Stoke in 1487 (Julius B. XII, fols. 22r, 34v).

12v *the paloyes*] The Archbishop's palace stood just north of the Minster. Richard III also stayed there in 1483 (A. Raine, *Medieval York*, pp. 6, 7, 8, 30, and 221).

12v *Seint Georges even*] Traditionally all knights of the Order of the Garter were to attend the king on the eve of the feast of St. George (the patron of the order) on April 23. This is perhaps the only recorded occasion on which the feast was celebrated anywhere but Windsor, and on this occasion John earl of Oxford and Sir John Cheney were installed. See Beltz, *Garter Memorials*, pp. lxxvi-lxxvii, for a description of the religious and secular ceremonial with which the occasion was solemnised in 1486, although probably from a reading of Julius B. XII. Cf. the regulations for the celebration of feast days and the like in the 1493 'Articles' for Henry VII's household (*OHR*, pp. 109-33), and Beltz's copy of the statutes of the Order drawn up in 1522.

12v *blew mantell above his sircote*] Both these items were a part of the habit of the Order of the Garter, the former the oldest article of all: the mantle was a blue woolen, sleeveless, full-length garment fastened at the throat by strings. The king's mantle

was longer, lined with ermine, and probably powdered all over with tiny garters. The surcoat resembled a Roman *tunica*: narrower and shorter than the mantle; the woolen surcoat was worn over the vest and under the mantel, and was fastened by a girdle; its colour varied from year to year. The king's surcoat was 'purpled' with ermine (Beltz, *Garter Memorials*, pp. l-lii).

12v *his cap of maintenance*] The original style of cap of maintenance or estate was a high-crowned hat or cap with flattened top and a broad brim lined with ermine, turned up high in front and gradually lessening along the sides towards the back, where the brim projects to its full width. See 'the cap of maintenance' in Legg, *English Coronation Records*, p. lxxxii. Cf. the two caps of maintenance made for Henry's coronation: one purple velvet, furred with ermine, and one satin (*Materials*, ii, 'Empcions', pp. 3-12).

12v *for he was corowned on the morn*] The significance of crown-wearing is discussed in Armstrong, 'Inauguration Ceremonies', p. 93. Richard III had also appeared crowned in York soon after his coronation (*YHB*, ii, pp. 390-1; Ellis (ed.), *Vergil's 'English History'*, pp. 693-5).

13r *kept his estate*] Cf. the regulations governing the days of estate in the 1493 'Articles' for Henry VII's household (*OHR*, pp. 110-1).

13r *all on oon side*] Article XI of the statutes of the Order of the Garter requires that the Garter knights sit along one side of the table, either according to rank or seniority in their stalls (Beltz, *Garter Memorials*, p. lxxxvi). The overall seating follows the traditional arrangement by estate ('Articles', *OHR*, p. 12).

13r *his officers of arms*] Presumably all officers of the Crown not engaged on royal business. Cf. the place of the heralds at the coronation banquet for Elizabeth of York in 1487 (Julius B. XII, fol. 41r), and at Christmas the same year (fol. 45v).

13v *at the tyme accustomed...largesse*] The best illustration of the heralds' crying of largess occurs in the account of the celebration of New Year's Day, 1488, at Julius B. XII, fols. 45v-46v. Cf. Wagner, *Heralds*, pp. 93-4.

13v *drewe the surnap*] This denotes the removal of the towel or upper cloth used for washing one's hands after the meal. ('The Book of Curtasye', 'John Russells Boke of

Nurture', and 'The Boke of Kervynge', in Furnivall (ed.), *Meals and Manners*, pp. 16-17, 92-3, 155-6, 204, 338).

13v *except thabbite of the garter*] Articles III, IV, and V of the Garter statutes require that the mantle and the garter be worn to religious services by all Garter knights, during the feast of St. George and the day of the vigil (Beltz, *Garter Memorials*, p. lxxxv).

13v *evensonge*] Article IV of the Garter statutes instructs the knights' to attend such divine service as may be appointed for the occasion (Beltz, *Garter Memorials*, p. lxxxv).

13v *the masse of requiem*] Article XII of the Garter statutes requires the knights' attendance, of the day following the feast of St. George, at the requiem mass for deceased knights of the Order. (Beltz, *Garter Memorials*, p. lxxxv) The paraphernalia of knights who died during the year just gone is offered at the requiem mass (as at Julius B. XII, fols. 48r-51r, 57r-57v), in the manner of funeral offerings. Cf. 'The Burying of an Earle' ('Articles', *OHR*, pp. 131-2); accounts of the reburial of Richard duke of York in 1476 (Sutton et al, *Reburial*). See also, Wagner, *Heralds*, pp.106-19 for the heralds role in the funeral and requiem mass.

13v *chapter*] The general meetings of the Garter knights provided the occasion for devising or modifying ordinances, correcting offences, and installing new knights. Ideally the chapter was to be held at Windsor on the feast of St, George, although general meetings were also called within six weeks of the death of any member for the election of a replacement (Beltz, *Garter Memorials*, p. lxxxvii).

13v *Wytsonne Even*] Saturday May 13, 1486. The herald-recorder of this portion of the text only joined the royal party after it had been in Worcester several weeks. He managed to secure copies of the Worcester pageants, although these had not actually been performed.

13v *Worcester*] Graves, *Bibliography*, lists several sources for Worcester: the bishop's registers, the records of the court of quarter sessions, the chamber order book of the city, and the Chamberlain's accounts are too late; none of the books covering the relevant period mentions the progress; none of the catalogues noted by Graves lists documents likely to be relevant. The 'First Ledger' of the dean and

chapter (HMC, *Fourteenth Report, Appendix, Part VIII* (London, 1895), p. 177) remains to be examined, but is unlikely to contain material of value. A pardon granted by Henry VII, tentatively dated 1486 (HMC, *Fourteenth Report, Appendix, Part VIII* (London, 1895), p. 199), disappeared in the early twentieth century (McGee, *Critical Edition*, p. 144). Secondary sources including Rev. T. Nash, *Collections for the History of Worcestershire*, 2 vols. (London, 1782); V. Green, *The History and Antiquities of the City and Suburbs of Worcester*, 2 vols. (London, 1796); J. Noake, *Worcestershire Nuggets* (Worcester, 1889); W.S. Brassington, *Historic Worcestershire* (London, 1894); A. MacDonald, *Worcestershire in English History* (1943; repr. Wakefield, 1969); and J.W. Willis-Bund (ed.), *The Victoria County History of the County of Worcester*, 4 vols. (London, 1906), none of which mentions the king's visit in 1486, reflect the dearth of primary documentation.

13v-14r Henry VIth] The speaker of this pageant, presenting himself as Henry VI, opens with the special relationship between Henry VII and Henry VI, speaks briefly on his own reign and martyrdom, and then moves on to the key theme: the urgent plea for mercy, wisely issued after the city's implication in the Stafford rebellion. He dwells on the theme of mercy – its importance in the Gospel, its primacy among the works of God, and its importance in the future government of Henry VII (Meagher, 'First Progress', p. 63). Henry VI further assures Henry Tudor of the city's loyalty from that point onwards, before introducing the characters of St. Oswald, St. Wulfstan, and the Virgin Mary, each of whom offer a prayer for the king and reiterates the hope that he will rule with mercy and compassion. For further discussion of the themes of this pageant, see McGee, *Critical Edition*, pp. 145-56; Anglo, *Spectacle*, p. 29-30; Meagher, 'First Progress', pp. 62-5). On the topic of Henry VI as a Lancastrian saint, see Anglo, *Spectacle*, pp. 35-43; Anglo, 'Dynastic Hieroglyphs', pp. 4-5; Anglo, *Images*, pp. 61-73.

Chartesey] Henry VI was first interred in the Lady Chapel of the Benedictine Abbey, Chertsey, Surrey, on May 22, 1471. On August 12 1484, by an order of Richard III, his remains were translated to St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

14v gentilman... riotours... pardon] This the only reference in the herald's report to the rebellion under Stafford. Many of those who joined Stafford and entered

Worcester are named in the Coram Rege Roll, Michaelmas Term, 4 Henry VII (PRO KB 27/909; printed in McGee, *Critical Edition*, Appendix B, pp. 248-53). Stafford's case appears in *Select Cases in the Exchequer Chamber before all the Justices of England* ed. M. Hemmant (London, 1948), ii, p. 115-24. For an account of the Stafford rebellion, see Williams, 'Humphrey Stafford', pp. 181-9. For the defence of one John Colard of Feckenham, who alleged he was taken in by Stafford's (false) claim to royal pardon, see *Materials*, i, pp. 434-5; similar pleas were entered in king's bench files (KB 27/909, Mich. 4 Henry VII).

14v Oure Lady] A great statue of Mary, estimated to be ten feet tall, stood over the main altar in the cathedral (Waterton, *Pietas*, pp. 252-3).

15r-15v Wolstan and Oswald] As saints, both Oswald and Wulsftan were natural representatives of the city of Worcester; both had been bishops of the same see: the former was appointed by King Edgar in 959, and held his office until 991; the latter was bishop of Worcester from 1062 until 1095 (*DNB*, XIV, pp. 1217-19; XXI, pp. 1089-91; *The Victoria County History, Worcester*, ii, pp. 3-9; *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed. H. Thurston and D. Attwater, revised edn., 4 vols. (London, 1956), i, pp. 439-40; 121-23).

15v Our Lady] Mary appears to have been portrayed here with Jesus in her arms. Images of the Madonna were very popular at this time (Waterton, *Pietas*, pp. 252-3). The description of England as Our Lady's dowry was a common literary motif, esp. during the early fifteenth century (Rev. T.E. Bridgett, *Our Lady's Dowry; how England gained that title*, 3rd edn. (London, n.d.); Waterton, *Pietas*, pp. 11-18).

15v Trinity] Because the Trinity speaks, an anthropomorphic representation of the character is likely to have been used (McGee, *Critical Edition*, p. 159). For discussion of fifteenth-century iconography, see L. Réau, *l'Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien*, vol. 2, part 1 (Paris, 1955), pp. 19-28.

16r-17r Janitor] Despite its position in the memoir, the pageant of Janitor was almost certainly designed to be given first. A fictitious character created by the city, Janitor was given a complex, multi-theme speech of recognition and greeting at the gate of the city. In a variant on the Nine Worthies theme, the speaker mistakes Henry Tudor for a wide variety of heroes, including Noah, Jason, Julius Caesar – each

statement is supported by a cited parallel between the king and the hero (Meagher, 'First Progress', p. 61) – first offering a hypothetical identification and then speaking directly. The speaker drives home the triumph, virtue, rightful succession, divine favour, and providential accession enjoyed by Henry VII. Finally, the speaker identifies Henry Tudor as the fulfilment of prophecy. For further discussion of Janitor pageant, see Anglo, *Spectacle*, pp. 30-1; McGee, *Critical Edition*, pp. 159-64; Meagher, 'First Progress', pp. 61-2.

17r Wittsonday] (Pentecost Sunday) Sunday May 14, 1486.

17r gowne... satene] Possibly made from the fabrics ordered as the king made his way from York to Worcester (*Materials*, i, p. 419; dated Doncaster, April 30).

17r the popez bulles] The bishop of Imola granted the required dispensation for the union to proceed in January 1485/6, and the marriage took place two days later, on January 18. The papal dispensation was not granted until March 2, 1485/6 and not confirmed until the 27th of that month (*Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, xiv, pp. 1-2, 14-28; 'Bull of Pope Innocent VIII on the Marriage of Henry VII with Elizabeth of York', *Camden Miscellany*, i, (1847), pp. 3-7 (a transcription of the popular form in which the dispensation was printed and circulated in England); Chrimes, *Henry VII*, Appendix D, pp. 330-1; Anglo, *Spectacle*, p. 19; McGee, *Critical Edition*, Appendix D. pp. 257-60).

17r Monday] May 15, 1486.

17r Hereford] A. T. Bannister and M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Hereford Cathedral Library* (Hereford, 1927); R. A. B. Mynors and R.M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library* (Cambridge, 1993); *The Register of Thomas Myllyng, Bishop of Hereford, 1474-1492*, ed. A.T. Bannister (Hereford, 1919) contain nothing of value. In addition, the *Corporation Registers* now only commence at 1500; *The Red Book* is restricted to thirteenth century material; *The Great Black Book* dates from 1543; and the Mayor's and Bailiff's Rolls, and the Rolls of Cases in the City Court, are imperfect (HMC, *Thirteenth Report, Appendix, Part IV* (London, 1892) . W.H. Black and G. M. Hills, 'The Hereford municipal records and the customs of Hereford,' British

Archaeological Association, *Journal*, 27 (London, 1871), pp. 453-488, contains nothing of specific relevance to the civic reception of 1486.)

17r *Long brigge*] Probably Lug Bridge, crossing the Lug River, along the route of the Roman road running from Kenchester to Worcester (McGee, *Critical Edition*, p. 169). This bridge is north and east of Hereford, on the direct route between Worcester and Hereford. Leland, *Itinerary*, ii, pp. 65-66, mentions the bridge but provides no account of its physical character. Lugg Bridge appears on the 1757 map of Hereford printed inside the back cover of J. and M. Tonkin, *The Book of Hereford* (Chesham, 1975). A possible route taken by the royal procession at this stage of the journey, not described by the herald, is set out in McGee, *Critical Edition*, pp. 170-1.

17r *the meire*] Thomas Mey.

17r *the frerez*] Dominicans, Franciscans, the friars of the knights of St. John, the priory of St. Guthlac, and the chapel of St. Martin in the castle (Tonkin, *The Book of Hereford*, p. 36).

17r *the parish chirches*] St Peter's, All Saints, St Nicholas', St. Owen's and St Martin's (Tonkin, *The Book of Hereford*, p. 36).

17r *when he entred the gate*] The pageant of St. George was perhaps located inside the walls and viewed after the king passed through the gate (McGee, *Critical Edition*, pp. 171-2; Tonkin, *The Book of Hereford*, pp. 27, 29).

17r-17v *Seint George*] St. George was a common feature of plays, mummings, ridings, disguisings, pageants, and so on, both in England and on the Continent. Cf. the pageantry in London's reception of Henry V in 1415; in Bristol's pageant for Edward IV in 1461; in Coventry's reception for Prince Edward in 1474 (McGee, *Critical Edition*, p. 172). He appeared again in Coventry in 1498 when the city welcomed Prince Arthur (*Coventry Leet Book*, EETS, o.s. 138, p. 591). See Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, i, pp. 213, 221-24; Withington, *English Pageantry*, i, pp. 22-24, 44-6, 57, n. 3, 150-1, 161, 196. Cf. similarly emphatic promises of support to Henry VI in 1432 'Henry VI's Triumphal Entry in London', *Minor Poems of Lydgate*, p. 633; *Coventry Leet Book*, EETS, o.s. 135, pp. 11-13. For a biography of St. George and discussion of his popularity among the upper echelons of Medieval

English society, see 'S. Riches, 'Seynt George... on whom alle Englonde hath byleve', *History Today* 50.10 (October, 2000), pp. 26-1.

17v the crosse] This is shown in the market place in High St. in the map of Hereford in Tonkin, *Book of Hereford*, frontispiece.

17v whiche sensed the king] King Ethelbert, censured to emphasise his sanctity. Cf. *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne*, ed. R. Kipling, EETS, 296 (London, 1990), pp. 13. Censuring of pageantic characters regularly took place during the course of a royal entry at the cross in Crosscheaping, Coventry; it was a feature of the receptions of Queen Margaret in 1456, of Edward in 1474, and of Arthur in 1498 (*Coventry Leet Book*, EETS, o.s., 135, pp. 289, 392; 138, p. 590).

17v Ethelbert Rex] Son and heir of Ethelred I, king of the East Angles; flourished c. 794; betrayed and executed by Offa, king of the Mercians; venerated as a martyr and buried at Hereford; not the king of Kent suggested by the pageantry (*Butler's Lives*, i, pp. 414-15), raising the possibility that the Hereford pageants were the work of someone outside the city. Henry's visit occurred about a week before the feast of St. Ethelbert (May 20). Further details of Ethelbert's biography can be found in *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ii, 358-9, and E.M. Leather, *The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire* (1912; repr. Menston, 1970), pp. 217-19. Like Henry VI in the Worcester pageant, Ethelbert claims to be acting in response to a petition from the city, but the pleas are less urgent than those offered in Worcester: he identifies himself, welcomes the Henry Tudor, and directs the visiting king to the final pageant of the Blessed Virgin.

18r with many virgins] Essentially decorative, as was common practice (Meagher, 'First Progress', p. 68). Cf. the pageants of Prudencia and Justicia in Bristol (Julius B. XII, fols. 19v-20v); the pageantry prepared by Coventry in 1456 (*Coventry Leet Book*, EETS, o.s. 135, p. 290); the pageantry prepared in Coventry in 1498 (*The Coventry Leet Book*, EETS, o.s., 138, p. 590); the pageantry prepared for Katherine of Aragon (*The Receyte*, p. 13).

18r Our Lady] The key point of Mary's pageant is to usher the king toward the cathedral; also thanks Henry for his devotion to her, and promises that her intercession will make his heavenly reward. See McGee, *Critical Edition*, pp. 178-81; Meagher, 'First Progress', p. 68.

18r the bisshop] Thomas Mylling, bishop of Hereford from 1474-1492; often on missions for the Crown, requiring the appointment of a permanent suffragan, Richard Wycherley, app., 1482 (*Extracts from the Cathedral Registers A.D. 1275-1535*, transl. Rev. E.N. Dew (Hereford, 1932), p. 127; *DNB*, XIII, p. 447).s

18r dean] Thomas Chandeler, installed March 23, 1482.

18r on the morne] Tuesday May 16, 1486.

18r Friday] May 19, 1486

18r Gloucester] The Council Books of Gloucester alone provide any information for the year 1486, and one (retrospective) notice of the royal visit exists: a request for the king's aid (HMC, *Twelfth Report, Appendix IX* (London, 1890), pp. 406-407). The best survey of the extant records of Gloucester is in W.H. Stevenson, *Calendar of the Records of the Corporation of Gloucester* (Gloucester, 1893), pp. 455-66.

18r the mair] William Francombe.

18r shriffs] Robert Rawlins and Philip Predith.

18r scarlet gownes...rede gownes] Costuming to enhance the visual splendour of the event and distinguish between rank and authority: scarlet was the colour of the royal livery and signified the civic officials' status as wardens of the king's city (Wightman, *Royal Entry*, pp. 34-5).

18r betwixte both brigges] The road beyond the west gate of Gloucester had several bridges: the bridge mentioned in the herald's report are likely to be the first and the last, two of Gloucester's most obvious landmarks (McGee, *Critical Edition*, p. 183; Leland, *Itinerary*, ii. 5, pp. 57-8).

18r freres...parische chirches] The Benedictines of St. Peter's Abbey, St Oswald's Priory; Lanthony Priory; Black Friars; Grey Friars; Carmelites; and Hospitals of Saints Mary Magdalen, Bartholomew, and Margaret, St. Ewen's (W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria County History of the County of Gloucester*, 2 vols. (1907; repr. Kent, 1972), ii, pp. 53-61, 84-91, 111-12, 119-22; Leland, *Itinerary*, v.xi, p. 158).

18r thabbot] William Farley, abbot of the Benedictine monks of the Abbey of St. Peter, from 1474-1498 (*Victoria County History, Gloucester*, ii, p. 53-61).

18v *Trinytie Sondag*] May 21, 1486

18v *thabbey of Kinges Woode*] See *Victoria County History, Gloucester*, ii, pp. 99-101; V.R. Perkins, 'Documents relating to the Cistercian Monastery of St. Mary, Kingswood', *Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society Transactions*, xxii (Bristol, 1899), pp.179-256.

18v *Tewsday*] May 23, 1486.

18v *Acton*] now Iron Acton. (H.P.R. Finberg, *Gloucestershire: an Illustrated History* (London, 1955), pp. 48-9.

18v *Bristow*] Many of the early records of the civic and religious institutions in Bristol survive; most have been published by the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society or for the Bristol Record Society. See E. Ralph, *Guide to the Bristol Archives Office* (Bristol, 1971); I. Gray and E. Ralph, *Guide to the Parish Records of the City of Bristol and the County of Gloucester*, Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, Records Section, vol. 5 (1962-3); I. M. Kirby, *The Diocese of Bristol: a Catalogue of the Records of the Bishop and Archdeacons and of the Dean and Chapter* (Bristol, 1970). As the diocese of Bristol was only founded in 1540, few of the records in the latter catalogue are of an earlier date, and none sheds light on Henry VII's visit. Of the secular documents (incl. *Book of Rolls*, *The Great White Book*, *The Staple Court Books*; the acts of the weavers and the bakers of Bristol, *The Great Red Book*, *The Great Orphan Book* and *Book of Wills*; *Tolzey Court Actions*; the records of the merchant tailors) which are by the nature irrelevant, or simply do not cover the years in question. *Robert Ricart's Calendar of Bristol* does not mention the city's preparation for the visit or the entertainments provided. Several annals compiled in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries mention the royal visit, but disagree on the place of the king's residence: a version of the so-called 'Adam's Chronicle' (B(ristol) A(rchives) O(ffice), MS. 13748/4), compiled c. 1625, states that the king resided at the abbey of St. Augustine; *A Catalogue of Mayors, Sheriffs, etc. 112-1814, with Historical Events* (BAO, MS. 08159), compiled between 1779 and 1888, notes that he lodged at the Carmelite friary on the street known as St. Augustine's Back (p. 42; cited in McGee, *Critical Edition*, p. 1876); another folio MS. (printed in *The Bristol Memorialist*, 1 (Bristol, 1816-

1823), p. 39) reports that the king stayed ‘at the great house on St. Augustin[e’s] Back’; two eighteenth-century documents, *A Catalogue of the King’s* (BAO, MS. 07831), and *Annals of Bristol, 1067-1718* (BAO, MS. 22156) report that he ‘did lodge at St. Austins—.’ Further documents in the Bristol archives, incl. *The List of Mayors and Sheriffs 1661-1762 and a Chronological History of Bristol, 1245-1735* (BAO, MS. 09594/1), and a *Calendar of Mayors and Sheriffs with occasional entires of special events* (BAO, MS. 99/36) do not mention Henry Tudor’s visit. See also the map of Bristol c. 1480 in William Hunt, *Bristol*, historic towns series, 3rd edn. (London, 1889), frontispiece.

18v the mair] Henry Vaughan.

18v the shriffes] Richard Sherman; (?).

18v the bailiffes] Philip Kingston; Hugh Jones.

18v a gate of the suburbs] Bristol’s boundaries began at Lawford’s gate, at the east end of the city.

18v a causay wey] Known as the Old Market on Hunt’s map of Bristol c. 1480. According to McGee, *Critical Edition*, p. 189, King Henry probably proceeded west along the causeway to the castle moat, where he should have turned right and continued along Castle Ditch first north, then west to New Gate. The causeway was paved under a royal order from the second parliament of the reign (*RP*, IV, pp. 390-1).

18v frerez...pariche chirches] There appear to have been some twenty parish churches, eight chapels, and six hospitals, in addition to the houses of the major religious orders: the Victorine canons of the abbey of St. Augustine, White Friars, and Augustinians. For brief histories of these, see William Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Gloucester* (1907; repr. 1972), ii, pp. 74-9, 93, 109-11.

18v thentre of the towne gate] For discussion of possible locations of the pageant at New Gate, see McGee, *Critical Edition*, pp. 190-1.

18v-19r King Brennius] Legendary founder of Bristol, equivalent to King Ebrauk, mythical founder of York. Elements of his biography known at the time of the first provincial progress are related in *Ricart’s Calendar of Bristol*, v, pp. 8-10. Bremmius welcomes Henry Tudor as a man sent by God, and as a reformer sent to pull Bristol

from the mire of poverty and decay, through support of its principal industries (navy, cloth making, etc) and he is reminded of the fidelity of the people of Bristol (Meagher, 'First Progress', pp. 69-70). For Bristol's economic status during the fifteenth century, see C.D. Ross, 'Bristol in the Middle Ages', in C.M. MacInnes and W.F. Whittard (ed.), *Bristol and its Adjoining Counties* (Bristol, 1955); E.M. Carus-Wilson, 'The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Fifteenth Century', in *Medieval Merchant Venturers: Collected Studies*, 2nd edn. (London, 1967), pp. 1-97. The city's concern for the prosperity of its industry is also reflected in works like 'A Trade Policy' in *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, ed. R.H. Robbins (1959), pp. 168-74; 'Active Policy of a Prince', in *George Ashby's Poems*, ed. M. Bateson, EETS, e.s., 76 (1866; repr. 1965), ii, pp. 527-33, and others.

19v *procedede in to the towne*] Probably southwest along Winch Street to the intersection of High Street, where the cross stood (McGee, *Critical Edition*, pp. 195-6).

19v *Prudencia*] See Withington, *English Pageantry*, i, pp. 107, 149, 168, 169, 178. Cf. the use of the virtue of prudence in the York pageant of King Solomon. Prudence praises the king's success in keeping his subjects in peace and unity, before directing him on his way with a prayer for his guidance.

19v *ad portam Sancti Johannis*] Henry turned right at the high cross and proceeded northwest up Broad St. to St. John's gate in the inner wall of the city (McGee, *Critical Edition*, p. 200).

20r-20v *Justicia*] This abstract morality-character often appeared in entertainments, political poetry, and religious verse in the company of the other cardinal virtues. See Withington, *English Pageantry*, i, pp. 104, 186-7, 200, 212-12. Here Justice primarily welcomes Henry to the town, describes her own relationship to God, and praises Henry for his administration of justice, praying that he persevere (Meagher, 'First Progress', p. 70-1).

20v *proceded towarde thabbey*] After passing through St. John's Gate, Henry probably proceeded along Christmas or Knivesmith Street to Fromegate. Beyond this gate, he turned to the southwest and approached the abbey of St. Augustine via Hore Street and St. Augustine's Back (McGee, *Critical Edition*, p. 203). The abbey of St.

Augustine was the richest and most powerful religious institution in the city of Bristol. See M.H. Fitzgerald, *The Story of Bristol Cathedral* (London, 1936).

20v *caste oute...a great quantitie of whete*] Cf. the casting out of obleys and wafers at York.

20v *Shipwrightes Pageaunt*] Appears to have consisted of a mechanical dumb show, as planned by Henry Hudson at York, although none of the city records shed any light either on this show or on the guild. Similar pageants have formed part of civic welcomes in the past: 'Henry VI's Triumphal Entry into London', in *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ii, pp. 223-271; *Great Chronicle*, pp. 162-3; Bristol's reception of Edward IV in *Ricart's Calendar of Bristol*, pp. xviii, n.; London's welcome of Charles V in Withington, *English Pageantry*, i, p. 176 and 177.

20v *olifaunte with a castell*] See Withington, *English Pageantry*, i, pp. 66-7.

20v *imagerye smyting bellis*] Almost certainly in the manner of mechanical clocks, which were popular during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Wightman, *Royal Entry*, pp. 86-92, demonstrates the use of mechanical devices as far back as 1377

20v *One the morne*] Wednesday May 24.

20v *Seint Annes in the Wodde*] Situated in Brislington Wood, the chapel of St. Anne belonged to the Augustinians of Keynsham Abbey. See Leland, *Itinerary*, I.2, p. 136.

20v *Corpus Christi Day*] Thursday May 25, 1486.

20v *...went in procession*] Cf. the religious procession in the precincts of York Minster, as described by D. Cowling, 'The Liturgical Celebration of Corpus Christi in Medieval York', *Records of Early English Drama, Newsletter*, 2 (1976), pp. 5-9.

20v *the sentuary*] The churchyard, or here the land north of the Abbey.

20v *all the processions*] The parishes of St James, St. Mary Redcliffe, St. John the Baptist, All Saints, and St. Ewen's church. The account books the proctor of St Ewen's church for 1486-7 record payment for 'beryng the beste Crosse' and for the 'berynge of iiij torches' (*The Church Book of St Ewen's Bristol 1454-1584*, ed. B.R. Masters and E. Ralph, Bristol and Gloucestershire Archeological Society, Records Section, vol. vi (1967), p. 120). Various other payments are also recorded in relation to food, labour, cleaning, the breakfasting of participants, the purchase of candles, and frankincense.

20v *the pulpit*] Cf. the statements of G.R. Owst on open-air preaching and the contruction of pulpits (G.R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England: introduction to sermon manuscripts of the period c. 1350-1450* (1926; repr. New York, 1965), pp. 196, 199, 202, 214).

21r *dyvers means*] The principal views on Henry Tudor's contribution to English shipping are held by W. Bush, *England under the Tudors*, transl. A. M. Todd (London. 1895), I, pp. 70-3. 80-1, 155-6, and Chrimes, *Henry VII*, pp. 226-8, who plays down the extent to which Henry Tudor's policies fostered the prosperity of this industry in the latter decades of the fifteenth century.

21r *On the morne*] Friday, May 26

21r *bedes... metenz*] Possibly bracelets or necklaces; possibly ornaments to adorn a gown, together with other precious metals, wine, (?)meats and the like. Foodstuff were often given as gifts to visiting noblemen and sovereigns, although – if less likely – the latter may have been 'mittens'.

21r *Shene*] The manor of Sheen, several miles up the Thames from London, was destroyed by fire in 1498, and was subsequently replaced by Richmond Castle on the same site.

21r *barges*] Seemingly the earliest record of a water procession as part of a royal entry (Wightman, *Royal Entry*, p. 22). Cf. the procession of Elizabeth of York, going to her coronation (Julius B. XII, fols.) and that of Anne Boleyn (F. Grose and T. Astle (eds.), *The Antiquarian Repertory* (1801), ii, pp. 233-4). The *Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, ed. and transl. B. Marsh (1914), ii, p. 72 notes payments for barge-hire for this event, and for bread, ale and copes for the journey itself.

21r *every craft*] The crafts, often attired in red gowns and distinguished from one another by devices embroidered on the sleeves of their gowns, usually lined the route of entry (Wightman, *Royal Entry*, pp. 34-40).

21r *Seint Margarettes*] This parish church still stands where it did when Henry returned, just south east of Westminster abbey.

21r *Yave hym his sepre*] Presumably Eastney presented Henry with the sceptre of St. Edward, which was kept among the relics of Westminster.

21r *Seint Stevens chapell*] This was a royal chapel within Westminster Palace. The canons did not come under the authority of Eastney.

21r *the morne*] Tuesday June 6, 1486.

21v *the King departed from Westminster towarde the west parties*] The municipal records of Salisbury contain the following entry: '1486, August 30 – Every person being of the number of the xxiiij to ride at the first coming of the King to the City in one suit of livery, and they that are of the number of the xlvij in such clothing as they have honestly ready. The king is to be presented with the sum of 20*l.* of which 12*l.* is to be furnished by the xxiiij. 2. Hen. VII, Wednesday next after the feast of St. Bartholomew the Apostle'. (Muniments of the Corporation of the City of Salisbury', in *HMC. Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections*, vol. IV (1907), p. 210. *Paston Letters*, 328-9, the King was at Shene on August 12, 1486).

21v *Seint Eustas Day*] St. Eustace's Day: Wednesday September 20, 1486. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, pp. 66-7 and 342, gives September 19 as the birth date; Staniland, 'Royal Entry', p. 298; Anglo, *Spectacle*, p. 46, give September 20; the *Book of Remembrance of Southampton*, iii, p. 53 notes that the news of the birth before daybreak on September 20 was conveyed to Southampton later that same day, while the notion that the baby was born in the early hours of the morning is corroborated by an independent heraldic narrative of Prince Arthur's christening. ('Christenyng' in Stowe, *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, pp. 104-105.) However, the assignment of this date to St. Eustace's Day presents some difficulty. Among the most commonly observed feast days in England, St. Eustace/Eustacius's Day falls on November 2 (C.R. Cheney, *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History*, 5th repr. (1945; repr. 1978), p. 50). Several saints bore the names Eustace or Eustacius, including a Roman military officer martyred in 118 A.D.

21v *the Prince Arture was borne...*] The political significance of the birth of a son and heir was immense, signaling success of the king's union of the opposing factions of York and Lancaster. The choice of the name Arthur, and the birthplace as Winchester represented an appeal to the themes of the *British History*, although the full propagandist potential of the event was not realised. The common theme was the end of civil turmoil in England. Anglo, *Spectacle*, p. 46; Anglo, 'The *British History*';

See Bernard Andre, 'Vita Henrici' in *Memorials*, pp. 38-9. The significance is also mentioned in Hall, *Union*, 'Henry the vii', fol. 5r.

21v *and cristened in maner and forme as ensueth*] Cf. BL, MSS. Stowe 583, fols. 8r- (1575-1600) and Additional 6113, fols. 75r ff. (1st – 16th cent.); College of Arms, MSS. I.7, ff. 10v– 12v (mid.16th cent.) and M6, fols 28r-30r (mid. 16th cent.); Lambeth MS. 306, f. 53r (late 16th cent., printed in Stowe, *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, pp. 104-105); Alnwick MS. 467, fols. 94v-96 (16th cent.) See Chapter 1, for discussion of the transmission of the christening narrative in BL, MS. Cotton Julius B. xii, fols. 21v-24r. Anglo provides a brief description of the christening in *Spectacle*, 46-7, but relies wholly on the Leland/Hearne (Leland, *Collectanea*, iv, pp. 207ff). Staniland, 'Royal Entry' offers the best discussion of the christening and associated rituals and symbolism. The ceremonial surrounding the baptism is fully described in the *LRC*, pp. 67-72, and more briefly in *Antiquarian Repertory*, i, pp. 353-357. See also H.D. Fisher, *Christian Initiation: Baptism in the Medieval West*, Alcuin Club Collections, xlvii (1965), pp. 111-16; C.S. Cobb, *The Rational of Ceremonial*, Alcuin Club Collections, xviii (1910), pp. 7-12. Further insight into the ritual of christening, if principally of slightly later date, may be gleaned from Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, esp. Chapter 1. For notices of the birth and christening of Elizabeth of York in 1467, see Fabyan, *The New Chronicles of England and France*, ed. H. Ellis (London, 1811), p. 655 and N.L. Harvey, *Elizabeth of York* (London, 1973), p. 3.

21v *the yere of Our Lorde M CCCC lxxxvi*] 1486. Arthur's birth is incorrectly assigned to 1487 in *Great Chronicle of London*, p. 241, *Greyfriars Chronicle*, p. 180, and Fabyan, *New Chronicles*, p. 683, due to the practice of dating by mayoral years.

21v *the Soneday then next folowing...at Lanam in Suffolk*] Sunday September 24, 1486. The ceremony was postponed for four days due largely to the absence of the earl of Oxford, one of the godfathers at the font, who was then at his capital manor in Lavenham, Suffolk. Arthur was born in the thirty-fifth week of queen's pregnancy, which may account for the failure of Oxford to be ready and lodged near the queen's chamber with the other 'gossips'. Inclement weather also appears to have delayed Oxford's return.

21v-22r *Te Deum with procession...and many fiers made*] Seemingly the standard means of proclaiming the birth of a royal child. (Staniland, 'Royal Entry', p. 303). See also Anglo, *Spectacle*, p. 47.

21v-22r *messengers sent to al the astatez and cities*] *The Book of Remembrance of Southampton* records the receipt of the news on the afternoon of the birth, which occurred before day-break.

22r *the body of al the cathedrall chyrche...*] The porch and doorway were traditionally hung with cloths or tapestries and carpets laid on the ground; inside more cloths and tapestries were hung, with cloth of gold draped around the high altar and chancel (Staniland, 'Royal Entry', p. 303). Cloths and other materials used for the decoration of the church are in *Materials*, ii, p. 34. Other purchases associated with the confinement of the queen, birth and preparation for the christening are found in *Materials*, ii, pp. 38-9, 52, 168-9, 176-9; PRO, E404/79/46(201), E404/79/300, E404/79/303. A more comprehensive picture of provisions appears in a group of entries added to the so-called *Ryalle Book* soon after Arthur's birth. (BL, MS. Additional. 38174; *Antiquarian Repertory*. i, pp. 333-8.)

22r *a solempne fonte*] Silver and gilt font, adorned with fine cloth of 'reyns' (fine linen made in Rheims), cloth of gold drapes and precious and semi-precious stones; placed in a prominent position beside the cathedral's own font, between the altar and the choir; usually raised, on an iron post, above several steps covered with red cloth and secured with gilt nails. The area around the font was carpeted; over the font was suspended a large, ornate canopy.

22r *on the north side...*] A clear space was created around the font by the erection of a tapestry or cloth-covered barrier, and two guarded entrances gave access to the participants chosen by the king. Before the baptism, the dean of the Chapel Royal filled the font with warmed holy water, sealing it with a cloth of gold; the water was hallowed (here, by Bishop John Alcock of Worcester). See also J.G. Davies, *The Architectural Setting of Baptism* (London, 1962), p. 74.

22r *and ther was fyre with fummygacions*] Between the choir and the font, a closet was constructed with carpets, cushions, fire and heated water, gold and silver bowls and basins, and towels (*Liber Regie Capelle*, pp. 68-9; *Antiquarian Repertory*, i, p. 334.

See also the pen and ink sketches accompanying the account of Prince Arthur's baptism in BL, MS. Stowe 583, fols. 4r-7v and College of Arms, MS. M6, fols. 77v-83v).

22v *the quenes great chambre*] The place of the queen's confinement, the Prior's Great Hall, adjacent to the baptismal church, and the place of commencement of the procession toward the church. The main items for use in the baptism were ceremoniously delivered to the courtiers in the procession by the appropriate household officers (*Liber Regie Capelle*, p. 69; *Antiquarian Repertory*, i, p. 334).

22v *As followeth they proceeded...*] Usually led by 200 squires or men-at-arms with unlit torches (here and in Princess Margaret's christening, at Julius B. XII, fols. 61v-63r, 120 torches only; reason unknown) followed by officers of arm, the Chapel Royal, other knights and esquires, the christening regalia, the godparents, the royal baby carried beneath the canopy by a princess or duchess, and so on. (*Liber Regie Capelle*, p. 69; *Antiquarian Repertory*, i, pp. 354-5.) Cf. the brief notes on the christening of Princess Bridget in 1480, where only 100 torches are used, in BL, MSS. Additional 6113, fols. 74r-v, Add. 46354, fol. 41r. (The former is printed in F. Madden, 'The Christening of Princess Bridget, 1480', *Gentleman's Magazine*, i, (1831), p. 25, and P. Routh, 'Princess Bridget', *The Ricardian*, 3.49 (1975), pp. 13-114.); Princess Margaret's christening, 1489, Julius B. XII, fols. 61v-63r.

23r *a little door beside the weest end...west ende of the chirche.*] Clearly the inclement weather, also mentioned at Julius B. XII, fol. 21v, prevented the baptismal procession from entering the cathedral at the large door on the west end of the nave, as was usual practice. The procession was required to enter via a smaller door to the western end of the south wall of the nave, which was out of the prevailing northern winds. This statement has confused at least one modern commentator, who assumed the second 'west' to have been a scribal error for 'east' (hence: for the wether was to cowlde and to fowlle to have been at the [east] ende of the chirche'), and thus that the baptismal font was usually set up at the east end and only relegated to the west in 1486 (Staniland, 'Royal Entry', p. 306 and n. 52). In fact, the christening font was usually set up at the west end of the church (Dickinson, *Later Middle Ages*, p. 450), and the herald's statement signals no more than the change from the great door on the

very west end of the nave, to a smaller entrance around the corner on the south wall of the nave.

23r *And Queen Elizabeth was in the chirche*] Elizabeth Woodville, dowager queen; appears to have awaited the arrival of the baby inside the cathedral, rather than taking part in the procession, for reasons unknown. The baby was carried in procession by Cecily. Anglo, *Spectacle*, p. 47, erroneously states that the king and queen were present at the baptism, and his misassumption derive from confusion over the herald's reference to 'Queen Elizabeth'.

23r *howbeit they taried...*] Delay in proceedings caused by the absence of the earl of Oxford, one of the godfathers at the font. The king and queen probably waited in the queen's outer chamber during this time, from where they were given a commentary on proceedings and the king could order the christening to begin (Staniland, 'Royal Entry', p. 307). Sandford, *Genealogical History of the King's of England*, p. 499, contains the suggestion that Oxford also stood godfather to Prince Henry in 1491. No other evidence exists on this fact, and it is possible that this results from confusion over which son.

23r *And the entrede therle of Oxinford*] Accompanied the baby to the high altar for presentation and confirmation (Lambeth MS. 306, as printed in Stowe, *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, p. 105) states that the Lord Neville carried the baby's lit taper to the altar. This detail is not recorded in the memoir christening narrative or derivative accounts.

23v *served Queen Elizabeth*] Re-commencement of the secular ceremonial, after baptism: the infant was redressed in the closet; the godparents washed to remove surplus holy water and chrism; wine and spices were served for the principal participants. At this point in the proceedings, provision was presumably made for presentation of the godparents' gifts to the royal infant, to be included in the procession returning to the queen's great chamber.

23v *the other gosseps*] The queen's familiar companions taking part in the ceremony: the Lady Anna and the Lady Cecily, sisters of the queen and others listed at Julius B. XII, fol. 23r.

23v *Sent Swythens shryne*] Place of offering of godparents' gifts. The shrine was located in the retrochoir, behind the high altar. It stands over the place where Swithun's remains are reputed to have been re-interred, some time after their exhumation from the old Saxon church in 971. The extant shrine was constructed in 1969.

23v *Seint Swythyne*] Named bishop of Winchester in 852; chaplain and counselor to King Egbert of the West Saxons, and tutor to his son Ethelwulf. He was known for his humility and aid to the poor and needy. d. July 2, 862; feast day, July 15.

23v *norserye*] The baptised infant was taken into the queen's inner chamber by her ladies and offered first to the queen and then to the king. The godparents' gifts were probably presented. The infant was returned to the care of its governess, nurses and rockers in its nursery, and celebrations ensued. *Liber Regie Capelle*, p. 72; *OHR*, pp. 126-7; *Antiquarian Repertory*, i, p. 306. Gifts customarily took the form of gold cups, salts, basins and coffers of coins. The 1483 *Articles ordained by King Henry VII* state that it was for the king to stipulate whether these gifts were carried 'privily or openly', *OHR*, p. 126.

24r *purified*] The purification ritual was not described by the herald. Following birth and baptism, queen isolated from court for a period of about 40 days. *Liber Regie Capelle*, p. 72, specifies 60 days, in accordance with church teaching (Cf. *Leviticus*, xii). Normal practice seems to have entailed shorter confinement. The problem is discussed in K. Staniland, 'The Birth of Thomas of Brotherton', *Costume* 19 (1985), pp. 1-13, esp. pp. 12-13. The queen's emergence for churching was an integral part of royal birth celebrations accompanied by more splendid ceremonial than those which follow baptism. Straight forward ritual with fewer opportunities for display and embellishment than the other ceremonials. *Liber Regie Capelle*, pp. 72-3; Staniland, 'Royal Entry', p. 308; Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, chapter 2. An eye-witness account of the churching Elizabeth Woodville after the birth of Elizabeth of York in 1465 is given in *Travels of Leo of Rozmital*, ed. and transl. M. Letts (Hakluyt Soc., 2nd ser., cviii, 1957), pp. 46-8. Cf. Julius B. XII, fol. 63r where Queen Elizabeth was churched privately after the birth of Princess Margaret because of an outbreak of measles.

24r *agu*] Illness unknown, perhaps related to childbirth. Queen Elizabeth died in childbirth in 1503.

24r *Grenewich*] *Plumpton Correspondence*, p. 54, records that the king and queen were in Greenwich by November 29. They might even have been there by November 18 (*Plumpton Correspondence*, pp. 52 n. a).

24r *fest of Al Halows*] Wednesday November 1, 1487.

24r *Newyeres Day*] Monday January 1, 1487.

24r *our regester*] The heralds kept documents of the gifts and largess they received on these occasions: a curious deletion at this point in the text suggests that the heralds were dissatisfied with the queen's largess on this occasion. The manner of 'giving the king a good new year', and the gifts received by the heralds, is described in Wagner, *Heralds*, pp. 95-6.

24v *the mooste reverende fader...intrononysed*] The official, semi-public installation of John Morton, then bishop of Ely, as Archbishop of Canterbury: Sunday, (?)7/1/87. Morton was made Chancellor on March 6, 1486 and archbishop before the end of the year. (*CPR*, p. 360; Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 57, 105). The herald-recorder of this event was clearly not present for Morton's progress toward Canterbury, but must have learned this information later. He most probably joined the party at Canterbury for his information is thereafter detailed and accurate, and his opinion of the feast is based on eye-witness experience. Cf. the preparations for the installations of Archbishops Neville and Warham in Leland, *Collectanea*, vol. vi.

24v *As for all the solempnytie...boke*] The nature of this record is no longer known.

25r *Candle masse*] Thursday February 2, 1487.

25r *great counsell*] Held at Sheen; probably closed on March 3 (*Paston Letters and Papers*, i, p. 653); involved discussion of measures to combat the 'Simnel' plot then unfolding; decision taken to deprive Elizabeth Woodville of her widow's jointure and confine her to a nunnery, reasons unknown (*Materials*, ii, p. 148-9. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 76n. 3 argues strongly against the notion that the king suspected Woodville's involvement in the plot.); it might also have been resolved to parade the earl of Warwick in London, as suggested in various chronicle sources (Molinet, *Chroniques*, i, pp. 562-3; Andre, *Vita*, pp. 49-50; Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, p. 17; Hall, *Union*,

‘Henry the vii’, fol. 7v; Holinshed, *Chonicle*, p. 486). Evidence of conspiracy dated back to end of the previous year and the beginning of 1487 (*Plumpton Correspondence*, p. 54; *Paston Letters and Papers*, ii, pp. 448-9 and i, 653; *CPR*, i, pp. 158, 172, 179; *Materials*, ii, 118; PRO E404/79/109(263), *RP*, VI, pp. 436-7, etc.) The best discussion of the early days of the conspiracy is in Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, esp. pp. 41-68.

25r *therle of Warwik*] The herald refers to the impostor, ‘Lambert Simnel’, then in Ireland and touted as Edward earl of Warwick, son of the late duke of Clarence, nephew to Richard III and Edward IV, and heir to the English throne. The real Warwick had been committed to the Tower at the beginning of the reign, and remained there until his execution on November 21, 1499 (Chrimes, *Henry VII*, 336, 51, 72, 70, 92, 284, 337, 88, 92, 307, 337). The imposture is studied in detail in Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*.

25r *beginning of Lenton*] Commenced Wednesday March 7, 1487.

25r *departed into Ireland*] The king probably did not learn of Lincoln’s departure for Ireland until the time that he was drawing near to Coventry, c. April 20 (Julius B. XII, fol. 25v). This statement indicates that the extant report was written no earlier than the day on which the king and court learned that the rebels had reached Ireland. Internal textual evidence suggests it was written after Whitsuntide 1488.

25r *the narrow see*] English Channel.

25r *The King departed...*] The royal entourage left Sheen no earlier than Wednesday March 7, when a courtier wrote ‘in haste’ of the projected itinerary (*Paston Letters and Papers*, i, pp. 653-4). The second week of Lent commenced on Sunday March 11; the third week, on Sunday March 18. Edwards, *Itineraries*, p. 41, favours March 13 or 14. The nature of the journey at its outset is uncertain, although the move into East Anglia carried the royal entourage into the heartland of de la Pole territory and coincided with security measures and recruitment in the area (*Materials*, ii, pp. 106-7, 135, 136-7; PRO E404/79/178, E404/79/109(263); *Norfolk and Surrey Household Books*, pp. 493ff); yet, there is also evidence to suggest a more leisurely event (*Paston Letters and Papers*, i, p.654; *Materials*, ii, p. 122).

25r Bery] Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk.

25r Ester] April 12-16, 1487. Holinshed, *Chronicles*, p. 486, refers erroneously to *Christmas* Day in Norwich, although the rest of his timing for the battle of Stoke is accurate enough. This is probably due to dating by mayoral years.

25r on the Thursday] Maundy Thursday: Thursday April 12, 1487.

25r Walsingham...offering] The shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham (See C. King, 'Shrines and Pilgrimages before the Reformation', *History Today*, 29.10 (1979), pp. 664, 669). The king's devotion at the shrine is mentioned by Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, p. 21.

25v Caumbridge] Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, i, pp. 233-4, mentions the royal visit, but again draws upon the narrative in Leland, *Collectanea*.

25v Coventrye] *The Coventry Leet Book: or Mayor's Register*, ed. M.D. Harris (London, 1908), part ii, contains nothing relevant to the 1487 visit, but has some provisions for 1485/6. The reading of the papal bulls at Coventry was based upon excursions to the pope in February that year and earlier (PRO E404/79/58(213); E404/79/162). The papal bulls were also promulgated at Furness and nearby Cartmel in the north west (*YHB*, ii, pp. 557-8.) For discussion of the papal dispensation regarding the king's marriage, see Chrimes, *Henry VII*, Appendix D, pp. 330-1. On April 30, from Coventry, the king ordered the delivery of ordnance from Scarborough to York, but by May 4, he was able to write to the city of York of his knowledge that the rebels had left the Low Countries and gone westward (*YHB*, ii, pp. 556, 557-8).

25v And that yere... Windsore] The Garter feast was postponed until Sunday May 13, after the king neglected to instruct the treasurer to make funds available for April 23, as customary (PRO E404/79/183; *Materials*, ii, p. 152-3.)

26r Kenelworth] Kenilworth, Warwicks. Whitsuntide, 1487. The above instructions for the celebration of the Garter feast were dispatched from Kenilworth on May 8 (*Materials*, ii, p. 152-3); around May 13, Henry Tudor made arrangements for his wife and mother to join him there (*Letters of the Kings of England*, i, p. 171.); on May 15 he dispatched a letter to the city of York (*YHB*, ii, p. 562). There is some question as to whether the eight-month-old prince was also summoned to Kenilworth: Julius B. XII, fol. 26r, mentions the queen and the king's mother; fol. 27v has 'the

quene and the prince'; Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 69, doubts the presence of the baby prince.

26r *whether within a shorte while...Furnesse Fellez*] The kings seems to have had his almoner, Christopher Urswick, dispatched to check out possible landing sites in the area at the time the rebels landed (Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, p. 23).

26r *assemblede his counseill...*] Context for the mobilisation of the vanguard and cavalry wings; probably attended by those heralds on campaign, as the formation of the vanguard is described in detail in the memoir. Similar description (but mistakenly attributed to the rearguard) is found in Molinet, *Chroniques*, p. 56. Historians generally assume, by reference to an amendment (possibly editorial) to Vergil, that the main battalion was commanded by the duke of Bedford (Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, pp. 22-3, n. 15); yet, the herald offers no comment on this matter, and was probably not in contact with the main battalion during its mobilisation. Molinet and other early chronicle sources also say little or nothing about the main battalion (Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, pp. 20-1; *Great Chronicle of London*, p. 241).

26r *the wyng of the right hande*] Molinet, *Chroniques*, p. 564, suggests that the right and left cavalry wings comprised 2 000 and 12 000 horses respectively, and attributes leadership of left to Sir John Savage.

26v-27v *The King our Souveraigne Lorde straytly charge...*] Disciplinary regulations proclaimed over the army and town, tantamount to a declaration of martial law; probably copied verbatim from a document prepared in the council; offers insight to heralds' role in maintaining discipline in the army (fols. 27r-27v). Cf. *Tudor Proclamations*, pp. 15-20. These proclamations were subsequently put into effect in

Leicester and Loughborough, with a special emphasis upon the expulsion of prostitutes and other camp-followers (fol. 27v).

27v ...*procede to Coventrye*] Probably the main battalion, under (?)Bedford, assembled in Coventry; the king and vanguard now appear to have regrouped with the main battalion at Coventry, before proceeding northward. Logistical reasons for the separation of the battalion and vanguards primarily rest upon the small size of both Coventry and, more so, Kenilworth: the former town had a population of c. 6 000 (M. Keen, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, 1990, p. 87).

27v *And on the morrow*] Monday June 11, 1487. Further evidence suggests that Lord Clifford was routed on the night of June 10 trying to take on the rebel army at Bramham moor, and the advance part were routed near Doncaster around the same time (YHB, ii, pp. 571-3; Molinet, *Chroniques*, I, pp. 563-4; Pollard, *Contemporary Sources*, i, p. 54).

27v *Tewsday*] June 12, 1487.

27v *Bonley Ryce*] Possibly Bunny, Notts. (Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 81). Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, p. 23, states the town was called 'Banrys' in the vernacular; Hall, 'Henry the vii', *Union*, fol. 9v and Holinshed, *Chronicles*, p. 487, have 'Bowres' [*sic* Bonres?].

27v *And on the Wednesday*] June 13, 1487.

27v *did not so welle ther dilligence*] The harbingers and marshals were in charge of arranging accommodation for the king and his company. While the memoir contains other references to procedural problems (Cf. Julius B. XII, fol. 37v) this is the only case in this document where blame is explicitly apportioned. Information on the function of the king's harbingers and marshals, principally under Edward IV, see Myers, *Household*.

28r *sett his folkes... batell*] Battle formation: probably the vanguard facing south toward Nottingham, with lines of archers and billmen to the rear. The army appears to have advanced as far north of Nottingham as Redhill – perhaps to secure a Derbyshire following and provide support for the advance party under Lord Scales – although the household accounts record a stop at Redhill for the night of Tues. June 12 (Bennett,

Lambert Simnel, p. 82; PRO E101/412/19). The king passed the night in undisclosed lodgings south of Nottingham.

28r ...*a this side Nottingham*] – probably produced in the vicinity of London. See Julius B. XII, fol. 28r, where the herald notes that the king ‘roode to a village iij myle *a this side Nottingham*’ [my italics]. It is probable that this statement is one of the few minor interpolations which found their way into the text during the writing-up process, and that it reflects the place of the transcription of this portion of text. The army was advancing north of Nottingham, when, on the Wednesday night, the king retired to lodgings on ‘this side’ of Nottingham.

28r ...*taken certeyn espies*] Yorkist agents spread the news that the king had been routed, with the result that reinforcements turned back, and others fled to sanctuary (Armstrong, ‘Speed and Distribution’, p. 103; *Great Chronicle*, p. 241; *Letters and Papers*, i, p. 94.) Two further incidents occurred at Lenton and Radcliff (fol. 28v).

28r *And on the morrow...Corpus Christi Day*] Thursday June 14, 1487. The York muniments record a statement for Corpus Christi Day that, having returned to the city to deal with a minor assault on Bootham Bar led by Lords Scrope of Bolton and Masham, Northumberland rode north, rather than south to join the king (*YHB*, ii, p. 572; Chrimes, *Henry VII*, pp. 35, n.2, 42 n.1, 38, 140 n.1, 327).

28r *the king...rode bakeward...*] Cf. Henry Tudor’s reputed actions at the Battle of Stoke (Ellis (ed.), *Vergil’s ‘English History’*, pp. 217-8). According to the herald-recorder, Lord Strange’s army, combined with that of his father, was enough to tip the balance either way. Strange’s host now possibly made up the rearguard (Molinet, *Chroniques*, i, p. 564). Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, pp. 22-3 (esp. the editorial amendment in n. 15) suggests a great number of lords, captains and knights arrived at this point. Probably only six or so peers in the royal army (Bennett, ‘Northern Rising’, p. 52). In addition, John Viscount Welles had seemingly not yet arrived with men of London and the Home Counties (Molinet, *Chroniques*, i, p. 563; Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 77).

28r *Garter King of Arms*] The favoured John Writhe; probably led the army through its maneouvers.

28r-28v *the kinges hooste... Lenton*] The royal army was probably in a series of encampments around Nottingham: the battalion positioned toward Lenton, the earl of Derby's following to the left, and the vanguard by Nottingham Bridge (Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 82). The desertions on this occasion may have been caused by the return of the royal advance party, which had been routed near Doncaster (Molinet, *Chroniques*, i, p. 563).

28v *on the Friday*] June 15, 1487. The royal army now moved out from their camps in three columns, with cavalry wings (Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 83; Molinet, *Chroniques*, i, p. 564). The movements of the royal army as it shadowed the rebel host along the banks of the Trent, and the disagreement between Vergil and the herald's account, are discussed by Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 84.

28v *And on the morne...Saturday*] June 16, 1487. The day of the battle. The royal host appears to have followed the course of the River Trent, at least as far as East Bridgeford (Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 94).

28v *Stook*] Stoke-on-Trent, Notts; several km from the market town of Newark.

28v *recountrede his enemies...*] The earliest descriptive account of the battle was penned by Vergil (Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, p. 25. He is followed by Holinshed, *Chronicles*, p. 489; and Hall, *Union*). The principal battle dead are listed in *The Great Chronicle*, p. 241; Molinet, *Chroniques*, i, p. 564; *Greyfriars' Chronicle*, p. 180; Fabyan, *New Chronicles*, p. 683; Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, p. 25; Holinshed, *Chronicles*, pp. 488. The notice of the slain set down by Vergil and copied by Holinshed and Hall, and that belonging to the *Greyfriars Chronicle* evidently derive from a source compiled before it was known that Lovell was not among the dead. Holinshed and Hall raise the question of Lovell's disappearance. See *Paston Letters and Papers*, ii, pp. 455-6, where Lovell's wife was still searching for him in early 1488.

29r *therle of Lincoln*] Forfeited his estates, but the de la Pole patrimony remained safe at that time (Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 108).

29r *the vicount Lovel*] disappeared after the battle. Cf. the report in *Paston Letters and Papers*, ii, pp. 455-6, where Lovell was said to have been killed derived from

materials presumably compiled before it was known that Lovell was not among the dead. His whereabouts were still unknown in 1488.

29r *the lade the rebels callede King Edward... John*] This is the earliest, independent reference to the name of the boy-pretender known to posterity as Lambert Simnel. The other English source most closely related to the battle, the records of the city of York, offers no clue to the boy's identity (*YHB*, ii, p. 573), while the name Lambert Simnel first appears in the Act of Attainder of November 1487 (*RP*, VI. P. 397). The mystery surrounding the identity of the boy is discussed in Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, esp. Chapter 4 'The Lambert Simnel Mystery', pp. 41-56.

29r *the king made xiiij banerettes...*] Cf. the names of the knights and bannerets created at the battle in *Paston Letters, 1422-1509*, p. 157, and by Garter Writhe BL, MS. Additional 46354, fol. 16v-18r. All three sources are closely related. Cf the additional notices regarding the fee-paying status of the heralds in the latter list.

29r *Sir Edmund Bedingfield*] Also granted lands forfeited by *Materials*, ii, p. 203.

29v *Sir [William] Tod...Sir Richarde York*] Rewarded with knighthood and annuities of 20 and 40 for life (*CPR*, pp. 256-7, 303; Palliser, *Tudor York*, p. 44) Other rewards are noted in PRO 5404/79/151.

29v *Seynt Laurence Even*] Thursday August 9, 1487.

29v *Seynt Bartholowes Day*] Friday August 24, 1487.

29v *And in the King's retourning to London*] October, in the lead-up to the coronation of his queen and the opening of parliament; entry perhaps delayed to heighten the drama. Immediately after the battle, the royal entourage rode back to Coventry and Kenilworth, before advancing north, and back down through Warwickshire (Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 106; Edwards, *Itineraries*, p. 41). See also the collection of funds in the aftermath of the battle in PRO E101/413/2, part 1, fols. 1r-28r.

30r *the coronacion of Elizabeth*] Comparatively little information exists for the coronation of queens consort. Among those readily available are: Smith, *Elizabeth Woodville* and Sutton, *Richard III*, where the latter was crowned with her husband. See also Legg, *English Coronation Records*, pp. lvii-lxiii.

30r *the day of Seynt Kateryn*] Sunday November 25, 1487. Several of the chronicle sources, following the mayor years, mistakenly attribute the coronation to the year 1488, due to the practice of dating by mayoral year (*Great Chronicle*, p. 241; Fabyan's, *Chronicle*, p. 68). The coronation was probably deliberately postponed by the king for political reasons, although preparation had been under way since 1485 (PRO 5404/79/98(375); *Materials*, i, p. 253).

30r *and a vj dayes before...commyssyon...*] Also printed in *Materials*, ii, p. 202. November 19. The genesis of the Court of Claims and the individual claims of noblemen are discussed in Sutton and Hammond, *Richard III*, pp. 245-53; Legg, *English Coronation Records*, pp. lxvii-lxxx; Schramm, *History*, pp. 61-71. The first known minutes of proceedings the Court of Claims, those for Richard II, are printed in Legg, *English Coronation Records*, pp. 131-168, and summarised by Schramm, *History*, p. 86. One of only two near-complete collections of petitions still in existence. Cf. the reproduction of the petition of the Cinque Ports in Sutton and Hammond, *Richard III*, p. 195; several petitions from the Court of Claims of Richard II in Legg, *English Coronation Records*, pp. 133-45, 150-164 (French with translations).

34r *The Saturday next before the feste of Alhalowes*] Saturday October 28, 1487.

34r *...began his journey*] From Warwick to London, via St. Albans and Barnet and Islington. This was the king's first return to London since the battle of Stoke, possibly delayed to heighten the moment. Context for the knighting of several adherents after Stoke.

34r *Alsolne Day.*] All Souls Day. Friday November 2, 1487.

34r *And on the morne...*] Saturday November 3, 1487.

34r-34v *London*] Grand civic reception in the traditional manner; the reaction of the Londoners appears to have been more effusive than that which greeted the king after Bosworth (Anglo, *Spectacle*, p. 49).

34v *And on the morn*] Sunday November 4, 1487.

34v *Fryday next before Seint Kateryns Day.*] Friday November 23, 1487.

34v-35r *...coming forthe from Grenewich by water*] The traditional barge ride from Greenwich to the Tower of London, attended by barges of the London guilds and

civic dignitaries; probably marshaled by the heralds. This is the one of the earliest known records of pageantry on the Thames, although no information survives on the devices used. The fire-breathing red dragon on the bachelors' barge was probably like that used for Anne Boleyn's coronation in 1533 ('The receiving conveying and coronacon of Queene Anne, wief to king Henrie theight', in BL, MS. Eg. 985, fol. 48rff; Wynkyn de Worde, *The noble triumphant coronacyon of Queen Anne*, ed. A.F. Pollard, in *Tudor Tracts* (1903); Hall, *Union; Anglo, Spectacle*, pp. 246-61). On the topic of the guilds of London and river pageantry, see G. Unwin, *The Guilds and Companies of London*, 4th edn. (London, 1963), esp. 267-92. See also W.C. Hazlitt, *The livery companies of the city of London: their origin, character, development, and social and political importance* (1892; repr. New York, 1969). Some idea of the immense organisation required for this event may be seen in Anglo, *Spectacle*, pp. 10ff and E.W. Ives, *Anne Boleyn* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 215ff.

35r *Were created...in maner and form as the picture thereof sheweth.*] *Writhe's Garter Book*, BL, Loan MS. 90, contains a pictorial record of the form of creating a knight of the Bath. Wagner, 138, feels it was probably created for Writhe and perhaps in connection with the creation of the knights on the Eve of the coronation of Elizabeth of York, as described by our herald, or in connection with the creation on the occasion of the knighthood of Edward Prince of Wales in 1475. Illustrates the connection between the creation of the 'Memory' and John Writhe, then Garter King of Arms. Heraldic notes for the creation of knights of the Bath in 'The maner of makynge Knyghtes after y^e custome of England in tyme of peace, and at the coronacion, that is to say Knyghtes of the Bathe' in Stowe, *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, pp. 106-13.

35v *the Satirday*] Saturday November 24, 1487.

35v *a kyrtyll of white...*] Cf. the descriptions of the apparel of Queens Elizabeth Woodville and Anne Neville on the day of the Vigil of their coronation. This is some of the only surviving description of Elizabeth of York's appearance.

37r-37v *whiche after the opynyon...*] difference of opinion among the heralds responsible for marshaling the procession. This appears to be a procedural question requiring discussion and rectification

37v *with white roses and sonnes*] dynastic emblems of the House of York: the sun had been a favoured device of Edward IV (Anglo, *Images*, p77; *Privy Purse Expenses*, esp. pp. 117, 118, 119, 136, 137, 143, 144, 152). The emblems' display on this occasion is testament to the growing strength and credibility of the new regime.

38r *a kyrtyll and a mantell of purple vewet*] Cf. the descriptions of the apparel of Queens Elizabeth Woodville and Anne Neville on the day of their coronations.

38v *but the mor pitie...*] Cf. the account of the collapse of a scaffold of spectators inside the church at the coronation of Henry VII (BL, MS. Eg. 985, fols. 40vff).

38v-39v *came to the entre of the west dore...*] Remarkably full account of the religious forms for the coronation, though not under the heralds' jurisdiction; almost certainly taken from an oral or written report, perhaps derived from the Chapel Royal Cf. the regulations for the religious service in *LRC*; a synoptical table of the service is found in Sutton and Hammond, *Richard III*, pp. 207-12; several items of the regalia used in the queen's coronation are described in Legg, *English Coronation Records*, 'Introduction'.

40r *red roses...rede dragons*] Emblems of the House of Tudor, symbolic of the red dragon prophecy, etc. (Anglo, *Images*, p. 80). The red roses were used again to adorn a canopy in the queen's lying-in chamber in 1489 (Julius B. XII, fol. 58v).

40v] The feast itself was a heavily-spiced spread of game meats, poultry, wildfowl, fish and eel, each stewed, mashed, roasted, broiled or baked: an extravagant profusion of 48 dishes in two courses (Julius B. XII, fols. 40v-41v). The importance of the coronation banquet as a means of display is discussed in Sutton and Hammond, *Richard III*, pp. 282-88. It is possible that as many as 3000 people were fed at Westminster that day. Cf. the descriptions of coronation feasts, number of courses and dishes, and the subtleties in Sutton and Hammond, *Richard III*, pp. 283-9. Numerous works are of value for fifteenth-century recipes, glossaries, etc.: *Earl English Meals and Manners*, ed. F.J. Furnivall, EETS, o.s. 32 (London, 1868); *Two Fifteen-Century Cookery Books*, ed. T. Austin, EETS, o.s. 91 (London, 1888); *Early English Recipes*, ed. M.J. Webb (Cambridge, 1937); R. Napier, *A Noble Boke of Cookry* (London, 1882); Samuel Pegge, *The Forme of Cury* (London, 1780); R. Warner, *Antiquitates Culinariae: Tracts on Culinary Affairs of the Old English*

(London, 1791). Secondary sources include W.E. Mead, *The English Medieval Feast* (London, 1931); A. Sim, *Food and Feast in Medieval England* (Stroud, 1997); A. Sim, *Food and Feast in Tudor England* (Stroud, 1997); Schramm, *History*, pp.9. 90-1. See also the details for the feast accompanying the installation of Archbishops Warham and Neville in Leland, *Collectanea*, vi.

40v *a soteltie*] ‘Subtlety’: elaborate confections of sugar, pastry, wax, paint and paper, usually symbolic or emblematic; the ‘warner’ is the subtlety that precedes the banquet. Unfortunately the subjects of the subtleties for Elizabeth of York’s coronation are not known. Cf. subtleties for coronations of Henry V and Henry VI in Sutton and Hammond, *Richard III*, pp. 283-4. Since the subjects of neither the warner or the subtleys are described and the layout of the list makes it appear to have been transcribed from a pre-prepared list.

40v *And at the right end of the table...*] An example of the difficulties experienced in recording for eye-witness heralds. Cf. similar comments at the account of the funeral of Edward IV and the marriage of Princess Margaret.

42v-45r Extended catalogue of all principal persons present at the coronation, under category of rank. The list contains the names of some thousand people from both sides of the political divide.

45v *parliament*] November, 1487. Opened with a discourse from Archbishop Morton, Chancellor, on the evils of discord; attainder of Lincoln, punishment of men from both sides, including many of the king’s own supporters (Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p. 109); grant of two fifteenths and tenths (allegedly partly in lieu of the uncollected balance of a fifteenth and tenth granted to Richard II in 1484) was voted in (Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 197; *RP*, VI, pp. 400-1), which indirectly contributed to the rising of 1489.

45v *Cristemesse*] Cf. descriptions of Christmas 1486, 1488 and 1489 at Julius B. XII, fols. 24r, 52v and 63v-64r.

45v-46v *Newyeres day*] extensive description of the heralds’ crying of largess and their rewards, together with a brief prescriptive statement of the custom never to cry a person of lesser degree than a viscount, without his being Steward or Chamberlain. See Wagner, *Heralds*, p. 94 for a description of the new year. Also a statement of the

dissatisfaction regarding the giving of largess. The descriptions of 1488, comprise almost wholly accounts of court festivities.

46v-47r *xijth even*] Extended description of the celebration of Epiphany by the court over two days. The principal interest of this description is the crown-wearing; the cap of maintenance, later the crown, etc. This was a crucial way of identifying with the reputed unchanging nature of the Crown and linking the new regime with England's past (Armstrong, *Inauguration Ceremonies*, pp. 92-4).

48r *Ester*] first East celebrated at home.

48r-48v *day of Sent George*] Feast deferred until Sunday April 27, presumably because St. George's day fell mid-week in 1488; no other reason found (Julius B. XII, fol.; *Materials*, ii, p. 290). Celebrated in notably lavish style, perhaps in recompense for the debacle of the previous year.

49v *mass of requiem*] Conducted in similar manner to the presentation of the knight's armour at a noble funeral. Cf. the regulations in the Articles.

50v *England now rejoyssse...*] poem apparently written for, and perhaps recited at the Garter feast. The identity of the poet is unknown, but there is nothing to suggest that it was not a herald.

51r *huntid and sportid*] August was the season of the red deer stag, and was known known as 'grease-time' or the 'fat-season'.

51r *King of Scottes*] James III. Defeated and murdered, June 11, at the battle of Sauchieburn, against his brother, Alexander duke of Albany and various noblemen; allegedly thrown from his horse fleeing from the battlefield and stabbed by a stranger posing as a priest. Succeeded by his 15-year-old son, James IV (Chrimes, *Henry VII*, pp. 86-7.) See Virgil, *Anglica Historia*, pp. 41. The statement that the king was murdered by his son is not entirely correct: hoping to force the old king's abdication in favour of his son, Albany's faction made the young heir their leader, probably with minimal consent.

51r *Sir Edduart Wideville...Bretaigne*] Edward Woodville, and governor of the Isle of Wight, was killed semi-official campaign in favour of Breton independence from France, at the battle of St. Aubin du Cormier (Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, p. 37; Vergil gives an extended account of the English involvement in Breton affairs at pp. 29-39;

Holinshed, *Chronicles*, p. 91 describes Woodville's involvement). Soldiers for Brittany (*Materials*, ii, p. 384). For a brief explanation of the background to the event, see Chrimes, *Henry VII*, pp. 278-81.

51r *duke of Britayne*] Francis II; died three weeks after unwillingly acknowledging himself the vassal of Charles VIII of France (Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 280).

51r *All Hallowtide*] Cf. brief notices of All Hallowtide in 1487 and 1489, Julius B. XII fols. 34r and 58r. The latter coincided with the Queen's confinement in preparation for the birth of Princess Margeret.

51r *gretest conseille.*] November; discussed the state of affairs regarding Brittany and apparently authorised the levy of a subsidy of a tenth, ratified by parliament three months later. These were Lords without the Commons, summoned five, possibly six times during the reign of Henry VII.

51v] first of a series of embassies to arrive from the Continent around this time. Negotiations with Spain resulted in the treaty of Medina del Campo; a detailed account of which is provided along with descriptions of the embassy to Spain and Portugal by Roger Machado in *Memorials*, pp. 157-99, 328-68.

51v *a suerde and a cappe*] sword and cap of maintenance from Pope Innocent VIII (1484-92); symbols of papal favour, the public display of which did much to enhance his prestige at home and abroad.

52v *Cristmas*] Christmas, 1488.

53r *Ester*] The reportage for 1489 only commences with the celebration of Easter, Thursday April 16-Monday, April 20.

53r *...was slayne therle of Northumberlonde*] Killed at Cocklodge on April 28; news reached the court at Hertford within days (*YHB*, ii, pp. 646, 647-8; anon., 'The Yorkshire Rebellion', p. 464; Bennett, 'Northern Rising'; PRO KB 9/381; *Great Chronicle*, p. 242; Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, pp. 38-9; Hicks, 'Yorkshire Rising reconsidered', pp. 43-4; *Plumpton Correspondence*, p. 61; *Paston Letters and Papers*, ii, p. 659; *John Skelton: The Complete English Poems* (Harmondsworth, 1983), p. 31). The revolt was in origin a tax revolt encouraged by the levy of onerous subsidies in the parliaments of 1487 and 1489.

53v *This bene the names of part of the nobles*] the report of 1489 a bland and orderly composition. Compiled some time after the conclusion of campaign, yet still bears marks of eyewitness account. A retinue-based list of notables supplying little circumstantial evidence, but detailed testimony of the continuously swelling royal forces.

53v *The xij day of May*] News of the disturbance appears to have reached the king within days. On April 30, ordered funds for weapons and ammunition (*Materials*, ii, pp. 444-5). Presumably the king was also aware of the participation of one John Egremont, cadet of the house of Percy (Hicks, 'Dynastic Change', p78). The only other men of note who joined the rising were the governors of Beverley, Thomas Bullock and Eli Cass, and Thomas Wrangwysch, Alderman of York. See also *Cal. S. P. Venice*, p. 181; Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, pp. 38-9; *Paston Letters and Papers*, I, pp. 349-40; *YHB*, ii, pp. 648, 649-50; *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, I, 20-1. Letters were dispatched to magnates and castles across England. Oxford prepared to hold a council at Castle Hedingham in the first few days of May (*Paston Letter and Papers*, ii, pp. 459-60; *Materials*, ii, pp. 444-5). On May 6, Oxford also requested that Sir John Paston meet him at Cambridge six days later, with as many armed men as he could muster (*Paston Letters and Papers*, ii, p. 460; *Annals of Cambridge*, pp. 234-5).

53v *officiars of the kingis honnorable housholde*] The contribution of the royal household to military expeditions was a feature of the reign (M. Condon, 'Ruling Elites in the Reign of Henry VII', *Patronage Power and Pedigree in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1979), p. 127). Yet, in this case the time required to raise county levies and the danger of their sympathising with the rebels made it sensible for the king to turn first to his own retinue and the companies of trusted lords and knights (Bennett, 'Northern Rising', pp. 40, 51; *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, i, pp. 20-1).

53v-54r *Richard Hault*] The herald's statement that Hault was later made knight marshal at Leicester further suggests that the account was written up after the conclusion of the campaign.

55v *from Pontfret to Yorck*] By the time he neared York, the king was probably aware that a number of knights of Yorkshire and the Midlands had independently

taken action North of the Trent, and that the rebels had begun to pull back (*YHB*, ii, pp. 650-1; PRO KB 9/381; Bennett, 'Northern Rising', pp. 45-6; Palliser, 'Richard III and York', p. 65; *Great Chronicle of London*, p. 242; Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, pp. 38-9; Pollard, *Contemporary Sources*, i, p. 80). Despite the creditable line-up of lords and knights, a number of important figures were absent: Edward Woodville was dead (Julius B. XII, fol. 51r); Sir Richard Edgecombe, Lords Cheney, Daubeney and Willoughby of Broke, and other veterans of Bosworth and Stoke were engaged in battle on the Continent; Richard Nanfan and his company were on embassy in Spain (Bennett, 'Northern Rising', pp. 39-40; *Materials*, ii, pp. 384, 419; *Memorials*, pp. 328-78).

55v *And thier was one named Bladis drawen and quarterd*] For details of York's attempts to appease the king, see *YHB*, ii, pp. 651, 652, 653. Holinshed, pp 492-3, and *Great Chronicle of London*, p. 143, give divergent descriptions of the hanging of 'John a Chamber' and others at York, and there is some uncertainty as to the number executed. See also, Bennett, 'Northern Rising', pp. 47-8, for the possible identities of several put to death.

55v *...Also the king being at Yorck ther entred divers nobles*] The systematic lists of lords and retainers bears witness to the expanding royalist forces. Men like Lord Clifford and Richard Tunstall had been crucial in the north after the battle of Stoke.

56r *Flemmyngis*] See account in Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, pp. 38-40.

56v *an Englyshe yoman called John Person*] This anecdote is different from the general style of reportage in the memoir, perhaps derived from the heralds mandate to record acts of valour during battle. No man by the name of 'John Person/Parson' fitting the heralds description has been found.

56v-57r *feste of Saint George*] See *Materials*, ii, pp. 497-500 for purchases of cloths etc. for this celebration.

57v *an hunting in Envillchase*] For Henry's attention to condition of game parks in the duchy of Lancaster, including Enfield chase see Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 269.

57v *parlement*] Involved the ratification of a proposed subsidy to help finance the military expedition to aid Brittany (Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 198).

57v *chappitre off the gartier*] Oversaw the election of new members, including the king of Romans (Beltz, *Garter Memorials*) to replace the deceased.

58r *...upon All Halow Even ... at Westminster*] the christening of Princess Margeret, unlike that of Arthur, is preceded by an account of the Queen's confinement. Her lying-in chambers of lavish decoration similar to those of church in which christening held. For decoration of the lying-in chambers, see Staniland, 'Royal Entry', pp. 301-2.

59r-61v creation of Arthur] The preparations by Garter Writhe and the heralds are recorded in articles penned by Writhe several days before the events (College of Arms, MS. L8, fols. 17v-19r; *Materials*, ii, p. 541).

58v *...thier came a great ambassade oute of Fraunce*] Ambassadorial party admitted to queen's chambers against custom which allowed only the queen's ladies beyond threshold. The party included ranking heralds. See J. Gairdner, *Paston Letters, 1422-1509. Introduction and Supplement* (Westminster 1901), pp. 158-9 for the difficulties getting an audience with the Queen Elizabeth Woodville during her confinement.

59r *ambassadors of Spayne*] Spanish interest in Arthur encouraged by Henry VII, who saw possibility of a marriage alliance with Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, through their youngest daughter, Katherine (Anglo, *Spectacle*, pp. 52-3).

61v *the forseid new born princess...*] Cf. the account of Prince Arthur's christening at fols. 21v-24r. Margaret's christening is described in less detail, and appears to have experienced no hitches like those at her brother's. The presence of the king at Arthur's creation the same day, and the fact that the queen had only given birth the night before, further supports the notion the sovereign parents did not typically attend a baptism.

62r *vjxx torches*] Cf. the regulations requiring 200 torches in *Liber Regie Capelle*, and the account of Princess Bridget's baptism, where only 100 were used.

63r-63v *...prively cherched or purified*] The time lapse between birth and purification allowed ample time for preparation of feasts, jousts and spectacle typically more lavish than that at the confinement (Staniland, 'Royal Entry', p. 308). However, the outbreak of measles at this time necessitated a private churching.

65v *the abbott of Abyndon and Harry Swan ... wer beheded at the Tourhill*] The missing person appears to be John Mayne, while ‘Davy’ might be Christopher Davy (Luckett, ‘Patronage and Violence’, pp. 151-2; *Plumpton Correspondence*, p. 87). Plumpton suggests the felons were executed by hanging, the herald beheading, but we may be looking at the same form of execution – where hanging, drawing and quartering was used. Stapleton points to an error in the printed parliament roll which assigns this conspiracy to the 20th year of the reign (*RP*, VI, pp. 436-7); Luckett erroneously attributes the executions to 1491.

¹ This word, at Julius B. XII, fol. 11v, presents a problem. While 'sufferayn' was a common form of 'sovereign' in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there is no precedent for the spelling 'assufferayn'. It is possible that the original poet intended 'theas sufferayn' (this sovereign) or 'the as sufferayn' (thee as sovereign) but that memoir Scribe A copied it incorrectly.

baner *n.* banner, **banyeres** *n. pl.*

bassyn *n.* basin, **basons**, **basyns** *n. pl.*

baster *n.* bastard; illegitimate offspring.

bawdrik *n.* baldric; belt for sword hung from shoulder across body to opposite hip.

baylu, **bay(l)ly**, **bailly** *n.* bailiff

baynnes *n. pl.* baths.

bayting *pr. p.* abating, stopping, pausing.

bee *pp.* been.

bekes *n. pl.* beaks; here, the pointed front 'peaks' on the hats worn by esquires of honour.

ben, **bene** *pp.* been.

benediccions *n. pl.* benedictions; blessings at the end of a church service.

beneson *n.* blessing.

benynge *adj.* made generous, magnanimous.

bere *v.* bear, carry; **bereth** *v. (pr. 3. s.)*; **ber**, **bar(e)** *pp.*; **berying** *pr. p.*

besene, **besen** *pp.* arrayed, dressed.

bicokett *n.* bycocket; men's hat, pointed and pulled down at the front, with turned-up brim at the back.

bildede *pp.* built.

bith *adj.* both.

bittowre *n. pl.* bitterns.

bok *n.* book; **bokes**.

boll(e) *n.* bowl, **bowles** *n. pl.*

borde *n.* table laid out for a feast; **bordez** *n. poss. the ~ end* the table's end.

botteler *n.* butler; member of the household staff in charge of the wine and plate, and who ministers the drink at the end of a feast.

boughtes *n. pl.* boughs.

bref *adj.* brief.

brennyng *pr. p.* burning; **brente** *pp.* burned.

Bretayne, **Bretaigne**, **Brytaigne** *n.* Brittany; Britain.

brether(n) *n.* brethren, brotherhood.

Bristow *n.* Bristol.

brodrywerk *n.* embroidery.

Bruggelingis *n. pl.* inhabitants of Bruges.

burgesez *n. pl.* burgesses, magistrates of the town.

busshe mentes *n. pl.* (location from which to launch) military ambushes.

calle *n.* caul; woman's close-fitting indoor headdress, especially the plain back part.

canape, **canapie**, **canapye**, **canepe**, **canope** *n.* canopy.

cape, **cap** *n.* cap; ~ *of maintenance* *n.* cap or hat worn as symbol of official dignity or carried before a sovereign; **cappis** *n. pl.* caps.

carall *n.* carol.

- causay wey, causey wey** *n.* causeway; raised road or footway, usually across low or wet area.
- cele** *n.* cover, canopy.
- celid** *pp.* adorned with a cover or canopy.
- certeinte** *n.* certainty.
- cessith** *v.* (*pr.* 3. *s.*) ceases, stops; **cessed** *pp.*
- cesterne** *n.* cistern.
- chales** *n.* chalice.
- chanoignes** *n. pl.* canons.
- chare** *n.* chair, meat *graunt* ~ ground meat.
- chaunderye** *n.* chandlery; department of the Chandler or dealer in candles, oil, soap, paint and groceries.
- chaunter** *n.* chanter, singer, poet or minstrel.
- cheire, chare** *n.* chair; **chares** *n. pl.*
- chawdron** *n.* a sauce for fowl or fish containing chopped entrails.
- Chelchethe, Chelseth** *n.* Chelsea.
- circulettes** *n. pl.* circlets or coronets, ornamental bands for the head.
- clarions** *n. pl.* shrill, narrow-tubed war trumpets.
- clenly** *adj.*, splendidly, elegantly, handsomely; ~ *horsed* elegantly mounted.
- cloth of golde** *n.* tissue of gold threads interwoven with silk or wool.
- cofer** *n.* coffer; strong-box for valuables, treasury.
- coffrier** *n.* cofferer; household official in charge of the coffer.
- coler** *n.* collar.
- collect, colet** *n.* collect; short prayer, especially one assigned to a certain day or season.
- comfettes** *n. pl.* comfits; sweets containing a nut, seed, etc. in sugar.
- conceytes** *n. pl.* conceits, here: artistic devices used in the civic pageantry.
- conding** [?Sc.], **condigne** *adj.* condign, severe and well-deserved.
- conduit, conduyt, coundite, conduit** *v.* (inf) conduct, escort; *n.* conduit.
- consorting** *pr. p.* keeping company, existing in harmony.
- contrarious** *adj.* opposing, different.
- coost** *n.* cost.
- copes** *n. pl.* ecclesiastical vestments, long cloaks worn by Catholic priests on special occasions.
- coppe** *n.* cup; **copeberer, cupberer** *n.* cupbearer; officer of the royal or noble household who serves of wine at a feast.
- corounall, corownall, cornall**, *n.* coronal, coronet, ornamental bands for the head; **coronalles** *n. pl.*
- cosine, cosyn** *n.* cousin, any relative.
- cotte** *n.* coat, **cootes** *n. pl.*
- courser, cowreser** *n.* courser; swift horse.
- cousthyns, cusskins** *n. pl.* cushions.
- coustume** *n.* custom.
- covent** *n.* convent.

coyff *n.* coif; close cap covering top, back and sides of head.
creasocion *n.* creation.
cremesyn, cremesyne *adj.* crimson.
cresome, crysome *n.* chrisomal cloth or chrisom; child's white robe at baptism.
cristene *adj.* Christian; **cristenly** *adj.* in Christian manner.
croyser *n.* bearer of the crosier, or hooked staff symbolising the pastoral office of the bishop.
cubiculer *n.* chamber servant.
curiously *adv.* intricately, exquisitely.

Dancaster *n.* Doncaster.

dar *v*(*pr.* 1 *s.*) dare.

deken *n.* deacon.

demeane *n.* domain, demesne.

demy trapper *n.* half trapper; horse's caparison of half length.

deperte *pp.* dipped.

devince *v.* defeat, overcome; **devincede** *pp.*

devoir *n.* endeavour.

discusse *v.* settle or decide (as a judge), adjudicate.

disperclede *pp.* dispersed.

disposede *adj.* *evil* ~ inclined toward evil; **disposith** *v.* (*pr.* 3 *s.*).

dissaveaunce *n.* deceit, deception.

distorbled *pp.* stirred or broken up.

Dixemue *n.* Dixmude.

dobe *v.* dub.

doian *n.* dean; **doiens** *n.* (*poss.*); *the* ~ *palace* the dean's palace.

dominicall *adj.* of the Lord's day, Sunday; *of the* ~ *letter* belonging to one of the seven letters A-G, indicating dates of Sundays in a year.

dooing *adj.* (?)working; ~ *horses* (?)work-horses.

dowre *n.* dowry.

dured *pp.* endured, lasted.

Duresme *n.* Durham.

dynnyt *pp.* dined.

efsones, -z, efftsonez *adv.* soon after.

egretes *n.* lesser egret (fowl).

elles *adv.* (or) else.

embaytailed *pp.* engaged in battle.

emparelede *pp.* apparelled, dressed.

enarmed, enarmede *pp.* adorned with coats of arms.

enbrace *v.* inflame with passion.

enduede *pp.* endowed, invested (with power, quality, spiritual gift, etc.).

enraumpisskede *pp.* decorated, adorned.

ensence *v.* enlighten, instruct, inform.

eschew(e) *v.* show, demonstrate, reveal; **eschewing** *pr. p.*

espace *n.* period, duration.

espies *n. pl.* spies.

estandard *n.* standard, rallying flag.

ett *v.* eat.

eury *n.* ewery; household office responsible for the crockery.

everyche *adj.* each and every (individual thing).

Excestir *n.* Exeter.

fete, fetee *n. pl.* feet.

filede *pp.* defiled, polluted, corrupted.

Flemmyngis *n. pl.* Flemmings, inhabitant of Flanders.

fleying *pr. p.* fleeing.

floreshed *pp.* decorated.

flourdelissis *n. pl.* fleurs-de-lis, decorative emblems of iris or lilly.

Flourens *n.* Florence.

forwarde *n.* vanguard; the first line or 'battle' or an army.

for ryders *n. pl.* foreriders, scouts; men who rode ahead of an army or as part of the vanguard.

fowlden *pp.* folded.

fraunches *n. pl.* franchises.

fray *n.* affray, riot, skirmish.

freres, frerez *n. pl.* friars.

fructifull *adj.* fruitful.

frumetye *n.* a 'potage' made of boiled hulled grain mixed with milk and sweetened.

fumygacions *n. pl.* perfuming with aromatic herbs (usually to ward off disease or evil)

galantes *n. pl.* gallant knights.

galaries *n. pl.* galleries; here, raised platforms between buildings and straddling the streets below.

galyes *n. pl.* galleys.

gardein, gardien *n.* guardian; **gardens** *n. pl.*

garnyson, garryson *n.* garrison.

gif *v. imper.* give.

girdelles *n. pl.* girdles; belts, cords, etc. encircling the waist; **gerdit, gerdid** *pp.* girded, encircled, fastened about the waist.

glasid *adj.* made of glass; here, (?) adorned with windows.

Godhede *n.* Godhead, divine nature, deity.

Goly *bibl.* Goliath.

goo *v.* go; **gooing**, **goying** *pr. p.*

goospel *n.* Gospel.

gooth *v. (pr. 3 s.)* goes.

gosseps, **gossibpes** *n. pl.* gossips or familiar acquaintances; here, the queen's female companions.

gowles *n. pl.* jowls.

gownne, **gowne**, **gounne** *n.* gown; gun; **gounes**, **gownys**, **gownes**, **gownnes** *n. pl.*

graunt(e) *v. (pr. 1 s.)* grant; *adj.* ground; **grauntith** *v. (pr. 3 s.)* grants; **grauntede** *pp.*

grese, **grece**, **gres**, **gresse** *n.* red deer stag; rendered fat for cooking; step, stair, flight of stairs; **greces** *n. pl.*

greven *v. (pr. 3 pl.)* grieve.

grotes *n. pl.* small silver coins worth about four pence.

gystys *n. pl.* (?)dwellings, lodgings.

habundaunce *n.* abundance, plenty; **habundaunt** *adj.*

hakneyes *n. pl.* hackneys; horses for ordinary riding.

hand(e) *n.* side.

harbygage *n.* lodge.

harneshed *pp.* harnessed.

harnois *n.* harness.

heder *adv.* hither, to here.

hele *n.* heel.

helme *n.* helmet; **helmys** *n. pl.*

henshemen, **henxmen**, **henchemen** *n. pl.* henchmen; trusty followers (usually squires or pages of honour).

her *adj., pron.* her; *n.* hair; *adv.* here.

herbigers, **herbygeours**, **herbergier** *n. pl.* harbingers; those sent as purveyors of lodgings for the royal party or camping ground for an army.

Herborow *n.* Market Harborough, Leicestershire.

here *n.* ear.

hider *adj. comp.* higher; *adv.* hither.

hir *adj, pron.* her.

hit *pron.* it.

hode *n.* hood; **hodys** *n. pl.*

hoge *adj.* huge; **hogely** *adv.*

hostengis, **-es** *n. pl.* hostages.

humly *adv.* humbly

incontynent(ly) *adv.* immediately, forthwith.

ingraylede *pp.* dyed purple.

inordynatly *adv.* here, excessively and in a disorderly manner.

intronisacion *n.* enthronisation, installation; ceremony of installing primate upon the archiepiscopal throne; **intrononysed** *pp.*

irrecuperable *adj.* irrecoverable

jacks *n. pl.* reinforced tunics worn by men-at-arms, akin to the modern flak jacket.

Jude *bibl.* Land of Judaea.

kerved(e) *pp.* served as carver at the royal banquet

kerver *n.* carver; officer responsible for... .

knoppes *n. pl.* the ornamental studs, knobs or knots on the end of the laces or cord used to fasten the queen's mantle.

kynnerede *n.* kindred.

kyrtill *n.* kirtle; woman's gown or outer petticoat.

lade *n.* lad.

largez, largesse *n.* money or gifts freely bestowed by the king, queen or nobility during celebratory occasions (here, the customary occasional payments bestowed upon the heralds for their duties at feasts, etc.).

lase *n.* lace.

lazares howsez *n. pl.* hostels for poor and/or diseased people, esp. lepers.

legeaunce, liegence *n.* sway, jurisdiction.

legmen *n.* liegemen, sworn vassals.

leve *v.* leave permission, authority or right; **leveth** *v.* (*pr.* 3 *s.*).

leyn *pp.* stayed, dwelt briefly.

logge *v.* lodge; **loggede** *pp.* lodged.

look *n.* luck.

luste *n.* desire.

lynene *n.* linen.

manerly *adv.* in the manner of.

marchaunt *n.* merchant **merchauntes** *n. pl.*

marche payne *n.* marzipan.

Mariez *n.* (*poss.*) Mary's.

marres *n. pl.* marshes.

mase *n.* mace; staff of office.

maters *n. pl.* matters.

maundy *n.* Maundy; religious day or ceremonies thereon, whereby alms are distributed to the poor and certain poor men have their feet washed by the sovereign.

mayntell *n.* mantle, cloak, cape; **mantellys** *n. pl.*

meane *n.* mediator.

meazellis *n. pl. or s.* measles.

mede *n.* mead; alcoholic beverage of fermented honey.

messe *n.* mass.

metenz *n. pl.* (?)meats, (?)mittens.

moten *n. pl.* (?)meats

minisshing *pres. p.* ministering, supplying, handing out.

moustres *n. pl.* musters, marshalling of troops.

mustredeveles *n.* mixed grey woollen cloth of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

mynstrelsyez, mynstrellyes *n. pl.* minstrels.

mysaventures *n.* mishaps, accidents.

mysdooers *n. pl.* miscreants.

mytrede, mitrede *adj.* mitred, wearing a mitre or bishop's and abbot's tall cap, esp. as a symbol of office.

napery *n.* household linen, the office that deals with this.

ne *conj.* nor.

nere *adv.* never, not at all.

Noe *bibl.* Noah.

norserye *n.* nursery.

noysing *pr. p.* noising, announcing, spreading message or rumour

nygh *adv.* nigh; ~ *hand* near at hand, nearby.

obeysaunce *n.* obeisance, homage, worship

obles *n. pl.* obleys, thin pastry cakes or wafers.

olifaunte *n.* elephant.

opond *pp.* opened; here, undid the queen's clothing to reveal the upper part of her chest for anointing.

opteynyng *pr. p.* obtaining.

or ere, before.

ouchez *n. pl.* a buckle or broach worn as an ornament, often set with precious stones.

overt(e) [Fr.] *adj.* open.

palferees, palfereys *n. pl.* palfreys; saddle-horses for ordinary riding, especially for ladies.

palliet *n.* pallet, straw bed or mattress.

paloys, pales(s), palais *n.* palace.

paly *n. (heraldic)* a divided pattern of equal vertical stripes.

pannes *n. pl.* panes, panels.

parties *n. pl.* parts; *north* ~ north(ern) regions or provinces of England.

pashecyon *n.* passion; ~ *week* the week between Passion Sunday and Palm Sunday.

patenz *n. pl.* patents.

pax *n.* plaque decorated with an image of Christ's passion or similar, passed among congregation after the priest has given it the kiss of peace.

pennoncez, penons *n. pl.* pennants.

penssell *n.* small pennant or streamer; **penselles** *n. pl.*

personages *n. pl.* characters in a play.

pesable *adj.* peaceable.

pistell, pistill *n.* epistle.

pixe *n.* pyx, the vessel in which the consecrated bread is kept.

Pomfreyte, Pomfret, Pontfret *n.* Pontefract .

pontificalibus, -z *n. pl.* bishop's official robes; *in ~* in pontificals, in the vestments. appropriate to the ecclesiastical dignity of the wearer.

Portyngall *n.* Portugal.

pouldre *n.* powder; **powderde** *pp.* 'powdered', decorated all over with a small, usually embroidered, designs.

Powles *n.* St Paul's Cathedral, London.

premysses *n. pl.* premises; houses, lands or tenements.

preordynaunce *n.* a previously established ordinance.

preparat *pp.* prepared, made ready.

prepotent *adj.* pre-eminent, most excellent.

presence *n.* the personal company of the king, the general vicinity of the king's person.

prive *adj.* private, secret; *~ seall (seale)* *n.* seal affixed to documents; **pryve sealles** *n. pl.*

prively *adv.* privately.

progenye *n.* usually offspring or issue; here, actually referring to ancestors.

prosterne *v.* lie flat, prostrate.

prothonatory, prothonotoire *n.* the principal notary of a court; the chief clerk in the Court of Chancery.

purede *adj.* purified, wholesome.

purified *pp.* churchd; taken through the ritual of thanksgiving and purification after the birth of a child.

purservant, pourservant *n.* pursuivant, junior or probationary herald; **pursurvantes, pourse(r)vautes** *n. pl.*

purviaunce *n.* purveyance; here, the body or substance of an act of God.

Putname *n.* Putney.

Pyguardye *n.* Picardy.

quadraunt *n.* courtyard or quadrangle.

quarrell *n.* short heavy arrow or bolt used in a crossbow or arbalest.

quarterd *pp. drawn and ~* put to death through hanging, disembowelling and cutting into quarters;

quarterly *adv. (heraldic)* the manner of dividing coats of arms arranged on one shield to denote alliances of families, etc.; **quarter** *n.* one part of this division.

quere, quer *n.* choir (or quire); chancel of cathedral, minster or large church.

quit *adj.* exempt, free.

quyete *n.* peace, tranquillity.

race *n.* story, narrative.

ray *adj.* ~ *clothe* decorative striped or streaked cloth.

raylede *pp.* striped.

raynes *n. pl.* fine linen of Rheimes or Rennes.

rebouted *pp.* routed.

recountrede *pp.* met in battle.

redoubtede *pp.* feared, respected, venerated.

refresche *v.* provide relief for.

regesly *adv.* rageously; in fury or anger.

regestre *n.* registrar.

remytting *pr. p.* resigning, surrendering, giving up.

renome, renoume *n.* renown.

Repon *n.* Ripon, North Yorks.

rescuse *v.* rescue.

residencers *n. pl.* residents.

revested *pp.* re-robed, dressed again in the appropriate vestments.

revestry *n.* vestry, room or building attached to church for keeping vestments in.

revolving *pr. p.* considering, thinking over, meditating upon.

rightwise *adv.* fittingly.

rigours *adj.* rigorous.

rosset *adj.* russet, reddish-brown.

sad *adj.* serious, earnest.

Salamon *bibl.* Solomon.

Salesbury *n.* Salisbury.

salt *n.* salt-cellar.

sapience *n.* wisdom.

sarsenet *n.* fine soft silk material, often used for linings.

say *n.* cloth of fine texture resembling serge, sometimes partly of silk.

seche *v. (pr. 3 pl.)* seek, search.

sege *n.* chair, seat; seige.

sensedede *pp.* passed incense over.

senser *n.* the instrument with which the king was sensed.

sentuary *n.* 'the ~' 'the Sanctuary'.

sewed *pp.* performed the duty of sewer at a banquet.

- sewer** *n.* the person superintending the arrangements of the table, esp. the high table, and the tasting and serving of dishes.
- seyle** *n.* seal.
- sheldes** *n.* shields, shield-shaped objects; her, food made into this shape.
- Shen(e)** *n.* Sheen.
- Sherethursday** *n.* Maundy Thursday, Thursday in Holy Week.
- shipbottes** *n. pl.* (?)replica ships or boats.
- signe** *n.* device, emblem.
- sircote, surcott, surcott** *n.* surcoat; loose sleeveless outer garment of rich material, also worn as part of the insignia of an order of knighthood; **sircootes** *n. pl.*
- sith** *conj.* since, because.
- skrye** *n.* panic, pandemonium; **skryes** *n. pl.*
- snytes** *n.* common snipe.
- sobre** *adj.* serious, dignified.
- socour** *n.* succour.
- soke** *pp.* suckled.
- solacede** *pp. pass.* comforted, given solace.
- sone, sonne** *n.* son; *adv.* soon.
- sofeltie** *n.* subtlety; a sugar confection modelled in an elaborate motif.
- sothfastness** *n.* constancy, steadfastness, fidelity.
- sothly** *adv.* truly.
- souper** *n.* supper; **sowped** *pp.* supped, took supper.
- soyson** *n.* season, given period of time.
- splayde** *pp.* displayed.
- spores** *n. pl.* spurs.
- sportid** *pp.* indulged in recreational activity, enjoyed (himself).
- stalle** *n.* stall; fixed seat in the choir or chancel of the church, usually enclosed at the back and sides and canopied, (here, appropriate to the dean); **stalles** *n. pl.*
- stander, standerde** *n.* standard; **standers** *n. pl.*
- Staunford** *n.* Stamford.
- stole, stoolle** *n.* stool; *ladyes in the ~* the queen's female attendants.
- Stook** *n.* Stoke-on-Trent, Notts.
- strenketh** *n.* strength, power, vigour.
- striff** *n.* dissension, discord, conflict; **stryves** *n. pl.*
- sturgyn** *n.* sturgeon; large fish resembling a shark and esteemed as food.
- suete, suett, sute** *n.* suit, matching garb or livery or material.
- suffragan** *n.* bishop second in charge to the bishop of the diocese.
- sugurys** *n. pl.* sugars.
- supporacion** *n.* help, assistance, aid, backing.
- urnap** *n.* a towel or napkin provided at the table for use when washing the hands.

swetwyn *n.* sweet wine; **swetewynys** *n. pl.*

tabarde, tabert *n.* tabard; knight's short emblazoned garment worn over armour or herald's official coat emblazoned with arms of the sovereign.

taper *n.* wax candle or torch used for lighting or ceremonial effect.

Te Deum *n.* hymn of thanksgiving beginning *Te Deum laudamus* ('Thee, God, we praise'), sung at morning service or on special occasions.

Temmys, Temys *n.* River Thames.

tere *n.* tear.

tethynges *n. pl.* tidings, news.

thabite, thabet, thabbite, *n.* religious habit or gown of state ceremony; **thabitez** *n. pl.*

thappertenance *n.* the appurtenance; **thappertenantes, thapertenantes** *n. pl.*

thedawards *prep.* toward it/this/that.

thwarte *prep.* toward(s).

toder *adj.* other.

tokenyng *pr. p.* ~ *of* betokening, representing.

ton *n.* tone; chant or Gregorian style hymn.

torches *n. pl.* tapers or wax candles.

tracte, tract *n.* period (of time).

trainde *n.* (?) strand of food morsels threaded together.

trapper *n.* covering put over the saddle or harness of a horse; **trapped** *pp.* dressed with a trapper or adorned with trappings.

traveled *pp.* travailed, suffered the pains of childbirth.

travers *n.* screen, partition, curtain.

trone *n.* throne.

uncion *n.* unction; anointing with oil or unguent.

undeseverable *adj.* cannot be disunited.²

ungle *n.* uncle.

valance *n.* short curtain, made from cloth of gold, around the canopy of the queen's litter; **valaunces** *n. pl.*

vaylent *adj.* valiant.

verely, veraly *adv.* verily, really, truly.

very *adj.* certain, definite.

vew *n.* view; *took the ~ of* surveyed, looked over, assessed.

vices *n. pl.* mechanical devices.

virge *n.* verge; rod or staff carried on ceremonial occasions as an emblem of office.

² This form, probably derived from the word 'dissever' appears to have been constructed for the purpose of the pageantic narrative. McGee, *First Provincial Progress*, p. cxi.

void(e), voyd(e) *n.* open or empty space; parting meal, usually with wine and spices.

vytayll *n.* victual(s).

ware *pp.* wore.

warner *n.* the principal subtlety, or sugar confection, preceding a banquet.

wedower, wetower *n.* widower; **wedowers** *n. pl.*

wele, welle, wel *adv.* well; *n.* weal.

welbesene *adj.* pleasantly arrayed, handsomely dressed.

whilles *conj.* while, whilst.

Whitsontid, Whytsontid *n.* Witsuntide; Whit Sunday and following days.

wis *adj.* wise; **wise, wyse** *n.* way, manner, degree; *bawdrik~* in the manner of a baldric.

witt(e) *n.* wisdom, good judgement, discretion, prudence.

Worshop, Wourshop *n.* Worsop.

worstede *n.* worsted; fabric made from twisted yarn spun of long-staple wool, combed to lay the fibres parallel.

wrethen *n. pl.* wreaths.

ye *n.* eye; **yene** *n. pl.*

yef *v. (pr. 2 s.)* give.

yeftes *n. pl.* gifts.

yelde *v.* yield.

yerle *n.* earl.

yode *pp.* went.

SOME BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

This section is intended to provide basic biographical notes for English persons and principal foreigners, mentioned in the memoir, for whom there is significant surviving information; these references must serve as a starting point only. The names of persons for whom no information was gleaned from those source consulted have been omitted from the list altogether. Due to the great number of names that appear in the memoir, it has not been possible to conduct further research, although there is much scope for this. For those persons who occur frequently in the MS. only the first five references are given. The principal sources from which this information has been taken are: *Materials*, *DNB*, *Complete Peerage* and several secondary sources.

Abingdon (Abenden, Abyndon), John Sant, abbot of. (ex. 1489)

[fols. 42v, 65v]

Supported the earl of Lincoln by directing funds to him in the Netherlands in January 1487; later convicted for involvement in a conspiracy to release the earl of Warwick and executed as a traitor in December 1489.

Abrough, Sir Edward. See **Burgh, Sir Edward.**

Abrough, Sir Thomas. See **Burgh, Sir Thomas.**

Alcock (Alkok), John, bishop of Worcester.

[fols. 17r, 18r, 20v, 22r, 23r]

Held successively the bishoprics of Rochester, Worcester and Ely, succeeding to the latter in 1486, as well as the posts of Lord Chancellor, comptroller of the royal works and buildings and commissioner of royal mines. Alcock was greatly favoured by Henry VII, and was appointed in 1486 to arrange a treaty between England and Scotland for a three-year period. He was given the honour of performing the baptismal ceremony for Prince Arthur in September 1486.

Alington (Alyngton), Giles.

[fol. 32v]

Heir to the lordship (held by grand serjeanty) of Great Wymondly and its appurtenances in Hertfordshire, and a minor during the early years of the reign of Henry VII. Apparently under the guardianship of John, earl of Oxford, Giles's guardian entered a claim on the boy's behalf for the right to serve queen with the first cup at her coronation banquet, November 1487; for this service Giles received the cup as his fee.

Almer, John.

[fol. 60r]

Yeoman of the crown and fisher of the king's water of Dee, known as the 'King's Pool'.

Amias (Amyas), John.

[fol. 22v]

Yeoman of the doors of the king's chamber.

Anderton, Thurston of.

[fol. 54v]

Acknowledged for his faithful service to the king in Lancaster.

Angus (Angwyshe), Archibald Douglas, 5th earl. (d. 1514)

[fol. 63v]

Eldest son and heir of George Douglas, 4th earl of Angus, Archibald Douglas was present at the Scottish parliaments of 1469, 1471, 1478, 1481, 1483, 1484 and 1487; in 1481 he was appointed warden of the East Marches of Scotland, and played an important role forging an alliance between King James III and

Edward IV; he was present on embassy to the English court in 1483, and entered into intrigues with Henry VII during the rise of the Hume family at the court of James IV. On the murder of James III in 1488, he was probably among those Scottish lords who sought refuge at the Tudor court, and was yet there the following year when he was recorded by herald as accompanying the bishop of Exeter during divine service on Christmas Day, 1489.

Anne (Anna), Lady of York. (d. 1511)

[fols. 22v, 50r, 52v, 62r]

Born 1475, the 4th surviving daughter of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville, and sister to Elizabeth, queen of Henry VII; declared illegitimate by an act of parliament under Richard III, but returned to a place of favour under Henry Tudor; Anne was honoured with the role of carrying the chrisomal cloth at the baptisms of both Arthur and Margaret in 1486 and 1489 respectively, and waited on the queen at the feasts of the Garter and Christmas in 1489. She later married Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk (d. 1554), from which union there was no issue.

Ap Thomas (up Thomas), Sir Richard.

[fol. 43v]

Probably a kinsman of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, Sir Richard was accused of seditious rumour mongering in May 1486, but was listed among those knight bachelors present at the coronation of Elizabeth of York in November 1487.

Ap Thomas, Sir Rhys.

[fol. 54r]

Constable, lieutenant and steward of lordship of Brecknock, South Wales; a loyal supporter of Henry Tudor, whom he joined upon the latter's landing at Milford Haven, Sir Rhys was appointed Chamberlain of South Wales in the first parliament of the reign, and commissioner of the kings mines for twenty years in February 1486.

Arundel (Aroundell), Thomas Fitzalan, earl of.

[fols. 33v, 38v, 41v, 42r, 43r-v]

Supporter of Edward IV, Arundel was created KB in 1461 and KG in 1473/4; he served as godfather to Prince Arthur in 1486, and as bearer of the rod and dove at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth in November 1487; he was lieutenant of the Order of the Garter from July 1489 and again in 1517.

Arundel (Aroundell), Sir John of 'Trerice'.

[fols. 23r, 29r, 43v]

Vice-admiral of the West during the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII.

Arundel (Aroundell), William Fitzalan of.

[fol. 50r]

Born in 1476, and created KB with Prince Arthur on November 29, 1489.

Ashton (Aghton), Hugh of.

[fol. 54v]

Archdeacon of York and comptroller of the household of Lady Margaret, countess of Derby.

Ashton (Asheton), Richard of.

[fol. 54v]

Allegedly fought for Richard III at Bosworth, but taken into the confidence of Henry Tudor on the latter's accession; he was present in the retinue of George, Lord Strange, mustered in response to the insurrection in North Yorkshire of 1489.

Ashton (Hasheton), Sir Thomas.

[fol. 29r]

Esquire noted for faithful service to the king in Lancaster on September 23, 1486, Sir Thomas must have received a knighthood some time after that date.

Aspeland (Aspelond), John.

[fol. 33v]

Son and heir of John Aspeland, who held a moiety of the manor of Lifton Overhall by grand serjeanty. A minor at the time of Queen Elizabeth's coronation in November 1487, young John was required make his claim to coronation service – to hold the towel before the Queen as she washed her hands – through his guardians, Brian Roccliff and Robert Castle; he was granted full land and tenements from Henry VII in December 1488 on achieving majority.

Audley (Audeley), Sir John, Lord.

[fols. 23r, 43r]

Appointed justice against treason and rebellion in the city and suburbs of London on July 5, 1486, and relieved of his duties as treasurer of exchequer on July 14 that same year.

Babington, Sir John. (d. c.1501)

[fols. 9v, 55r]

Created KB in 1483 by Richard III, but later also served Henry Tudor; he was ordered to muster archers for relief of Brittany in December 1488, and on February 1489 was licensed to found a perpetual chantry at altar of Our Lady in north Wingfield, Derby, to pray for king, queen, and prince.

Babthorp (Babthorpe), Sir Ralph. (d. 1491)

[fol. 9v]

Knighted in 1482, and recorded in the retinue of the earl of Northumberland on Henry VII's first provincial progress in 1486.

Baron (Beron), Nicholas.

[fol. 54v]

Awarded an annuity in September 1486 for his faithful service to the king.

Baron (Beron), Sir John.

[fol. 44r]

Granted lands of park of 'Beskwood' on February 16, 1486.

Baynam, Sir Alexander.

[fol. 44v]

Constable of castle of 'St. Briavel', Gloucester; held lordship of the forest of Dean from March 8, 1486, and participated in the relief of Brittany in December 1488.

Beauchamp, Richard of St. Amand. (d. 1508)

[fol. 43r]

Knighted by Edward IV in 1475, and present at Richard III's coronation in 1483; he was attainted by an act of 1483/4 for involvement in Buckingham's rebellion, but pardoned soon after; under Henry Tudor he was appointed keeper of Blackmoor Forest in Wiltshire in 1486, and made commissioner of musters for Wiltshire in 1488.

Beauchamp, Sir John.

[fols. 9r, 43r]

Baron of Powick from 1447 to 1475; made justice of southern Wales in 1447 and Lord Treasurer from 1450-2; created KB by Edward IV in 1478.

Beaufort, Lady Margeret, countess of Richmond and Derby. (d. 1509)

[fols. 24r, 34v, 41r, 43r]

Daughter of John, duke of Somerset; married Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond in 1455, followed by Henry Stafford (d. '81); her third husband was Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby, whom she married in 1482; as mother of Henry VII, she played significant role in bringing her son to the throne during the Wars of the Roses, yet retreated from court-life at his ascendancy, taking her monastic vows in 1504.

Beckwith (Bekwith, Bekewith), Sir William.

[fols. 9v, 56r]

Knighted at Hutton in 1482; in the retinue of the earl of Northumberland on the first provincial progress, 1486, and again at York 1489.

Bedford (Bedforde), Jasper Tudor, duke.

[fols. 17r, 30r-v, 33r-v, 36r, 38r]

Uncle of Henry VII, Jasper Tudor was created earl of Bedford on October 27 1485, and made a privy councillor after Henry Tudor's accession; also earl of Pembroke, chief justice of South Wales, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from March 11, 1486 to November 1, 1488; he played a prominent role in the suppression of both the Lovell-Stafford rebellion of 1486 and the rebel army at Stoke in 1487, where he probably commanded the main battalion.

Bedford (Bedeforde), Catherine Woodville, duchess. [fols. 37v, 38v, 40r, 42r, 43r]

Widow of Henry Stafford of Buckingham and sister to Elizabeth Woodville, queen of Edward IV, Catherine appears to have married Jasper Tudor before November 7, 1465.

Bell, John. [fol. 35r]

Yeoman, and later gentleman, of York; farmer of lands in Lancaster.

Bellingham (Bellyngham), Sir Roger. [fols. 29v, 44r, 56r]

Frustrated heir to the estates of his father, who was attainted under Edward IV, Bellingham had been restored to his patrimony by the reign of Henry VII; he was appointed sheriff of Westmorland in September 1485.

Bellingham, Robert. [fols. 29r, 57r]

Esquire of the king's house; knighted after battle of Stoke on June 16, 1487, for his role in capturing Lambert Simnel; he was tried in Warwick on March 2, 1488, probably on charge of abduction, and was wounded at the siege of Dixmude, Flanders, in June 1489.

Beningfield (Benyngfelde), Sir Edmund. [fols. 9v, 29r, 43v]

Created KB at the coronation of Richard III, and elevated to the rank of banneret for defending Henry VII at Stoke; he was sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk from November 1486.

Bensted (Benstede), Edward. [fols. 35r, 53v, 60r]

Esquire and otter-hunter for the king; but gaoled at St. Alban's for undisclosed offences on August 21, 1489.

Berkeley (Barkeley), William, marquis. (d.1492) [fols. 54r, 60v, 61r-v]

First summoned to parliament as a baron in 1467, created viscount by Edward IV in 1481, and made earl of Nottingham by Richard III in 1483; he served as the bearer of the third sword at Henry VII's coronation, and was granted the office of Earl Marshall under Henry VII in 1485; he became the marquis of Berkely in 1488, and appears to have earned the peculiar nickname William 'the Waste-all'.

Berkeley (Barkley), Edward. [fols. 35r, 44v]

Appointed sheriff of Southampton by Henry VII in September 1485 and bailiff of Burley, Southampton, in December that same year.

Berkeley (Barkley), Sir Maurice. [fols. 29v, 44r, 54v]

Former knight of the body to Edward IV; disinherited by brother William, but later recovered a significant outlay of manors and lands; created baron of Berkeley by Henry VII in 1492.

Berkeley, Anne _____, marchioness. [fols. 62r-v, 63r]

The third wife of marquis William of Berkeley, whom she married in 1486.

Berners (Barnesse, Barnes, Barneis), Sir John Bouchier, 2nd baron. (d. 1533) [fols. 43r, 48r, 49r-v,]

Distinguished soldier, courtier, and author, noted for his translation of Froissart; created KB by Edward

IV in 1477/8, attended Richard III's coronation, and possibly fought for the latter at Bosworth; he also held title of 'Lord de Ferrys de Groby' by right of first wife Elizabeth Ferrers.

Berners (Barnesse), Sir Thomas Bouchier (d. 1486). [fols. 44r, 53v, 63v]

Made chancellor of Oxford University in 1434, and became archbishop of Canterbury in 1454; he was appointed Lord Chancellor by Henry VI in 1455, but soon became a devoted servant of Edward IV; he held little regard Richard III, however, and rejoiced at the success of Henry VII at Bosworth, crowning him two months later; he presided over the marriage of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York in January 1486.

Bigod (Bygod), Sir Ralph. [fols. 9v, 55v]

Knight for the king's body; held offices of constable and porter of Sheriff Hutton, Yorkshire in 1486.

Blount (Blont), Sir Edward. [fols. 35r, 54r, 63v]

Esquire for the body to Henry VII; granted annuity for life for services to the king in August 24, 1487.

Blount (Blont), Sir James. (d. 1492) [fols. 29r, 36v, 37r, 43v, 55v]

Younger son of Sir Walter Blount, later 1st Lord Mountoy, of Barton Blunt, Derbyshire; by 1472 he had indented with William, Lord Hastings and in the same year was elected MP for Derbyshire; appointed captain of Hammes, Picardy, he defected to Henry of Richmond's invading forces which landed at Milford Haven, where he received a knighthood. Held offices of steward and constable of castle and lordship of Tutbury from September 1485, was reinstated to the Derbyshire Bench, and was appointed lieutenant of the castle of Hammes for twelve-year period beginning March 1486; he was granted extensive lands in Warwickshire and Northamptonshire on February 1, 1488. In 1490, he and Robert Sheffield attempted an unsuccessful incursion on the Delves manor of Crakemarsch, part of the jointure of Ellen, Lady Delves, widow of Sir John Delves.

Blount, Sir Thomas. [fols. 29r, 44r, 54r]

Knighted on the field after battle of Stoke in 1487, and became treasurer of the town of Calais and its marches in March 1486.

Blount, Mistress (?) Jane. [fols. 50r, 52v]

Possibly Jane, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Sir James Delves, who died at the Tewkesbury, and wife of Sir James Blount (d. 1492); present at feast of St. George in 1488 and attendant upon Queen Elizabeth in Sheen at Christmas in 1489.

Boothe (Bouthe), Sir John. [fol. 54v]

Knight of the king's body in Lancaster.

Bothwell (Boythvayle, Boithvaile, Bothville), Sir John Ramsay, Lord. [fols. 21v, 49v, 51r, 53r-v]

Attached to the court of James III of Scotland, and one of the few who escaped execution at Lauder in 1482, Sir John was rewarded soon after with the barony and lordship of Bothwell; he was ambassador to England in 1485, and took refuge there after the Scottish king's murder in June 1488; he subsequently worked as spy for Henry VII.

Bouchier, Sir Thomas. See **Berners, Sir Thomas Bouchier, Lord.**

Brandon, Sir Robert. [fol. 29v]

Knight of Suffolk; participated in relief of Calais in June 1489.

- Brandon, Sir William.** [fol. 44v]
Standard-bearer of Henry Tudor at the battle of Bosworth, and probably killed in direct combat with Richard III. There is some uncertainty surrounding his knighthood.
- Brandon, Thomas.** [fols. 22r, 53v, 59v]
Esquire for the king's body, and brother of Henry VII's standard-bearer, Sir William Brandon.
- Bray (Braye), Sir Reginald.** [fols. 23r, 23v, 44r, 51r-v]
Favourite of Henry VII, and said to have found Henry VII's crown at Bosworth; he was created KB at Henry VII's coronation and KG soon after; granted constablership of castle of Oakham, Rutland, in 1485, and appointed joint chief justice of all forests south of the Trent; subsequently appointed High Treasurer and Chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster on September 13, 1485.
- Brent, Robert.** [fol. 22r]
Keeper of the castle of Sandwich, Kent, and reeve of Middleton; appointed usher of the king's chamber on October 12, 1486.
- Brereton, Andrew of.** [fol. 55r]
Esquire to Henry VII.
- Brereton, Thomas.** [fols. 54r, 59v]
Gentleman usher of king's chamber and constable of castle of Warwick; held the offices of bailiff in Aston Clinton, Holywell and Streton.
- Brian (Bryan), Sir Thomas.** [fol. 44v]
Held office of chief justice of common pleas from 1485.
- Bristol (Bristow), William Wykeham of.** [fols. 18v, 20v, 21r]
Mayor of Bristol at the time of the first provincial progress of Henry VII.
- Broke, Sir Robert Willoughby (d. 1502).** [fols. 50v, 51r]
Supported Buckingham's insurrection in 1483, and was attainted of treason by parliament; he escaped to Brittany to join Henry, earl of Richmond, with whom he fought at Bosworth; made receiver of duchy of Cornwall and steward of king's silver and gold mines in Devon and Cornwall; restored to his former estates under the Act of Restitution in 1485, and became a knight for the king's body, Lord Steward of the king's household, and king's councillor; he was appointed to command the English campaign in Brittany in 1488/9.
- Brown, Sir Thomas.** [fol. 45r]
Messenger to the southern counties involved in relaying the news of a truce between England and France on December 30, 1485; in reward for his 'service in parts beyond the sea', he was made steward of the possessions in Devon of the late count of Exeter on January 14, 1486.
- Browne, Sir Anthony.** [fols. 12v, 29v, 36v, 37r, 44r]
Standard-bearer of England and constable of Calais.
- Bryce, Sir Hugh.** [fol. 45r]
Alderman of London, clerk of mint money and exchange in the Tower, and mayor of London by July 5, 1486.
- Buckingham (Boukingham, Bokyngham), Elizabeth of.** [fols. 52v, 62v]

Eldest daughter of Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham; married Thomas Howard II, earl of Surrey and 3rd duke of Norfolk at the age of about 15.

Burgavenny (Burgaveny), George Neville, 3rd baron of. (d. 1535) [fols. 9r, 29v, 33r, 43r, 44r]

Bastard son of George Neville, Lord Burgaveny, by Margeret Fenne; created KB at the coronation of Richard III in July 1483, but was later shown favour by Henry VII; became Baron Bergavenny in 1492, fought successfully at Blackheath against the Cornish rebels in 1497, and was subsequently made keeper of Southfield Park, Kent.

Burgh, (Abrough), Sir Edward. [fols. 36v, 37r, 51v, 57r]

Made MP for Lincolnshire 1492, but found to be a lunatic in 1510, and never summoned to parliament.

Burgh (Abrough), Sir Thomas. [fols. 9r, 13r, 43r, 44r, 48v]

Probably of Gainsborough. Knight of the body to Henry VII; in March 1486 he and Henry Roos were granted stewardship of 'all castle, lordships, lands and possessions late of Edmund, lord of Roose'.

Burley (Burle), John. [fol. 22r]

Yeoman of the crown.

Butler (Butteler, Bottler), Thomas. [fols. 35r, 44v, 54v]

Baron of Warington, and held office of keeper of the park of Hasley in Warwick.

Canterbury (Caunterbury), archbishop of. See Morton, John.

Capell, Sir William. [fol. 45r]

Made alderman of the city of London in 1486.

Cecily (Cecill/e), Lady. [fols. 22v, 23r-v, 35v, 37v, 38r]

Third daughter of Edward IV and sister to Elizabeth, queen of Henry VII; declared illegitimate by an act of parliament under Richard III, but returned to a place of favour under Henry Tudor, and granted the honour of carrying her nephew, Arthur, to the font on his day of baptism; married John, Viscount Wells in 1487.

Chamberlain, Lord, of England. See Stanley, Sir William.

Chancellor (Chauncellor), Lord, of England. See Morton John.

Cheney (Cheyne/y), Sir John. [fols. 9r, 13r, 23r, 29r, 43v]

Knighted on August 7, 1485, Cheyney distinguished himself at Bosworth in the same year, and again in 1487 against the forces of Lambert Simnel at Stoke in 1487; he was created KG in mid-1486, was and granted the office of constable of Barnard's castle on March 15, 1487/8; he was summoned to parliament from September 22, 1487.

Cheney (Cheyne/y), Sir Robert. [fols. 29v, 44r, 54r]

Esquire for the king's body; granted certain lordships in Somerset in October 1486.

Cheney, Thomas. [fol. 59v]

Eldest son and heir of Sir John Cheney, KG; enfeoffed by Henry VII into the manor and lands of Eton in October 1490.

Chief Justice of the King's Bench. See Huse, Sir William.

Clarence (Claurence), George Plantagenet, duke. (d. 1477/8). [fol. 39v]

The 6th duke of Clarence (1461-78) and brother to Edward IV and Richard, duke of Gloucester; assisted Edward IV in his victory at Barnet in 1471, and was subsequently created earl of Warwick and Salisbury in April 1472, and Great Chamberlain of England the following May. His plans to marry Mary, daughter of the duke of Burgundy, met with resistance by Elizabeth Woodville, Edward IV's consort, and after considerable feuding with the royal couple, Clarence was ultimately accused of high treason, attainted, and put to death – according to legend – in a vat of wine in February 1478.

Clifford (Clifforde), Henry.

[fol. 9r]

Reputedly raised as a shepherd by his mother, spending little time in court or in London, Clifford was later known as the 'shepherd lord'. Henry's father had been attainted of treason and Henry himself remained under the attainder at Henry Tudor's accession; he was subsequently restored to his family's estates by an act of parliament dated November 9, 1485, was knighted by Henry VII in September 1485, was granted titles as 10th Baron of Westmorland and 1st Lord Vesci, and was appointed steward of Middleton in the first year of the new reign. Clifford played an important role in maintaining peace during the first provincial progress of 1486.

Clifford (Clifforde), Sir John. (d. 1461)

[fol. 43v]

9th Baron Clifford and father of Henry, the 'shepherd lord'; after battle at Blore Heath Clifford took an oath of allegiance to Henry VI, and was later made commissary-general of the Scottish Marches and conservator of the truce with Scotland; he was the Lancastrian leader at battle of Wakefield in 1460, where said to have received the nickname of 'the butcher'; he was slain at Ferrybridge on the eve of the battle of Towton in 1461 and his land were declared forfeit.

Clifford (Clifforde), Sir Richard.

[fols. 44r, 55v]

Sheriff of Westmorland.

Clifford (Clifforde), Sir Robert.

[fols. 29r, 36v, 37r, 44r]

Esquire for king's body; granted office of chamberlain of the town and port of Berwick-upon-Tweed in March in 1486, and received manors of 'Stillingflete', Ringhouse, and Upton, in county York in April 1486.

Clifton, Sir Gervase of.

[fols. 9v, 44v, 55r]

Son and heir of Robert of Clifton, a member for Nottinghamshire in 1453 and 1454; knighted in 1483, Gervase became an important political figure in Nottinghamshire at the time of the first provincial progress of Henry VII, and was granted the office of approver of la Fennes in June, 1486.

Cobham, John Brooke, Lord Cobham.

[fols. 43r, 54r]

Attended coronation of Richard III in 1483, from whom he received several grants; sent by Henry VII on expedition to Flanders in 1491-2, and later helped to defeat the Cornish insurrection at Blackheath in 1497.

Cokesay (Cokesey, Cookesey), Sir Thomas.

[fols. 9r, 29r, 43v, 54r, 63v]

Esquire, granted the offices of steward of the lordship of Henley in Ardenne, Warwickshire, and master of the game of the parks of Henley on September 24, 1485; he was created KB in 1485, made knight of the king's body in November 1486, and granted custody of the park of Hasley on November 10, 1486.

He also took charge of the search for Sir Humphrey Stafford upon the latter's flight from Worcester, but was unable to apprehend the fugitive.

Collet, Sir Henry. [fol. 45r]

Alderman of London; received grant of a free warren within the lordships of Ryden and Brundale, Norfolk, together with lordships and manors in Northampton in June 1486; he was elected mayor of London in 1487.

Colt, John. [fol. 54r]

Master of ordnance; clerk of works in Berwick from December 2, 1485.

Constable, Lord High, of England. See **Stanley, Sir Thomas, 1st earl of Derby.**

Constable (Counstable), Sir John of Holderness. (d. c.1490) [fols. 9v, 43v, 56r]

Knight of Yorkshire; held manors of Burton Constable and Halsham in Holderness; died prior to December 13, 1490.

Constable (Counstable), Sir Robert (d. 1488) [fol. 9v]

Of Somerby in Lincolnshire and Flamborough; son and heir of Sir Robert Constable of Flamborough Agnes Gascoign; he was one of the biggest landowners of the East Riding, and a member of parliament for Yorkshire and of the guild of Corpus Christi in York. He remained on the East Riding bench throughout every political revolution from 1453 until his death, despite his obligations as a Percy feedman; he was present with the Percies at Heworth Moor in 1453, served as an MP for Lincolnshire in the Coventry parliament of 1459, and was included in the revised commission of the peace in 1461, empowered to round up remaining Lancastrians; he was granted stewardships of certain lordships formerly belonging to the attainted Henry Percy; but on the 4th earl's restoration he succeeded in resuming amicable relations; he kept a low profile during the readeption, but was later granted lands in the East Riding belonging to the attainted Sir Thomas Roos. Prominent in local government as JP for Lindsay and the East Riding, sherrif of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and MP for a second time in 1477, he was fequently a commissioner (whether of array or, *de wallis et fossatis*, survey and inquisition); he accepted the outcome of the dynastic upheavals of 1483 and 1485, and through the marriages of his daughters, allied himself with important Yorkshire gentry families of Metham, Eure, Bigod and Ryther.

Constable (Counstable, Comestable), Sir Marmaduke (d. 1518) [fol. 9v, 43v, 44v, 55v]

Son and heir of Sir Robert Constable (d. 1488) of Somerby and Flamborough; knighted by Northumberland during the Scottish campaign of 1480-3, he was an East Riding JP, 1479-80, and in the latter year sherrif of Yorkshire; he transferred his allegiance to Richard III, who made him a knight of the body and employed him as one of the main vehicles of royal authority in Kent and the Midlands; he served as JP and comissioner in Kent and was appointed as ruler of the Stafford estates including Penshurst and Tonbridge; by March 1484 he had replaced Buckingham as steward of Tutbury, Donington and the High Peak, with instructions to secure the exclusive loyalty of the tenants of the Crown; served as a JP and commissioner of array for Derbyshire and was given charge of the lands of an attainted Midlands rebel; despite fighting for Richard III at Bosworth, he was pardoned by Henry VII in November 1485 and made him knight of the king's body before May 11, 1486; he was made sheriff of Staffordshire and Yorkshire in the ensuing years, gained the title of Sir Marmaduke of Flamborough on

his father's death in 1488, and was awarded custody of some of the Percy lands during the minority of the 5th earl of Northumberland; he ended his career as a faithful servant of Henry VIII.

Conway (Conwey), Hugh. (d. 1487) [fols. 35v, 44v, 55r]

Keeper of the great wardrobe from September 1485, and commissioner of the mines of tin, lead, silver, etc. in England.

Conyers (Cognyers), William. [fol. 55v]

Knight of the king's body, and bailiff, steward, constable and master of the forest of Richmond in Yorkshire; made constable of the castle of Middleham in February 1486.

Corbet, Sir Richard. (d.1492) [fols. 54v, 63v]

Knighted sometime between 1471 and 1473, and attended Richard III's coronation in 1483; he was regularly appointed as commissioner in Shropshire from 1483-4, but joined Henry Tudor at Shrewsbury and fought for him at Bosworth; he journeyed to Brittany under Sir Robert Willoughby in 1488.

Cornwall (Cornuall), Sir Edmund. (d. c.1490) [fol. 44v]

Baron of Burford, Shropshire; summoned for knighthood at coronation of Edward V, but knighted at coronation of Richard III in 1483; from 1485-7, he acted as JP for Shropshire, and died before October 16, 1490.

Cotton (Cootne, Coton), Sir Roger. [fols. 23v, 37r, 44v, 48v, 51v]

Knight of the king's body and master of the horse to Queen Elizabeth of York; held many minor offices in southern Wales, and was granted custody of the prince's wardrobe, London, in February 1488.

Cotton, Thomas. [fol. 54v]

Made Constable of the castle of Ogmores in November 1485, and bailiff of the lordships of 'Kertelynge', Cambridgeshire, and Walden, Essex, in February 1486.

Courtenay, Peter, bishop of Exeter, etc. [fols. 9r, 17r, 23r-v]

Successively bishop of Exeter and Winchester, Courtenay escaped to Brittany following the failure of Buckingham's rebellion, thereby losing estates and temporality; he returned to England with Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, in 1485, and subsequently officiated as seneschal at Henry's coronation; he was appointed keeper of the privy seal in September 1485, and his sentence under Richard III was reversed at the first parliament of Henry VII; he was transferred to the see of Winchester in January 1487, and bore witness to the creation of Arthur as Prince of Wales in 1489.

Crathorn, Sir Ralph. (d. c.1490) [fol. 9v]

A member of the retinue of the earl of Northumberland on king's first provincial progress of 1486, who appears to have died around May 21, 1490

Croft (Crofte), Sir Richard. [fols. 29r, 43v, 52v, 54v]

Treasurer of the king's household; appointed justice in eyre within certain lordships, including Monmouth, on March 9, 1486.

Croft (Crofte), Mistress ____. [fols. 45r, 50r]

Wife of Sir Richard Croft, treasurer of the king's household and justice in eyre.

Croker (Crokker), John. [fols. 22r, 35r, 53v, 63v]

Esquire for the king's body.

- Cromer, Nicholas.** [fol. 53v]
Constable and porter of castle of Pevensey.
- Curteys (Courtois), Piers.** [fol. 54r]
Held the offices of the feodary of the honour, town, and lordship of Leicester, and was keeper of the privy purse and king's wardrobe at Westminster from September 24, 1485.
- Dacre, Humphrey, Lord Dacre of the North.** [fols. 43r, 51r, 55v]
Chief forester of Inglewood Forest, governor of Carlisle Castle, and warden of the West Marches.
- Dacre, Thomas, Lord Dacre of Gillesland.** [fol. 9r]
Said to be the son of Humphrey, sometime Lord Dacre of Gillesland; he succeeded to his father's title in the autumn of 1485, and was appointed lieutenant of the West Marches in May 1486, acting in that capacity and as warden and deputy warden until his death.
- Danby, Sir James.** [fols. 9v, 55v]
Knighted by Richard, duke of Gloucester, at Hutton Field in 1482, and inherited lands in Yorkshire from his father; he was attendant upon Henry VII in Yorkshire in 1489.
- Danet, Gerard.** [fol. 57r]
Steward of the town and lordship of Chelmsemore, Warwick.
- Darcy, Sir Thomas, Lord Darcy.** [fols. 59v, 60r]
Of Templehurst, Yorkshire. Statesman and rebel leader, who held considerable land in Lincolnshire.
- Darcy, Lady Elizabeth.** [fol. 23r]
Wife of the late Robert Darcy, and the lady mistress of Prince Arthur.
- Darcy, Sir William.** [fol. 9v]
Knighted in 1482, and granted licence of entry without proof of age onto his father's manors of Rathover and 'Kyldokhes' in Ireland, at his father's death on March 8, 1486.
- Darell, John of Kent.** [fol. 54r]
Esquire for King's body; granted significant lands forfeited under the attainder of Humphrey Stafford in September 1486; he was made a commissioner of the peace and of oyer and terminer on August 21, 1489.
- Daubeney (Dawbeney), William, Lord Daubeney.** [fols. 43r, 47r, 49v, 50r, 51r]
Councillor for Henry VII, and knight and keeper of king's the jewels.
- Davy, Harry (Henry).** [fol. 65v]
Tailor of London, Davy was pardoned with remission of forfeiture for unspecified crimes on December 4, 1489.
- Delawarre (Lawarre, la Warre), Thomas West, Lord.** [fols. 9r, 23r, 43r, 54r]
Also called Lord West, Thomas received special livery of lands at his father's death in 1476, and was knighted by Edward IV in 1477; he was summoned to parliament between November 1482 and April 1523; he supported Henry Tudor's claim to throne, in return for which he was granted large estates in Sussex, stripped from attainted duke of Norfolk. Shortly after the conclusion of the first provincial progress, at the end of 1486, Thomas sat as a justice of oyer and terminer in London.
- Dennis (Denys), Walter.** [fols. 59v, 60r]

Esquire of Durham.

Denton, William. [fol. 54r]

Granted office as king's carver in November 1485, and on August 20, 1489, became an esquire with lands in Barburgham, Cambridgeshire.

Derby, Sir Thomas Stanley, earl. See **Stanley, Sir Thomas, 1st earl of Derby.**

Devonshire (Devonshir), Edward Courtenay, earl. [fols. 27v, 43r, 46r]

Espoused, banished and attainted by Richard III in 1484, but restored to his estates and knighted by Henry VII in August 1485; he was created earl of Devon in October 1485, and was bearer of the second sword at Henry's coronation; he was also constable of Restamel Castle in Cornwall, and made KG before April 1494.

Devonshire (Devonshir), Lord William Courtenay. [fols., 35r, 43r]

Heir and only surviving son of Edward Courtenay; earl of Devon; made KB at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth of York in November 1487.

Digby (Dygby), Sir John. [fols. 29v, 44r]

Constable of the castle of Milbourne in Derbyshire, bailiff of the lordship of Milbourne and hundred of Grisley, keeper of the park of Milbourne, and receiver and clerk of the works in Lancaster.

Digby, Thomas. [fol. 60r]

Bailiff of the lordship and town of Olney in Buckinghamshire.

Dingley (Dyngley), Stephen. [fol. 60r]

Serjeant-at-arms to Henry VII.

Dinham (Dynham), John, Lord Dinham. (d. 1501) [fols. 43r, 48v, 49v, 50r, 55r]

Held numerous minor offices under Henry VII, including treasurer of exchequer from July 1486, and was created KG prior to April 1487.

Donne (Doon, Don), Sir John. [fols., 44v, 52v, 54r, 63v]

Sheriff of the counties of Bedford and Buckinghamshire, and issued with a special pardon on March 10, 1486, for all offences committed prior to and during his period of office before the accession of Henry VII.

Dorset (Dorcet/t), Thomas Grey, Marquis. See, **Grey, Thomas, 1st Marquis of Dorset.**

Dorset (Dorsett), Marquesse Cicely. [fol. 22v]

Daughter and heiress of William Bonville, Lord Harrington, and second wife of Thomas Grey, whom she married in April 1475;

Dudley (Dodley, Dodeley), Lord Edward. (d. 1531/2) [fols. 24r, 25v, 35r, 43r, 50r]

Made KB in November 1487 at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth, and succeeded as 2nd Baron Dudley in same year.

Dudley (Dudeley), Lady Cicely. [fols., 37v, 42r]

Daughter of Sir William Willoughby.

Dudley, Sir John. (d. 1487) [fol. 54r]

1st Baron Dudley from 1440 until his death in 1487; was a KG and held various minor offices.

Dymoke (Dymmok), Sir Robert. [fols. 9v, 56r]

Knight banneret and acting sheriff of Lincolnshire in 1484, 1502 and 1509; he performed the role of King's champion at the coronation's of Richard III, Henry VII, Henry VIII respectively.

Edgecombe (Egecomb, Eggecomb), Sir Richard. [fol. 9r, 44r, 51r, 52v]

Fled England after the failure of Buckingham's rebellion, and joined Henry, earl of Richmond, in Brittany; he returned to fight with Henry at Bosworth, for which service he was knighted immediately after the battle; in the early years of the reign he was appointed comptroller of king's household, chamberlain of the exchequer, and sheriff of Devonshire, and he was granted membership of the privy council and extensive lands and property forfeited by John, Lord Zouche; in 1487 he was sent twice to treat for peace with the king of Scotland, and was sent to Ireland in June 1488 to receive oaths of allegiance from the nobility, gentry and commons.

Ely, bishop of. See **Alcock, John.**

Ely, bishop of. See **Morton, Sir John.**

Englishby (Englisshby), Sir William. [fol. 9v]

Knighted by duke of Gloucester in 1482; sheriff of Yorkshire, and a member of the company of earl of Northumberland on king's first provincial progress in 1486.

Essex, Henry Bourchier, 2nd earl. (d. 1539) [fols. 22v, 43r-v, 48r, 51r, 60v]

The of Anne Woodville, sister to Queen Elizabeth Woodville, Henry succeeded his grandfather as earl of Essex in 1483; despite his Yorkist blood, he became member of privy council of Henry VII, and was the bearer of the spurs at Henry's own coronation.

Everingham (Everyngam), Sir John. [fols. 9v, 55r]

Created knight of the king's body in 1482, and was recorded as present at the coronation of Elizabeth of York in November 1487.

Evers, Sir William. [fol. 9v]

Receiver of lordship of 'Pykerynglyth' and custodial steward of Seymour in Yorkshire, during the minority of Henry, earl of Northumberland, from December 10, 1490.

Exeter (Excester), bishop of. See **Courteney, Peter, bishop of Exeter.**

Exeter (Excester), bishop of. See **Fox, Dr. Richard, bishop of Exeter.**

Fairfax (Fayrefax), Sir Guy. (1495) [fol. 44v]

Younger son of Richard Fairfax of Walton, from whom he inherited the manor of Steeton in Craven; married Isabel, sister of Sir Richard Ryther of Ryther, near Harewood; he was retained by the duchy of Lancaster as an apprentice, 1460-5; called sergeant in 1466 and king's sergeant in 1468; chief justice at Lancaster in 1480 and justice of the king's bench by Trinity Term, 1477; in 1485, Henry VII re-appointed him as a justice of assize for the midland circuit, and he later became JP for the West Riding, 1456-93, and for Warwickshire, Leicestershire and Lincolnshire; he was a Percy annuitant, legal councillor and feoffee, but also profited from the patronage of Richard of Gloucester, duke of Buckingham, the dowager duchess of Norfolk, John Lord Scrop and the city of York, where he was appointed recorder in 1476. His career continued unabated through each demise of the Crown until his death in 1495.

Fenys, Mistress Joan. [fols. 23r, 45r, 52v]

Possibly the wife of Sir Richard Fenys of Dacre, and a widow from May 7, 1486.

Ferrers (Ferres), Sir Henry.

[fol. 44r]

Bailiff and keeper of the park of Chelsimore in the county of the city of Coventry, prior to September 1485, and a clerk of Gloucestershire and the Marches of Wales.

Ferrers of Chartley (Ferres, Feres), Walter Devereux, Lord.

[fol. 26r]

Held extensive lands in Hereford, Leicester and Lincoln; knighted after the battle of Towton in 1461, and created Baron Ferrers on February 20, 1462; he was slain fighting for Richard III at Bosworth, and, at the first parliament of Henry VII, was posthumously attainted of high treason and adjudged to have forfeited all his possessions.

Ferrers of Chartley, Lady Jane.

[fols. 37v, 42r]

Daughter of William Ferrers and his wife Elizabeth, and the second wife of Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, whom she married some time after 1469.

Fitzhugh (fitz Hugh), Lord Richard. (d. 1487)

[fol. 9r]

Of Carlton in Yorkshire. Made keeper of the king's forest of Petherton in Somerset under Richard III, and was involved in settling the terms of peace with Scotland in September 1484; upon the accession of Henry VII, Fitzhugh was made responsible for law and order in the North, in place of the imprisoned earl of Northumberland, and under the same king became steward and constable of the castle of Richmond, steward of the lordships and constable of the castle of Middleham and Barnard, and master-forester of New Forest. Fitzhugh died on November 20, 1487 having failed to establish peace in the North, and the earl of Northumberland was restored.

Fitzlewis (Fitzlewes, Fitzlowys, Fitzlowis), Sir Richard.

[fols. 29r, 44r, 54v]

Made commissioner of peace and of oyer and terminer in August 1489.

Fitzwalter (fitz Water), John Radcliffe, 1st Lord. (d. 1496)

[fols. 9r, 17r, 25v, 33r, 40v, 43r]

John Radcliffe rose to importance with the accession of Henry Tudor, appointed steward of the king's household prior to October 1485; he was made joint warden and chief justice of king's forests south of the Trent in January 1486, and then for life the following February; he was made steward of the lordships of 'Saham Torrey', Little Cressingham, Orington, Panworth, and Neeton, and in November 1487 was appointed commissioner to discharge the office of steward of England at the coronation of Elizabeth of York. Despite his successes, Radcliffe was attainted of high treason in 1495, and beheaded in Calais 1496, for alleged confederacy with the pretender Perkin Warbeck.

Fitzwilliam (fitz William), Sir Thomas.

[fols. 9v, 21v, 44v, 56r]

Recorder of London, and appointed justice of peace and of oyer and terminer in the city in July, 1486; held offices as constable and porter of castle Tykhall, Yorkshire, and was granted the manor of 'Salefletby', Lincolnshire, in October 1488.

Fitzwilliam (fitz William), Sir William.

[fols. 9v, 45r]

Knighted by Richard, duke of Gloucester at Hutton Field, in 1482, Fitzwilliam lived and traded in Bread St., London, during the reign of Henry VII; he also had a country house at Gaynes Park, Essex, and was admitted to the livery of the merchant taylors' company in 1490.

Flemming (Flemmyng), James, Lord Slane.

[fol. 35r]

Knight of Ireland and former supporter of Richard III, who received a general pardon and the restitution of his lands and possessions in May 1488; he subsequently took an oath of allegiance to Henry VII in Dublin before Sir Richard Edgecomb, the king's envoy, in Dublin.

Fogg (Fogge), Sir John.

[fol. 44r]

Appointed chamberlain of the duchy of Lancaster in November 1485, and held offices as lord of Sutbury in Bedfordshire, surveyor and steward of Chilham Castle, and the manors of Chilham and Hothfield in Kent.

Forman, Sir Adam.

[fol. 53v]

Scottish knight who accompanied William, archbishop of St. Andrews, and other Scottish clergy on a journey to England in July 1486.

Fortescu (Fortscu), Sir John.

[fol. 29r, 43v, 47v, 51v, 60r]

Knight of the king's body, master forester, and keeper of the chase of Enfield, Fortescue was appointed chief butler of all England in September 1485; he was granted a number of offices in 1486, including the lordships of Eyworth, Morchall, Milton and Crowley in the midland counties.

Fountains (Founteyns/Fountenz), abbot.

[fol. 13v]

John Darneton, elected abbot of the Cistercian abbey of St. Mary of Fountains, Ripon, in 1478; he appears to have ruled there until 1494.

Fox, Dr. Richard, bishop of Exeter.

[fols. 23r, 25v, 26r, 27v, 28v]

Priest and doctor of canon law, who with John Morton, bishop of Ely, came to constitute the council of Henry VII; after Bosworth, Fox was rapidly granted many posts, including the offices of principal secretary of state, lord privy seal, together with the bishopric of Exeter; he participated in negotiating the treaty between Henry VII and James III of Scotland in November 1487.

Frank (Franc), Geoffrey.

[fol. 56r]

Involved in the rebellion against Henry VII alongside Thomas Broughton, John Huddleston and William Thornburghe in July 1486; he was subsequently pardoned and took an oath of allegiance to the Crown in August of same year.

Frank (Franke), Edward.

[fol. 65v]

Like his brother Geoffrey, Edward was involved in a rebellion against Henry VII, alongside Thomas Broughton, John Huddleston, and William Thornburgh; despite his brother's restoration to the king's grace, there is no evidence for Edward's pardon.

Gascoigne (Gascon, Gasixyne), Sir William. (d. 1487)

[fol. 9v]

Yorkshire knight descended from Henry V's chief justice, Sir William Gascoigne (d. 1419); married to Margaret Percy, daughter of the 3rd earl of Northumberland, he owed his appointment as deputy steward of Knaresborough to the 4th earl; despite his Percy connections, he was knighted by the duke of Gloucester on campaign near Berwick in 1481, and appointed knight of the body after Richard III's accession; he served as a commissioner of array and a West Riding JP under Richard, and reportedly fought with the king at Bosworth Field; he died in 1487, leaving his son as a minor.

Gascoigne (Gascon, Gasixyne), Sir William. (d. 1557)

[fols. 35r, 44v, 55v]

Son of William Gascoigne (d. 1487), he was knighted at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth in 1487, although aged about 19, and thereafter was appointed as a knight of the body; in the following year he was given livery, without proof of age, of his deceased father's estates in the West Riding lordships of Gawthorpe, Thorp Arch and Burghwallis, and lands in the East Riding and Staffordshire; he seems later to have acquired the manor of Harewood through the marriage of his son. Under Henry VII, Sir William was active locally as a commissioner of array, sheriff and MP (1495), as JP for the West Riding from 1493 until the end of the reign, and for the town of Ripon from 1500 to 1507; he continued to serve on the West Riding bench under Henry VIII.

Gaynesford (Gainsford, Geynesforde), Nicholas.

[fols. 36r, 42v]

Esquire and usher to the chambers of Queen Elizabeth of York, he held the offices of steward, constable, porter, and keeper of the park of Odiam, Southampton.

Gaynesford (Gainsford, Geynesforde), Mistress Anne. (d. 1488)

[fol. 45r]

Daughter of Otwell Worsley, and wife of John Gaynesford, probably a kinsman of John Gaynesford, esquire.

Gloucester (Glowcestre), abbot of.

[fol. 42v]

Master Thomas Branch.

Gorges, Edmund.

[fol. 59v]

Esquire of Wroxhale, Somerset and Framlingham ad Castrum in Suffolk, he was granted a general pardon and release for undisclosed offences, but probably for support of Richard III, in November 1485.

Green (Grene), Sir Thomas.

[fol. 53v]

Constable and keeper of the park of the castle of Moreend in Northamptonshire; receiver of the lordships of Raleigh and Thunderless in Essex.

Gresley (Grisley), Sir John a. (d. 1487)

[fol. 9v]

Born 1418, and knighted by 1451, Sir John attended the coronation of Richard III in 1483, and served as a JP of Staffordshire, a position he retained under Henry VII; he journeyed on progress with Henry VII in 1486.

Gresley (Geiseley), Sir Thomas.

[fol. 55r]

Sheriff of Stafford.

Grey (Gray), Dame Catherine.

[fols. 23r, 40v, 42r, 45r, 50r]

Wife of Edmund Grey, earl of Kent and daughter of Henry Percy, 2nd earl of Northumberland.

Grey (Gray), Sir Henry, Lord of Codnor.

[fol. 55r]

Granted significant lands in northern Ireland for 40 years and appointed steward of the king's castle belonging to Ulster in 1472; appointed privy councillor by Richard III, who also granted him the lordships of Oakham, Langham, Exton, Rutland, and Hengrane; although he was present in the royalist forces at Bosworth, Sir Henry remained in favour with Henry Tudor after the battle; he also held the position of commissioner of the king's mines in England and Wales for 20 years, and summoned was to parliament from 1459-1495.

Grey, George, Lord of Ruthin. (d. 1503)

[fols. 9r, 26r, 54r]

George Grey served the expedition to France in 1475 under Edward IV, by whom he was created KB in July 1483; made constable of Northampton Castle in 1485, he showed his loyalty to Henry Tudor by leading the king's forces at the battle of Stoke in 1487, in Brittany, and later against the Cornish rebels; he succeeded his father to the earldom of Kent in 1489.

Grey (Gray), John, Lord of Powys. (d. 1494) [fols. 9r, 26r, 43r, 49v]

John Grey was the son of Richard Grey (d. 1467), a partisan of the House of York. On the death of his father, John succeeded to his father's titles, and was summoned to parliament from 1482 until his death in 1494.

Grey (Gray Rithyn), Anne, Lady of Ruthin. (d. 1489) [fols. 23r, 37v, 42r, 43r]

Anne Woodville, viscountess Bouchier, was the third daughter of Richard, earl Rivers, and sister of Elizabeth Woodville, queen consort of Edward IV; she married George, Lord Grey Ruthin in 1465, and died in July 1489.

Grey, Sir John of Wilton. [fol. 43v]

Knight of the body to Richard III, whom he served against rebels; he was granted manor of Wilhamstead by way of reward, and fought alongside Richard at the battle of Bosworth; sat as JP in Hereford and as a member of parliament for Buckinghamshire under Henry VII.

Grey, Thomas, 1st Marquis of Dorset. (d. 1530) [fols. 17r, 23r-v, 24r, 25r]

Elizabeth Woodville's eldest son by her first marriage and the 1st marquis of Dorset. Denounced for his part in Buckingham's rebellion in 1483, Grey fled to the continent to join the earl of Richmond and his followers; while Richard III managed to persuade him to leave the Tudor cause, he was drawn back to the rebels; he was subsequently attainted by an act of parliament in February 1484, but his attainder was reversed and he was created KB and KG under Henry VII; he was restored to his offices as earl of Huntingdon and Lord of Harrington and Banville, but fell under suspicion during the Lambert Simnel insurrection and was committed to Tower of London in 1487; he was released after the battle of Stoke and returned to the king's favour.

Griffith, Sir William. [fols. 59v, 60r]

Esquire for the king's body and chamberlain of northern Wales.

Griffith, John. [fol. 60r]

Possibly the local Welsh leader of small company of men from Carmarthenshire, who joined army of Henry Tudor soon after his landing in Wales.

Guildford (Gilforde), Sir Richard. (d. 1506) [fols. 22v, 51v, 52v, 63v]

A military and naval engineer, and accomplice in Buckingham's rebellion; he was attainted by Richard III and forced to flee to Brittany; he was knighted when Henry Tudor landed at Milford Haven in 1485, and made chamberlain of the exchequer and appointed master of the ordinance during the same year; he was made comptroller of the household in 1492, and died in 1506 on pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Gunthorp (Gonthorp), John, Master of Wells Cathedral. [fol. 23r]

An ambassador sent by Henry VII to treat with the Emperor Maximilian to conclude a perpetual treaty between England and the Holy Roman Empire, and also to treat for peace at the court of Ferdinand, King of Castile and Leon.

- Hamden, Edmund.** [fol. 53v]
 Attainted by Richard III, but had all lands restored by Henry VII in the first parliament of the reign.
- Hamerton, Sir Stephen.** [fol. 9v]
 Knighted by Edward IV in 1482; member of earl of Northumberland's retinue on king's first provincial progress of 1486.
- Harrington (Harington), Robert.** [fol. 54r]
 Subject to a Crown commission inquiring into those lands held without license or concealed, particularly those of Richard, late duke of Gloucester, but later profited from a general pardon and the restitution of his possessions in August 1486.
- Harrington (Harryngton), Sir James.** [fol. 29v]
 Son of Robert Harrington, Sir James, like his father, was subject to the process of inquiry into those lands held without license or concealed, particularly those of Richard, late duke of Gloucester, but was pardoned and required to take an oath of allegiance in 1486.
- Hassall (Halsall), Reginald.** [fol. 54v]
 In reward for his services to Henry VII, Hassal was returned to his office as bailiff of 'the Grene, beside Stafford' in December 1485, from which post he had been removed by Richard, duke of Gloucester; in 1486 he was further granted the office of bailiff of the lordship of Okham in Rutherford.
- Hastings (Hastinges), Lord Edward Hastings of Hungerford.** [fols. 26r, 43r, 51v, 54r]
 Created KB in April 1475, Lord Edward married Mary, Baroness Botreaux and Hungerford and daughter of Sir Thomas Hungerford, in 1480; he was summoned to parliament between 1482 and 1496, was granted the lordship and barony of Hastings in 1487, and became the forester of 'Danewelhaye' and Southwood in 1488; at the time of the royal progress to the North in 1486, Edward was also granted lands in Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Warwickshire, and Middlesex through indenture.
- Hastings (Hastinges), Sir John of Gressenhall, Lord Hastings.** [fols. 59v, 60r]
 Son and heir of Hugh Hastings, he inherited the barony of Hastings on his father's death in 1488; he married Isabel, daughter of Sir Ralph Babthorpe; gained livery of father's lands in York in 1490.
- Hastings (Hastinges), Edmund. (d. c.1489)** [fol. 9v]
 Made knight banneret by duke of Gloucester in 1482; he was commissioned by Henry VII to hold men in array in Yorkshire against the potential invasion of the Scots in September 1485, and was granted minor offices in 1485-6; he fought against Henry Tudor at the battle of Stoke in 1487, and was named traitor; he was subsequently pardoned and his lands restored in December the same year, but died prior to April 8, 1489.
- Hastings (Hastinges), Sir Hugh of Gressenhall.** [fol. 9v]
 Sheriff of Yorkshire from 1479-80, and knighted by Richard, duke of Gloucester, in 1482, Sir Hugh was granted the manors of Wells, Warham, Sheringham and Wiveton in Norfolk in May 1484 for services against Buckingham's rebellion; nevertheless he pledged allegiance to Henry VII when he took throne, and was present at coronation of Elizabeth of York, November 1487.
- Haut (Haulte, Haute), Sir Richard.** [fols. 9v, 26r, 36v, 37r, 44r]

- Knighthood by Richard, duke of Gloucester, near Edinburgh in 1482, Sir Richard led the uprising in Kent during Buckingham's rebellion; he was attainted by Richard III, but the attainder was reversed by Henry VII; he also served as the king's carver.
- Herbert (Harbert), Sir Walter.** [fols. 43v, 63v]
Steward, constable and receiver of 'Cantreselly', and steward of Talgerth.
- Hereford (Herforde), Mayor of.** [fols. 17r, 18r]
Mayor of Hereford and acting coroner of the city from February 1486.
- Hereford (Herforde, Harforde), bishop of.** [fols. 18r, 42v]
Thomas Mylling; ambassador to Rome on behalf of Henry VII in March 1487.
- Heydon, Sir Henry.** [fol. 44r]
Country gentleman and knight of Norfolk; acted as steward of the household of Cecily, duchess of York and widow of Duke Richard, in 1485.
- Hide (Hyde), James.** [fols. 22r, 54v, 59v]
Esquire and acting steward of the manor and lordship of Caversham, in Oxfordshire, during the minority of Edward, duke of Clarence; he was made usher of the king's chamber prior to March 1488.
- Hilliart (Hylyerd, Hiliard), Sir Robert. (d. 1501)** [fols. 9v, 56r]
Knighthood by Richard, duke of Gloucester, in 1481, Sir Robert attended Richard III's coronation in 1483, but was subsequently welcomed into the Tudor regime.
- Hilton (Hylton), Sir William.** [fol. 44v]
Lord Hilton from 1457-1506.
- Hody, Sir William.** [fol. 44v]
Attended parliament from 1483, and was appointed attorney general shortly after Henry Tudor's accession; he was created serjeant-at-law at the end of 1485, and was appointed chief baron of the exchequer in October 1486.
- Hoo, John.** [fol. 22r]
Yeoman of the crown and member of the king's wardrobe.
- Hopton (Upton), Sir George.** [fols. 29r, 44r, 55r]
Received a general pardon for all 'breaches of alleigance' committed prior to 22 'September last' in November 1485.
- Hungerford (Hungreford/e), Sir Thomas.** [fols. 9r, 35r, 44v]
Eldest son of Robert Hungerford, Baron Moleyns and 3rd Baron Hungerford; an early supporter of Edward IV and the Yorkist cause, he nevertheless joined the earl of Warwick's conspiracy to restore Henry VI to the throne in 1469; he was subsequently attainted and executed at Salisbury.
- Hungerford, Sir Walter.** [fols. 43v, 57r, 63v]
Youngest son of Robert Hungerford, Baron Moleyns and 3rd Baron Hungerford, Sir Walter was initially a partisan of the house of Lancaster; he obtained a pardon from Richard III on the latter's accession in 1483, but was arrested by the king with the landing of the earl of Richmond in England in August 1485; he escaped custody and joined Richmond's army, after which he was knighted on the field of battle, his estates were returned, and he was made a member of Henry VII's privy council.

Huntingdon, William Herbert, earl. (d. 1491)

[fols. 43r-v, 47v, 48v]

Succeeded father as 2nd earl of Pembroke in 1469; fought under Edward IV in France and Normandy, and in July 1479 he gave up his Pembroke title in exchange for Huntingdon at the request of the king, who bestowed it upon own son Edward; he was appointed justice of south Wales November 1483, and appears to have retained the position under Henry VII.

Huse/Hussey (Hussuy, Husey, Hausey), Sir William

[fols. 9r, 17r, 44v, 49]

A member of Gray's Inn, Sir William was appointed attorney general in June 1471 and chief justice of the king's bench in May 1481; he retained his post under Henry VII and, despite vehement disagreement with the new king on points of legal method, was made a commissioner to the court of claims at Henry's coronation and dealt with the Stafford case the following year

Ireland (Irelande), John of.

[fol. 54v]

Possibly the John Irland, clerk, recorded as travelling in the company of Bishop William of St. Andrews from Scotland into England in September 1485.

Kemp, Thomas, bishop of London.

[fol. 42v]

Bishop of London at the time of Henry VII's victorious entrance into the city after his victory at Bosworth.

Kennedy (Kenedy), Lord John.

[fol. 21v]

Baron Kennedy from 1480-1508, privy councillor to James III, and commissioner appointed to treat with the English in 1484.

Kent, Edmund Lord Grey and earl. (d. 1489)

[fols. 58r, 62r, 63r]

Knighted in October 1440, having succeeded grandfather as 4th Lord Grey of Ruthin in September that year, Edmund reached the zenith of his career at the courts of Henry VI and Edward IV; initially a supporter of Henry VI, Grey defected to the Yorkists and the earl of Warwick at the battle of Northampton; he was made treasurer of England and privy councillor in 1463, created earl of Kent in 1465, and obtained confirmation in his titles from both Richard III and Henry VII. He was already sixty-six years old when Henry Tudor came to the throne.

King's almoner. See **Urswick, Christopher.**

King's mother (Kinges moder). See **Beaufort, Lady Margeret.**

King (Kyng), Oliver. (d. 1503)

[fols. 50r, 53v]

Bishop of Bath and Wells and a scholar of Eton in 1449, King was secretary to Edward Prince of Wales, son of Henry VI, and was appointed by Edward IV as chief secretary in France; he was made canon of Windsor and registrar of the Order of Garter in 1480, and received the archdeaconry of Oxford in 1482; Richard III deprived him of his offices and imprisoned him in the Tower in June 1483; he was reinstated by Henry VII in 1485, receiving commission to treat with the French for the prolongation of a truce between England and France; he was appointed bishop of Exeter in 1492.

Kniveton (Knyfton), Nicholas.

[fol. 22v]

Probably the son of Nicholas Kniverton of Mercaston, Derbyshire, sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, 1489-90; Nicholas junior was also sheriff 1493-4, and king's squire and usher of the king's chamber in between 1486-1489.

Knowles (Knolles), John.

[fol. 60r]

Keeper of the parks of Clarendon, in Warwickshire, and Marshwarde, in Dorset; made a yeoman of king's mouth, 'in the king's own pantry', some time before December 1488.

Knowles, Robert.

[fol. 35r]

A henchman of the king, appointed to wait upon Prince Arthur.

Knyvet (Knevet), Sir William.

[fols. 44v, 63v, 64v]

Denounced by Richard III in October 1483 for his participation in Buckingham's rebellion; he returned to royal favour with the accession of Henry VII; his lands and honour were restored at the first parliament of the reign, and was witness to the marriage of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York.

Lakyn, John.

[fol. 60r]

Esquire of the household for Henry VII.

Langford (Langforth), Sir Ralph.

[fols. 29v, 54v]

Lieutenant, steward and parker of Duffield Firth in Derbyshire; a writ was issued to the sheriff of Derby for Langford's arrest on May 7, 1488.

Langton, Lord Thomas, bishop of Salisbury (d. 1501).

[fols. 23r-v, 25r, 42v, 58v]

Student of Oxford and Cambridge, who did degrees in canon law, Lord Thomas left university in 1464; he had become chaplain of Edward IV before 1476, and was well trusted by the king, being sent upon diplomatic duty to both France and Castile; after receiving number of minor ecclesiastical offices, he was elected bishop of St. David's in 1483; Richard III sent him on diplomatic missions to France and Rome, and he was translated to the see of Salisbury in February 1485; he maintained his position under Henry VII, and was translated to the see of Winchester in 1493.

Latimer (Latymer, Latymor), Richard Neville, Lord (d. 1530).

[fols. 9r, 48r, 49v, 51r, 52v]

2nd Baron Latimer and son of Sir Henry Neville and Jane, daughter of John, Baron Berners. Richard Neville was prominent at the courts of both Henry VII and Henry VIII, and, although he succeeded to the title of Lord Latimer in 1469, he was not summoned to parliament until 1492; he was a distinguished soldier, who held command at the battle of Stoke in 1487; he bore witness to the English treaty with Portugal the same year, received special livery of lands in 1492, and served on the Northern borders under Lord Surrey that same year.

Lawarre, Lord/Lady. See De la Ware.**Lawrence, Sir James.**

[fol. 44v]

An order was issued, on May 12, 1488, for the deliverance of Lawrence into hands of Sir Thomas Walton, deputy receiver of Lancaster, for the kidnap of the minor, William Butler, son of Robert of 'Kyrkeland'.

Leighton, John.

[fol. 60r]

Member of the commission led by Jasper, duke of Bedford, in early 1486, to hear complaints of the inhabitants of the Welsh Marches, with authority to collect rents and audit and to replace royal servants in that region.

Lincoln (Lincolln, Lyncolln), John de la Pole, earl (d. 1487).

[fols. 8v, 13r, 23r-v, 25r]

Created earl of Lincoln in March 1466-7, and KB in April 1475, Lincoln later carried the orb at King Richard's coronation in July 1483; he was created president of the council of the North during the same month, and granted the office of lieutenant of Ireland in August 1484; soon after, he appears to have been nominated as Richard III's heir, becoming the object of the king's generosity. Lincoln fought with the royal forces at Bosworth, but took an oath of allegiance to Henry VII after Richard's defeat; he continued to entertain hopes for the crown, and was central to the Lambert Simnel plot of 1487, fleeing to Brabant early in 1487, and thence to Ireland to join Simnel's army; he died on the battlefield at Stoke in June that year, but his family escaped the new king's retribution.

Lincoln, bishop of. See **John Russell**.

Lisle (Lisley), Edward Grey, Viscount.

[fols. 24r, 26r, 43r, 47v, 54r]

Appointed justice of peace and of oyer and terminer in London, 1486; steward of the duchy of Lancaster, and seneschal of the castle of Kenilworth, 1486.

London, bishop of. See **Kemp, Thomas**.

Lovell (Louvell), Sir Thomas.

[fols. 24r, 29v, 44r, 51r-v, 61v]

An adherent of Henry, earl of Richmond, attainted for his loyalties in the first parliament of Richard III, Sir Thomas fled England and returned with Henry Tudor to fight at Bosworth; his attainder was reversed at the first parliament of Henry VII, and he was created chancellor of the exchequer for life in October 1485; he had been made an esquire for king's body and then elevated to knight of the king's body by August 1487; he was a speaker of the House of Commons in November 1485, a commissioner appointed to treat with the Scots in 1486, and he fought for the royalists at the battle of Stoke, where he was knighted for his pains; he was constable of Nottingham Castle by March 1489.

Lovell, Lord Francis, Viscount. (d. ?1487)

[fol. 25r]

Knighted by Richard, duke of Gloucester, in August 1480 during an expedition against the Scots; after Edward IV's death, Lovell became a staunch supporter of Richard III, was created Viscount Lovel in January 1483, and received the baronies of Deincourt, Grey of Rutherford and Holland; he was also the bearer of the third sword at the coronation of Richard III, and from 1483-5 he served on the privy council, held the post of Lord Chamberlain, and was created KG; he fought for his king at Bosworth, but fled into sanctuary in Colchester after the defeat of the royal army, whence he participated in abortive revolt against Henry VII in early 1486; on this occasion he fled to Lancashire, and thence to Flanders to join the forces of the pretender, Lambert Simnel; he disappeared for ever after the battle of Stoke in June 1487, and may have drowned in his armour trying to flee the battlefield

Lovell, Sir Gregory.

[fol. 44r]

Sheriff of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk.

Lucy, Sir William.

[fols. 35r, 44v]

Sheriff of Warwick and Leicester by 1488.

Lumley, Lord George.

[fols. 9r, 56r]

George, 4th baron of Lumely, was born into a family loyal to the house of York; he fought with Edward IV against the Scots and Lancastrians in the North in 1462, for which service he received a knighthood; he was sheriff of Northumberland from 1462-4 and 1468-73, lord lieutenant of Northumberland in 1480,

and was created a knight-banneret under Richard, duke of York, in 1481 for his efforts against the Scots; despite his earlier Yorkist partisanship, he submitted easily to Henry VII in 1485, and in the spring of 1486 obtained a royal licence to enter into the inheritance of his father without proof of age or identity.

Lutterell (Loterell), Hugh. [fols. 35v, 44v]

Petitioned Henry VII at the first parliament of the reign for the reversal of the attainder of his father and the restoration of his possessions.

Lynde (Lyn/ne), Sir Thomas. [fols. 29v, 44r]

Esquire from Oxfordshire.

Mallary (Malory), Sir William (d. 1499). [fols. 10r, 44v, 55v]

Knighted by Henry, earl of Northumberland in 1482, Sir William attended the coronation of Elizabeth of York in November 1487.

Markenfield (Markenvile, Markenfeld), Sir Thomas. [fols. 9r, 56r]

The eldest son of Sir John Markenfield and Margaret, daughter of Sir John Melton of Aston, Markenfield was a knight and high sheriff of York in 1485, and later seneschal for the archbishop of York in the latter's manors of York and Ripon. He is probably the Thomas Markenfield who attended the creation of Henry, duke of York in 1494.

Massey (Masey), Sir Geoffrey. [fol. 54v]

Knight and bailiff of Lancaster.

Massy, Hammond. [fol. 54v]

Esquire, granted annuity for life out of the issues of the county palatine of Lancaster for his services to king.

Mauleverer (Malyverer, Malyvery, Maulevrier), Sir Thomas. [fols. 9v, 43v, 54v, 59v]

Of Allerton in Yorkshire; a nephew of Sir Halnath Mauleverer, Sir Thomas was knighted by Richard, duke of Gloucester, in 1482 and probably rode with the king at Bosworth; he appears to have favoured the rebellious cause of the earl of Lincoln in 1487, but received a general pardon for treasonable offences, with remission of forfeiture for his goods, on May 31, 1488; neither he nor his uncle were among those former Ricardians employed by Henry VII.

Mendam, William. [fol. 60r]

Keeper of the park of 'Hunderasly' in Essex.

Metcalf (Metcalf), James. [fols. 55v, 60r]

Surveyor of the castle and lordship of Middleham, and of all manors and lordships within Richmond, Yorkshire.

Metham, Sir Thomas (d. c. 1498). [fol. 9v]

Knighted in 1460; a member of retinue of earl of Northumberland on king's first provincial progress of 1486, he appears to have died in 1498.

Middleton (Medilton), Sir Piers. [fols. 9v, 56r]

Knighted in 1482, initially by Richard, duke of Gloucester, and then by the earl of Northumberland; he was a member of Northumberland's retinue on king's first provincial progress in 1486, and again at York in 1489.

Middleton (Medelton), Sir Robert.

[fol. 44v]

A staunch Ricardian who threatened to raise the North against Henry Tudor after the latter's victory at Bosworth; he was forgiven and officially pardoned in August 1486, and was granted a moiety of the manors of Dalton and Leighton, in Westmorland, the following year.

Middleton (Medilton), Richard.

[fol. 54v]

Received a general pardon alongside Sir Robert Middleton in August 1486, and was required to take an oath of allegiance before Sir Richard Tunstall and Thomas Watley that same year.

Middleton, John of.

[fol. 55v]

Porter and watchman of the castle of Middleborough in Yorkshire.

Molyneux (Molynneaulx), Richard.

[fol. 55r]

Son Thomas Molyneux, a knight of Lancaster, and his wife Anne, but still a minor in March 1488.

Montgomery (Mongomery), Sir Thomas.

[fol. 43v]

Created a commissioner of peace and of oyer and terminer for London in August 1489.

Montgomery, Sir Nicholas.

[fols. 59v, 60r]

Sheriff of Nottingham and Derby; appointed commissioner into riots in Lichfield, Staffordshire.

Moresby, Sir Christopher.

[fols. 9v, 55v]

Knighted at Tewksbury in 1471, Sir Christopher served as a JP in Westmorland under Edward IV, Richard III and Henry VII; he was a Ricardian sympathiser who fought against Henry Tudor at Bosworth, but was later forgiven by the new king and appointed sheriff of Cumberland in 1485.

Morgan (Morgon), Sir John.

[fol. 43v]

Educated at Oxford, Sir John graduated as doctor of laws; he was loyal to Henry, earl of Richmond, through his connection to Sir Rhys ap Thomas; after Henry Tudor's accession, he was made dean of St. George's in Windsor, and bishop of St. David's in 1496.

Morley, Henry Lovell, Lord Morley.

[fols. 48r, 49v, 51v, 56r]

Ward of Richard Beauchamp and Piers Courtenay from 1477; knighted January 1477/8 at the marriage of Richard, duke of York, to Anne Mowbray; he took part in both the funeral of Edward IV and the coronation of Richard III in 1483; in February 1488 he was granted livery of estates as heir to William Lovell, Lord Morley, but was not summoned to parliament; he was slain at the siege of Dixmude, Flanders in June 1489.

Mortimer (Mortimer), Sir John.

[fols. 29r, 43v, 54r]

Knight for the king's body, sheriff of Hereford, and steward of Abbotley, Shrawle, and 'Elmeleylovet'; he held the manors of Upton Snodesbury and 'Wykebournell' in Worcestershire, and was appointed justice in eyre in March 1486.

Morton, John, Bishop of Ely, etc.

[fols. 8v, 13r, 27v]

Bishop of Ely and then Canterbury, and later Lord Chancellor of England, Morton was imprisoned by Richard III in 1484 for his involvement in the Buckingham rebellion; he escaped from Brecknock and fled to Flanders, whence he was summoned home by the victorious Henry VII after the battle of Bosworth; he was made privy councillor to the new king, succeeded Thomas Bouchier as archbishop of Canterbury in October 1486, and became Lord Chancellor of England that same year.

Morton (Morten), Master Robert (d. 1497).

[fols. 23r, 27v]

Nephew of Cardinal John Morton and archdeacon of Winchester from 1478, master of the rolls from 1479; he lost the latter office under Richard III when his father fell into disgrace, but was reinstated by Henry VII; he was appointed a commissioner to fulfil the office of steward at Henry VII's coronation; he had been made a canon of Windsor in 1481, but resigned from the post in 1486, the same year in which he was consecrated bishop of Worcester.

Morton, Thomas.

[fol. 53v]

Keeper of the gaol of Great Dean and Little Dean and clerk to the archdeacon of Ely.

Mountjoy, Lady Lora.

[fols. 42r, 43r]

Daughter of Sir Edward Berkeley and wife of John Blount, 3rd Lord Mountjoy (d. 1485), whom she married in or before 1477; her second husband was Sir Thomas Montgomery, who died in 1495.

Mountford (Mauntforde), Sir Edmund.

[fol. 44v]

Received a reversal of his attainder at the first parliament of Henry VII in 1485, and was subsequently granted the office of sheriff of Berkshire and Oxfordshire.

Mountford, Sir Simon.

[fol. 54v]

Steward of the lordship and castle of Bromecche in Warwickshire, and appointed commissioner of the peace and of oyer and terminer in Warwick in 1489.

Multon, Sir Robert.

[fol. 9v]

Knight of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and deputy lieutenant of the east and middle marches of England toward Scotland.

Musgrave (a Musgrove), Sir John.

[fols. 29v, 55v, 63v]

Receiver of crown lands in Westmorland and Cumberland by a writ dated December 1485.

Musgrave (Musgrove), Sir Richard.

[fol. 55v]

Known as 'Richard the younger' during the lifetime of his uncle Sir Richard de Musgrave, Sir Richard was under-sheriff of Westmorland and married to Joan, daughter of Lord Thomas Clifford.

Nanfan (Nanfant), Sir Richard.

[fols. 52v, 63v, 65r]

Esquire for the king's body, keeper of 'Ebere' in London, and steward of the manors of Tewkesbury and 'Elandey' in Worcestershire; he was commissioned to treat with the councillors of the King of Aragon and Castile in December 1488 for a perpetual league of peace and friendship, and to arrange marriage of Prince Arthur to one of the Spanish king's daughters.

Nell, John.

[fol. 60r]

King's serjeant of the catery.

Neville, Sir George. See Burgavenny, George Neville.**Neville (Nevell), Sir John.**

[fol. 56r]

Knight of the king's body.

Neville (Nevill), Sir John of Liversedge.

[fol. 9v, 44v]

A retainer of Richard III, knighted in 1482, who fought in the royalist forces at Bosworth; he was received into the new regime and later attended Elizabeth of York at her coronation in 1487.

Neville, Lady Joan Fitzalan. (d. 1489)

[fol. 63r]

First wife of George Neville, 3rd Baron of Burgaveny, who in the measles epidemic of 1489.

Norbery, Sir John.

[fol. 44r]

Knighted before 1477, Sir John served as a JP in 1483, and at the coronation of Richard III; he was made vice-marshal in the office of the admiralty in 1484, and sheriff of Surrey and Sussex that same year; he seems to have made the transition to the new regime in 1485.

Norfolk, Elizabeth Talbot, Duchess of. (d. 1506)

[fols. 37v, 42r, 58r, 62v]

Daughter of John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, by his second wife Margeret, and wife of the Yorkist John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk (1461-76), whom she married in November 1448; she attended Princess Margeret in her marriage to the duke of Burgundy in 1468, and received a gown from Richard III for the coronation of his queen in 1483; she was likewise attendant upon Elizabeth of York at her coronation in 1487.

Normanville (Normanvile), Sir Thomas. (d. c. 1491)

[fol. 9v]

Justice of Canterbury, and possibly the son of Sir William Normanville of Killingwick, Yorkshire, and recipient of lands in Tadcaster on the bequest of his father.

Norris (Norres), Sir Edward.

[fols. 29r, 55r]

Knight of Henry VII, who fought for the king against the pretender, Lambert Simnel, at battle of Stoke in 1487.

Norris (Norres, Norreis), Sir William.

[fols. 29v, 44r, 54v]

Knight of the body for Edward IV, but condemned by Richard III for his part in Buckingham's abortive rebellion; Henry VII granted him custody of the manor of Langley during the minority of Edward, son of George, duke of Clarence; he was also made steward of the manors of Boreford, Shipton and Spellesbury, forfeited by the same Clarence.

Northumberland (Northumbreland), Henry Percy, 4th earl. (d. 1489)

[fol. 9v]

Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, the leading magnate of the North, was spawned from a family of Lancastrian supporters. On his father's attainder, he was commandeered into safe-keeping in the Tower, and the earldom of Northumberland forfeited into hands of John Neville, Lord Montague; he was released in October 1469 upon an oath of fealty to Edward IV, and restored to the earldom following year, receiving further offices after battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury. In 1483, Northumberland accepted Richard III's accession, and was honoured by bearing the sword 'Curtana', the emblem of royal mercy, at Richard's coronation; he was subsequently granted the office of Great Chamberlain of England after Buckingham's forfeiture, along with many profitable offices; he fought for Richard at Bosworth and was taken prisoner there, although he was treated favourably by Henry Tudor; he was subsequently restored to his lands and offices in Northumberland and empowered to negotiate on behalf of king with Scots. He was murdered by rioters in North Yorkshire at the end of April 1489.

Northumberland, Henry Algernon Percy, 5th earl. (d. 1527)

[fols. 59v, 60v, 63v, 65r]

Born in January 1477 as the son and of the 4th earl; after his father's killing he took the field at the age of eleven on behalf of Henry VII; eight years later, he commanded the Northern horse for the suppression of Lord Audley's rebellion; although he was brought up in Henry VII's court, he was never trusted by the king, who imposed a series of recognizances and obligations upon him; in 1498, the year before

achieving his majority, he was given livery of his father's estates without proof of age, and in the same year he was sworn of the king's council, although he was not appointed to the council in the North until later; before 1502, he married Catherine, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Robert Spender of Spendercombe, Devon; he was created KG c. April 1498, and was appointed to the Westmorland commission of the peace, but not until 1500 to that of Sussex, and later still to those of the West and East Riding. After a long and somewhat turbulent career, he died in 1427 and was buried in Beverley minster.

Norwich (Norwiche), bishop of.

[fols. 38r, 42v, 65v]

James, bishop of Norwich, was present at the coronation of Elizabeth of York in November 1487.

Nottingham (Notingham), Anne, countess.

[fols. 42r, 43r]

Wife of William Berkeley, earl of Nottingham.

Nottingham (Notingham, Notyngham), William, earl (d. 1492).

[fols. 24r, 31r-v, 36r, 40r, 43r]

Succeeded his father as Lord Berkely in 1463, and was subsequently honoured in quick succession with the titles of Viscount Berkeley (1481), earl of Nottingham (1483), and Marquis of Berkeley (1488); he was witness to the marriage of Henry Tudor to Elizabeth of York in January 1486, and on his death in 1492 the marquesate and viscounty of Berkeley, together with the earldom of Nottingham, became extinct.

Owen, Sir Davy/David.

[fols. 9r, 13r, 22r, 36v, 37r]

Of Cowdray in Sussex. Knighted at Milford Haven by Henry Tudor before the battle of Bosworth; he was made knight of the body and chief carver for life to Henry VII, and later constable and warden of Winchester Castle; he was commissioned in the force under earl of Arundel taking musters to the Continent for the relief of Brittany in 1488.

Oxford (Oxinfoorde, Oxyinfoorde, Oxenforde), John de Vere, 13th earl. (d. 1513)

[fols. 12v, 13r, 21v, 23r-v]

Created KB at the Queen Elizabeth Woodville's coronation in May 1464, Oxford fell under suspicion of conspiring with the Lancastrians and was imprisoned in the Tower in November 1468 (both his father and older brother had been executed for Lancastrian activities); he was released two months later, and played a leading role alongside the earl of Warwick in restoring Henry VI to the throne, fighting against Edward at Barnet, but fleeing to France after the Lancastrian defeat; he was attainted in 1475, and on his return to England imprisoned in the castle of Hammes. After three years confinement, in 1484, he escaped to join Henry Tudor in Brittany; he was captain general of the rebel army at Bosworth, and his attainder was subsequently reversed and he was restored to the hereditary chamberlainship of England; in 1485 he became privy councillor, constable of Rising Castle and the Tower, high steward of the duchy of Lancaster, and admiral of England, Ireland and Aquitaine; he was created KG in 1486, and was a leading commander at battle of Stoke in 1487; following a distinguished career in the service of Henry VII and Henry VIII, Oxford died in 1513.

Oxford (Oxinfoorde), Margeret, countess.

[fols. 37v, 40r, 42r, 46r]

Wife of John de Vere, 13th earl of Oxford, and the couple granted in unison the lordship of le More in the counties of Hertford and Middlesex in 1486.

Parker (Parkar), Sir James.

[fols. 29v, 36v, 37r, 44r, 52v]

Esquire and feodary of the honour of Wilingford and porter of castle there; he was made steward of the lordship and the manor of King's Langley by Henry VII, and fought for the latter at the battle of Stoke in 1487; he was made a knight of the king's body before June 1488.

Parker, Sir William. [fols. 45r, 51v, 63v]

Standard-bearer and councillor to Richard III, ranger of the New Forest, and sheriff of Southampton under Henry VII.

Pavy, Hugh, bishop of St. Davids (Seynt Davys). [fol. 42v]

Elected to the bishopric on September 19, 1485, and consecrated the following day.

Peak (Peke), John. [fol. 54r]

Esquire, ranger of the forest of Dean in Gloucestershire; in 1486, he was made steward of the manors of Chesthunt, Flampstead and Northwood in Hertfordshire and Essex, and receiver general and surveyor of all possessions formerly belonging to Edmund, Lord de Roos.

Percival (Persevall, Percyvale), Sir John. [fols. 29v, 34r, 45r]

Merchant, alderman and sheriff of London.

Percy, Lord Henry. See **Northumberland, Henry Percy, 5th Lord.**

Persall, Sir Hugh [fols. 9v, 22r, 44r]

A former retainer of the duke of Buckingham, Sir Hugh joined the rebel army on Henry Tudor's arrival in England in August 1485; he was made knight of king's body that same year, and later sheriff of Stafford.

Philip, David. [fols. 55v, 63v]

Esquire for the body and gentleman usher of the chamber, and bailiff and keeper of king's swans in 'Wittlesmere'; in 1486 he was granted offices as keeper, governor and captain of the isle of Jersey, and he profited greatly from the forfeiture of John Zouche, gaining thereby the lordship of Clypsham in Rutland; in 1488, he was appointed commissioner to the manor of 'Dodyngton Pygot' of sewers from Stamford, Lincoln.

Pickering (Pikering, Pykeryng), Sir John. [fols. 9v, 55v, 56r]

Governor of the English merchants in the ports of Flanders and Brabant, Sir John was granted the office of steward of all the possessions in Yorkshire of the late Henry Neville, Lord Latimer, during minority of the latter's son and heir, Richard, in 1486.

Pierpoint (Perpoynte, Perpoint), Sir Henry. (d. 1499) [fols. 9r, 55r]

Originally of Pierrepont, near Grandcourt in Picardy, the family settled at Holme Pierpoint, Nottinghamshire, in the thirteenth century. The son of Sir Henry Pierpont (d. 1457), Henry the younger was knighted at Tewkesbury in 1471, and pardoned by Henry VII in 1485; he accompanied Henry VII upon the provincial progress in 1486, and was a member of the company of the earl of Derby in the musters of 1489; he served as a member of parliament and a justice for Nottinghamshire; he died without issue in 1499, and his estates passed to his nephew, Sir William Pierpont.

Pigott (Pigote, Pygott), Sir Ralph/Randolph. [fols. 9v, 44v, 56r]

Knighted in 1482 and parker and keeper of the park of Hayvra in Lancaster, Sir Ralph was one of several fee'd knights ordered by the earl of Northumberland to be at the ready to attend upon him and join the retinue of Henry Tudor at short notice during Simnel rebellion in 1487.

Plumpton, Sir Robert. (d. 1507)

[fols. 9v, 44v]

Elder of two legitimate sons of Sir William Plumpton and probably brought up in the Plumpton household; he practiced law in York, and served as common clerk of the city from 1490 until his death; he received annuities out of a life interest of his father in certain parcels of land in the manor of Ocbrook in Derbyshire, and he also held land and houses in York, Dringhouses, Sicklinghall and Pickering; although he was knighted by Richard, duke of Gloucester in 1482, he proved his loyalty to Henry Tudor by fighting rebels in the North in 1489 and 1492.

Poinings (Ponynges, Poynynges), Sir Edward.

[fols. 9r, 36v, 37r, 57r]

Led the rebels of Kent in Buckingham's revolt, before fleeing England in 1483 to join the earl of Richmond in exile; knighted by Henry Tudor on their arrival in Wales to the boost morale of the rebel army; commissioned in 1488 to inspect the king's ordnance in Calais, granted significant lands and offices across the kingdom in 1488, most of which had been forfeited by Humphrey Stafford in 1485, and later created lord deputy in Ireland.

Points (Poynez, Pointz), Sir Robert.

[fols. 9r, 18v, 44r]

Of Iron Acton in Gloucestershire. Made sheriff of Gloucester, steward of Barton hundred, Sodbury and Thornbury in Gloucestershire, and commissioned to act as deputy at Bristol for Sir John Fortescu, chief butler of England, in November 1485.

Points (Poyntz), Sir Thomas.

[fol. 22r]

Esquire for the king's body; granted offices of steward of hundred of Bisley and keeper of the parks of Barmsley, Brimfield and Miserdon in Gloucestershire in 1486.

Pole, John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk. (d. 1491)

[fols. 25v, 31r, 36v, 38v, 43r]

The only son and heir of William, 1st duke of Suffolk, father of the rebellious earl of Lincoln, and steward of England at the coronation of Edward IV, John was later recreated duke of Suffolk; he carried the queen's sceptre at the coronation of Elizabeth Woodville in 1465, and was created KG at Edward IV's restoration in 1472; he was captain of Edward's army in France in 1475 and was appointed lieutenant of Ireland 1478-9; he offered his allegiance to Richard III in 1483, bearing the sceptre and dove at Richard's coronation in July 1483, and likewise swore loyalty to Henry VII in 1485; he was rewarded with the constableness of Wallingford by Henry VII, and bore the queen's sceptre at the coronation of Elizabeth of York in November 1487.

Pole, Lady Margeret.

[fols. 39v, 42r, 50r]

Countess of Salisbury and daughter of George Plantagenet, duke of Clarence, and wife Isabel, daughter of earl of Warwick; married to Sir Richard de la Pole by Henry VII between 1491-4.

Pole, Sir Richard. (d. 1504)

[fols. 26r, 29r, 36v, 37r, 44r]

A landed gentleman of Buckinghamshire, Henry VII made him squire of his bodyguard and KG, and granted him offices in Wales and the comptrollership of the port of Bristol; during the early 16th century, he became a pretender to the English throne, often confused with Perkin Warbeck.

Powys, John Grey, Lord of. See **Grey, John, Lord of Powys.**

Pudsey, Harry. [fols. 55r, 63v]

A gentleman of Arnforth in Yorkshire, esquire for the body, keeper of the park of 'Cottescough' in Middleham, and bailiff of the liberty of Stancliff in Yorkshire.

Pyrton, Sir William. [fol. 44v]

A knight of Essex.

Quonyers, Sir Richard [fol. 9v]

Possibly the Richard Coigners of Cowton knighted at Hutton in August 1482; granted a messuage with a mill near the castle of Middleham in Richmond, Yorkshire in early May 1486; he was a member of the retinue of the earl of Northumberland on the king's first provincial progress of 1486.

Radcliff (Radcleff), John. [fol. 56r]

Esquire, and knighted before November 1488.

Radcliff (Ratecliff), Sir James. [fols. 44v, 54v]

Lieutenant of the Tower of London.

Radcliff (Ratecliff), Sir Robert. [fol. 44v]

Knight of Norfolk.

Radcliff, Richard. [fol. 55r]

A staunch Ricardian who profited greatly from the demise of the duke of Buckingham, he was a knight of the body and chief councillor to Richard III, but died fighting for the king at Bosworth; he was posthumously attainted by Henry VII upon the latter's accession.

Rainford (Raynsford), John. [fol. 54r]

Esquire for the king's body, prosecuted for intermarrying without the king's licence; he received pardon for the same on November 9, 1486.

Rake, Richard. [fol. 22r]

Yeoman of the crown, keeper of the park of Freemantle, Southampton, and ranger of the forest of Grovell, Wiltshire.

Raleigh (Rauly), Sir Edward. [fol. 54r]

Granted the office of steward of all lordships, manors and lands in Warwick, Worcester, Stafford, Oxford and Gloucester in December 1488.

Rider (Ryder), Sir Robert. [fols. 9v, 55v]

Knighted by Richard, duke of Gloucester, at Hutton Field in 1482, and probably the Sir Robert Rider who served on Lord Fitzhugh's commission of array in the North at the end of 1485, and was made constable of York Castle in May 1486.

Riseley (Risley), Sir John. [fols. 9v, 44r, 52v, 53r-v, 57v]

Esquire for the body under Edward IV, Sir John accompanied the king on his expedition to France in 1475; Sir John refused to serve Richard III, and fled to join Henry Tudor, receiving a knighthood at Milford Haven in 1485; he was granted the offices of constable of the castle of Plasshe and bailiff of the town of Dunmow in 1485, granted custody of the lordship of Eltham, Kent, and made steward of the

franchises of the duchy of Lancaster in Essex and Hertfordshire; he had become a councillor of Henry VII before 1490.

Rivers (Ryvers), Richard Woodville, 3rd earl. (d. 1491)

[fols. 9r, 13r, 43r]

Created KB at his sister Elizabeth's coronation as queen consort of Edward IV in 1465, and a JP for Bedfordshire, 1473-87, Woodville was attainted by Richard III in 1483, but restored to his title in 1485 by Henry VII, thereby succeeding his brother Anthony as earl.

Rivers (Ryvers), countess ____.

[fols. 40v, 42r, 43v, 46v, 52v]

Wife of Richard Woodville, 3rd earl of Rivers, the countess played a significant role in the coronation of Elizabeth of York in November 1487.

Rocliffe (Roucliff), Brian. (d. 1496)

[fol. 33v]

Son of Guy Rocliffe (d. 1460), a lawyer of Cowthorpe near Wetherby, and a barrister of the Middle Temple, Brian Rocliffe served as a baron of the exchequer from c. 1455, and obtained a reappointment during pleasure from Henry VII in September 1485; as a puisne he was automatically put on the commission of the peace in 1454 for the part of the country in which his estates lay, and continued to be re-appointed to the West Riding bench until the readeption of 1470, when he was dropped in favour of his son; he was re-appointment in 1472 after the reinstatement of the Yorkists.

Rolls (Rowles), Master of. See Morton, Robert.

Roos (Roosse), Sir John.

[fol. 21v]

An esquire of Montgrenane and councillor for King James of Scotland during negotiations for a three-year peace with Henry VII in July 1486.

Roos, Sir Henry.

[fols. 44r, 54r]

Knight of Sussex, granted office as the surveyor and steward of possessions belonging to the late Edmund, Lord de Roos, in March 1486; he was appointed commissioner of the peace and of oyer and terminer in 1489.

Rotheram, Thomas, archbishop of York.

[fols. 12v, 38r, 42v]

Made Chancellor of England By Edward IV in 1474, but lost his position on the accession of Richard III because of his support of the Woodville faction. Under Henry Tudor, Rotheram became one of the chief mediators between the city of York and the king during the early years of the reign, and was granted the office of Treasurer of England; he was appointed commissioner of the king's mines in February 1486, and directed an inquest into the insurrections in York during April 1489; in November following year he bore witness to Prince Arthur's creation as Prince of Wales and earl of Chester.

Russell, John, bishop of Lincoln. (d. 1494)

[fol. 8v, 25v, 42v]

Fellow of New College, Oxford and moderator of canon law in 1461, he resigned and left Oxford the following year, and was appointed archdeacon of Berkshire in February 1466; he was entrusted with diplomatic missions to the dukes of Burgundy by Edward IV, made keeper of the privy seal in 1474, consecrated bishop of Rochester in 1476, translated to the see of Lincoln two years later, and was made chancellor of England in 1483; under Henry VII he was entrusted with a diplomatic role, and was present at christening of Prince Arthur in 1486.

Ruyston, Nicholas.

[fol. 63v]

Esquire for the king's body.

St. Davids, bishop of. See **Pavy, Hugh.**

St. Low (Seylow, Saynlowe), Sir John.

[fols. 36v, 37r, 44v, 55r]

Cousin and heir of John Butler, Sir John was attainted by a parliament of Edward IV; he petitioned for, and was granted, the reversal of his attainder in the first parliament of Henry VII, and was appointed sheriff of Gloucestershire before Easter 1487.

St. Mary's (Seint Mary), abbot of.

[fols. 10r, 13r-v, 55v]

William Sevons, elected prior of Black Friars in 1485; he received the new king during the first provincial progress of 1486, and later accompanied the king against the Northern rebels in 1489.

Salisbury. bishop of. See **Langton, Lord Thomas.**

Salkild (Sabkylde), Sir Richard.

[fols. 29v, 44r]

Captain of the town and castle of Carlisle, appointed receiver general of the lordships of Penryth and Inglewold, Cumberland in 1488; commissioned to treat with the Scots in September 1490, regarding rights over the river Eske.

Sandes (Sander, Sandys, Sondis), Sir William. (d. 1496)

[fols. 29v, 44v, 51v]

Knighted prior to 1472, and attended the coronation of Richard III in 1483; commissioned to seize the goods of traitors in Wiltshire and Hampshire after the abortive Buckingham rebellion, but remained obscure under Henry VII.

Sandford, Brian.

[fol. 55v]

Sheriff of Lincolnshire and esquire of king's body, who defected from the royal host at Bosworth, to join Henry Tudor; he was made steward and general receiver of the lordship of Caster, Lincoln, and steward and parker of the lordship of 'Knesall', Nottinghamshire; he was created constable of the castle of 'Pykerynglith' and steward of the lordship there in July 1489.

Sapcote (Sabarottes, Sabacots), Sir John.

[fols. 29v, 44r]

Keeper of the forests of Waybridge and Sapley, Huntingdonshire.

Savage (Sauvage), Dr. Thomas.

[fol. 52v]

Doctor of laws, king's councillor and chaplain to Henry VII; he was granted the office of chancellor of the earldom of the Marches in 1485, and was employed in a diplomatic capacity on a number of occasions; in March 1488 he took part in an embassy commissioned to treat for peace with the king and queen of Castile and Leon, and in December that same year was again in contact with the court of Spain, this time involved in negotiating a marriage between Arthur, Prince of Wales, and Katherine of Aragon; he was also involved in treating for peace with court of Portugal.

Savage (Sauvage), Sir John. (d. 1492)

[fols. 9r, 52v, 54r, 57v, 62v]

Created KB by Edward IV at his queen's coronation in May 1465, and, as knight of the body, he was among those required to bear Edward IV's corpse into Westminster Abbey at the latter's funeral in April 1483; he was favoured by Richard III, yet apparently held a secret alliance with Henry Tudor, for whom he commanded the left wing of the royal army at Bosworth; he was awarded number of forfeited estates in Nottinghamshire, Derby, Leicestershire and Shropshire, created KG in November 1488, and died at the siege of Boulogne in 1492.

Saville (Savile, Savell, Sayvell), Sir John. (d. 1504)

[fols. 9r, 43v, 56r]

Of Thornhill, near Wakefield, and a member of one of the oldest gentry families in the county. The eldest son of Sir John Savile, a Yorkist partisan, Sir John was lieutenant and captain of the Isle of Wight under Richard III, by whom he was made banneret at Berwick in 1481; he was granted offices as constable of castle of Sandall, near Wakefield, as steward and master forester of manor of Wakefield, and as bailiff of the town and lordship of Wakefield, Yorkshire, in 1485; he nevertheless benefited from Henry VII's patronage and, at the first parliament of the reign, was appointed sheriff of York and its castle; he was evidently a knight of the king's body before 1486, and was made steward of the lordship of Bradford same year. On his death his son Henry (d. 1558) was still a minor.

Say (Sayy), Sir William.

[fols. 9v, 44v]

Knighted by Richard III in 1483, but pardoned for his support of Richard by Henry VII in 1485; commissioned to inquire into the actions of Sir John Howard against Henry VII, an inquest which resulted in Howard's attainder for high treason in November 1485; he was appointed commissioner of the peace and of oyer and terminer in August 1489.

Schwartz (Swerte), Martin. (d. 1487)

[fol. 29r]

Renowned commander of the contingent of German mercenaries fighting for the pretender, Lambert Simnel, at the battle of Stoke; he was killed at battle.

Scrope (Scrop), John, 5th Lord of Bolton. (d. 1498)

[fols. 9r, 13r]

Fought with Warwick at Northampton, and was wounded in action at the battle of Towton; under Edward IV, he was awarded the Garter stall which had belonged to his father, employed in negotiations with the Scots in 1473, and accompanied the king to France in 1475; Richard III confirmed Scrope's support through grants of land in the south-west together with the constableness of Exeter castle; he retained these offices under Henry VII, despite his support of the pretender Lambert Simnel at Stoke, and was pardoned in 1488.

Scrope (Scrop), Thomas, Lord of Masham and Upsale (d. 1493).

[fol. 9r]

Born in 1459 and succeeding to his titles in 1475, Scrope was involved in the commission of array against the Scots in the North Riding of Yorkshire in 1480; he was knighted that same year, summoned to parliament between 1482 and 1492, and again commissioned to defend the North against the Scots in 1485. In 1487 he was imprisoned for his support of the pretender Lambert Simnel, perhaps given under duress, but was pardoned the following year.

Scrope, Mistress _____,

[fols. 50r, 52v]

Lady Elizabeth Scrope (d. 1513/14), 2nd daughter of John Neville, Marquise of Montague and his wife Isabel, and married to Thomas, Lord Scrope of Masham from 1477.

OR

Lady Elizabeth Scrope (d. 1498), widow of William, Lord Zouche, and wife of John, Lord Scrope of Bolton.

Sea, Sir Martin of the.

[fols. 9v, 55v]

Knighted as Sir Martin de la Mare by the earl of Northumberland in Scotland in 1482, and a member of the retinue of the earl of Northumberland during the first provincial progress of 1486

Shaw, Sir Edmund.

[fols. 21r-v, 29v, 34r, 35r, 38r]

Merchant and mayor of London.

Shelton, Sir Ralph.

[fol. 44v]

Esquire, knighted before December 1487, when he received the offices of sheriff in Norfolk and Suffolk.

Shrewsbury (Shrewesbury), George Talbot, 4th earl (d. 1538).

[fols. 9r, 13r, 26r, 43r, 48v]

Earl of Shrewsbury and Waterford, George Talbot succeeded to the peerage in 1473 at age of five; he was created KB two years later; he carried the sword 'Curtana' at Henry VII's coronation, a function which he again performed at the coronation of Henry VIII in 1509; in March 1485 he was made justice in eyre for several lordships in the Welsh Marches; he was made captain of the army in 1487 and fought at Stoke the same year; he was created KG the following year, and in 1490 was appointed to command 8000 men destined for defence of Brittany against Charles VIII of France.

Skelton, Clement.

[fol. 54v]

Skelton fought with pretender under leadership of Lincoln at battle of Stoke in 1487.

Skillicorn, William.

[fol. 54v]

Esquire of Lancaster.

Somerset (Somerset), Charles of.

[fols. 9r, 13r, 23v, 26v, 49v]

Illegitimate son of Henry Beaufort, 3rd duke of Somerset; brought up in exile in Flanders, where he was cared for by the future Henry VII; he received knighthood from Archduke Phillip, was made captain of the yeomen of the guard in March 1486, and was granted large estates forfeited by attainted nobles during the same month; he also served as the king's cup-bearer from 1486-1503, commanded the English fleet as admiral from 1487-8, and in September 1490 was sent to invest the Emperor Maximilian with the insignia of the Order of the Garter.

Stanley, Sir Edward, 1st Baron Monteagle. (d. 1523)

[fols. 43v, 52v, 62v]

Fifth son of Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby; knighted during reign of Edward IV, and officiated as pall-bearer at the king's funeral; his father's marriage to Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry Tudor, combined with his services to the Tudor cause at Bosworth, allowed Stanley to secure new the king's favour; he was made sheriff of Lancashire and a knight of the body in 1485, and granted extensive estates in Yorkshire in March 1487.

Stanley, Sir Humphrey.

[fols. 9r, 29r, 55v]

Fought for Henry VII at Bosworth and Stoke; he was made steward of all possessions belonging to the late duke of Buckingham during minority of the latter's son, and appointed sheriff of Staffordshire in September 1485; he was a knight of the king's body by 1487.

Stanley, Piers of.

[fol. 54v]

Esquire, and constable of the castle of Hardelagh and sheriff of Merionneth.

Stanley, Thomas, 1st earl of Derby. (d. 1504)

[fols. 8v, 22v, 23v, 24r, 25v]

Steward of the household under Richard III, Stanley succeeded Hastings as KG; while his wife was embroiled in Buckingham's rising on behalf of her son, Henry Tudor, Stanley remained aloof, gaining from the collapse of the revolt; he was appointed constable of England in Buckingham's place in 1483; he appears to have remained ambivalent at Bosworth, reputedly only stepping in when Henry Tudor

gained the upper hand, and is said to have placed crown upon head of Henry Tudor; he was rewarded with the earldom of Derby in October 1485, and confirmed in the offices of constable of England, high steward of the duchy of Lancaster, high forester north of the Trent; he also gained further minor positions under Henry VII, and was chosen a godfather to Arthur, Prince of Wales.

Stanley, Sir William, Lord Chamberlain. (d. 1495) [fol. 9r, 17r, 46r, 54v, 63v]

Brother of Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby, and uncle to George, Lord Strange. Despite some authority under Richard III, Stanley betrayed his king and helped to facilitate the arrival of Henry VII; attainted by Richard III just before the battle of Bosworth, he entered the fray at the crucial hour on the side of Henry Tudor; he was later made Lord Chamberlain and KG under Henry VII for his pains. Despite climbing high in the new king's esteem, he was found guilty of high treason in February 1495, through his association with Perkin Warbeck, and was executed on Tower Hill that same month.

Stanshaw (Stanshow), John. [fol. 60r]

King's yeoman of the crown; granted the offices of keeper of the manor of 'Crokham' and bailiff of 'Wellowe' in Somerset in 1485.

Staplestone, Sir William a. [fols. 9v, 56r]

Appears to have been among the gentlemen of Ainsty who fought for Edward IV against the Scots in 1482; he was a member of the retinue of the earl of Northumberland on king's first provincial progress of 1486, and again a member of the company of the ill-fated earl in 1489.

Stirley, Sir Robert. See **Strelley, Sir Robert.**

Stonor, Sir William. [fols. 23v, 36v, 37r, 43v, 55r]

A knight of king's body pardoned in December 1485 for alleged offences committed as sheriff of Oxfordshire, Berkshire and the castle of Exeter prior to the new reign; in March 1486 he was granted custody for twelve years of the manor of Croslowe in Buckinghamshire, the office of constable of Walingford Castle, and the office of steward of the honor of Walingford and St. Walleric.

Stourton (Storton), Lord John. (d. 1486) [fols. 43r, 59v, 60v]

Knight of Southampton.

Strange (Straunge), Sir George Stanley, Lord. (d. 1503) [fols. 9r, 22v, 23v, 28r, 43r]

Eldest son of Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby, and taken hostage by Richard III near the end of June 1485 to ensure his father's loyalty. The arrival of Henry Tudor paved the way for Stanley fortune, and George Stanley played a significant part in Henry's victory at Bosworth, contributing a large host to Henry's forces; he became step-brother of Henry Tudor by the marriage of the earl of Derby and Margaret Beaufort, the king's mother; he was granted numerous minor offices by Henry VII, including the constablerships of the castle of Wicklow, Ireland, and of the castle of Knaresborough; he was appointed commissioner of king's mines under Henry VII, elevated to the Order of the Garter in 1487, and granted membership of the privy council during the same year.

Strangeways (Strangnes), Sir James. [fols. 9v, 56r]

Of Wharleton in Yorkshire. Gentleman usher of king's chamber, married to Katherine Gordon, former wife of Perkin Warbeck; although originally a partisan of the house of York, he was granted the manor of Dighton in December 1485.

Street (Strete), Robert.

[fol. 55r]

Given custody of the castle of 'Knockfergus' in Ireland, 'for the profit and use of the king', in March 1486.

Strelley (Stirley), Sir Robert. (d. 1488)

[fol. 9v]

Of Strelley and Bilborough in Nottinghamshire. A Lancastrian sympathiser, Strelley was a justice of Nottinghamshire both before and after the accession of Henry Tudor; he was member of the retinue of the earl of Northumberland on the king's first provincial progress in 1486, and died in March 1488.

Suffolk, duke of. See Pole, John de la.**Suffolk, Lord Edmund de la Pole. (d. 1513)**

[fols. 43r, 48r, 49v, 51v, 63v]

2nd son of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk and younger brother of John, earl of Lincoln; he was made KB at the coronation of Richard III in 1483, and was present at the coronation of Henry VII's queen, Elizabeth of York in 1487; he became heir to his father's estates on the death of the earl of Lincoln at the battle of Stoke in 1487; his father died in 1491, but he had not yet reached majority, and remained the king's ward until he came of age; the attainder was of his brother led to the diminution of his inheritance claim, and he was later only created earl of Suffolk, foregoing title of duke; he ultimately fell from grace with the Henry VII for his involvement with the pretender, Perkin Warbeck.

Swan, Harry [*recte* Christopher]. (ex. 1489)

[fol. 65v]

Conspired with the abbot of Abingdon to aid the earl of Lincoln in 1487; he was attainted for treason and executed in December 1489, for his participation in the plot to smuggle Edward, earl of Warwick, from the king's custody.

Talboys (Taylboys), Sir Robert.

[fol. 9r]

Son of Sir William Talboys, a staunch Lancastrian, Sir Robert was attainted by Edward IV; the attainder was reversed under Henry VII, by which king he was made JP of Kesteven and commissioned to gather and examine the musters for the relief of Brittany in December 1488.

Talbot (Talbutt), Sir Gilbert.

[fols. 29r, 43v, 51r, 51v, 57r]

Uncle of the 4th earl of Shrewsbury, he secretly proclaimed loyalty to Henry Tudor before the latter's arrival in Wales; he joined Henry in Newport with some 500 men, and led the right wing of the royal vanguard at Bosworth; he was created KG by Henry VII, and elevated to the rank of banneret at the battle of Stoke in 1487.

Talbot, Sir Humphrey.

[fol. 57r]

Marshal of Calais; granted house in town by Henry VII in February 1486.

Talbot, Sir Thomas.

[fol. 54r]

Bailiff of Preston in Lancaster.

Tempest (Tempeste), Sir Thomas.

[fols. 9v, 55v, 57r]

Knighted in 1482, Sir Thomas was later granted the office of steward of the lordship of Thornton, Yorkshire, in April 1486; he was made sheriff of Lincolnshire in December 1488.

Thorney, abbot of.

[fol. 43r]

Richard Holbeche, monk of Thorney Monastery, whose election as abbot was given royal assent in November 1485.

- Thorpe, Thomas.** [fol. 60r]
Gentleman of Wivenhoe, Exeter, who received a general pardon, with remission of forfeiture of lands, and goods in December 1487.
- Throckmorton (Throgmarton), Robert.** [fol. 54r]
Appointed sheriff of Warwick and Leicester in September 1485; he received a special pardon in February 1486, for offences committed while holding office, and managed to retain his position.
- Tirwhit (Tyrwytt, Tyrwitt), Sir William.** [fols. 29v, 44r, 55v]
Commissioned by Henry VII to gather and examine the musters prepared for the relief of Brittany in December 1488.
- Todd (Tod), Sir Richard.** [fols. 10r, 13r, 29v, 45r, 55r]
Alderman and subsequently mayor of York, Tod was granted a life annuity from Henry VII for his service to Crown, on February 2, 1489.
- Tokettis, Sir Roger.** [fol. 55r]
Constable of the castle of Devises and steward of the lordships and manors of Marlborough, Devises and Ronde in Wiltshire; he was appointed sheriff of Wiltshire in September 1485; in March 1486 he received a pardon and release for unknown offences.
- Townsend, Sir Roger.** [fol. 54r]
Admitted to Lincoln's Inn as a student in 1454, and acted as governor in 1461, 1463, and 1465-6; he was a legal advisor to the Paston Family, and was made a serjeant-at-law in October 1477, and king's serjeant in 1483; Richard III appointed him as a justice of common pleas in 1484, a position which was later confirmed by Henry VII; he was knighted on Whitsunday, 1486.
- Townsend (Towneshende), Sir Thomas [*recte* Roger].** [fol. 17r]
See Townsend, Sir Roger.
- Trafford, Edmund.** [fol. 54v]
Esquire to Henry VII.
- Treasurer of the Household.** See Lovell, Thomas.
- Tremayle, Thomas.** [fol. 18v]
Recorder of Bristol and one of the king's serjeants-at-law; appointed justice of king's bench in 1488.
- Trinities, Prior of.** [fol. 10r]
Robert Hallowses, a Benedictine prior, and a member of the company receiving king to York during the first provincial progress of 1486.
- Troys, Thomas.** [fol. 35r]
Made a peyser (weigher) in the town and port of Southampton, and a clerk of the king's works in the manor of Clarendon, Wiltshire, in May 1488.
- Trussell, William.** [fol. 35v]
Esquire, granted the offices of bailiff and keeper of the park of 'Maxstok', Warwickshire, and keeper of the castle there in February 1488.
- Tunstall, Sir Richard. (d. 1492)** [fols. 43v, 53v, 55v, 56r]

Eldest son of Sir Thomas Tunstall (d. 1457), from whom he inherited Thurland castle in Lancashire, with lands elsewhere in the county and in Yorkshire and Westmorland; he entered Henry VI's household in 1452 as an esquire of the body, receiving knighthood three years later, and appointment as king's knight and carver in 1457; he fought with the Lancastrians at Wakefield and Towton, but later impressed, and was pardoned by, Edward IV, and was reinstated as king's chamberlain and recruited into the royal affinity; he negotiated his way successfully through the readeption and the return of the Yorkists, and passed easily into the service of Henry Tudor; in June 1486, as a king's knight, he was granted the stewardship of Kendal for life; he was further granted a number of posts and responsibilities by Henry VI, and died in 1492.

Turberville (Turbervile, Turburvill), Sir John. [fols. 9v, 13v, 22v, 42r, 44r]

Knighted at Bosworth Field in 1485, Sir John was made constable, keeper and porter of the castle of Corffe in Dorset, and in September of the same year was appointed coroner and marshal of the king's household, and sheriff of Somerset and Dorset.

Turnbull, Sir Thomas. [fol. 53v]

Knight of Scotland who went into exile in England following the murder of the Scottish king; he ended his career serving Henry VII.

Tyrell, Sir James. (ex. 1502) [fol. 57r]

A staunch Ricardian implicated in disappearance of the 'Princes in the Tower', the sons of Edward IV, through an alleged scaffold confession in 1502; by this he is supposed to have murdered the youths on the orders of Richard III.

Tyler, Sir William. [fol. 9v]

Knighted on Henry Tudor's landing in England, and later made controller of king's works, and keeper of king's jewels.

Upton, Sir George. See Hopton, Sir George.

Urswick, Christopher, king's almoner. [fols. 52v, 53v]

Chaplain and confessor of Margeret Beaufort from 1482, he was initiated into the schemes of Lady Margaret and John Morton to support Henry, earl of Richmond, in a bid for the English Crown; he was subsequently appointed chaplain and confessor to the earl of Richmond, and accompanied the latter to Bosworth in 1485; he was made master of King's Hall, Cambridge by Henry VII, elected dean of York in 1488, and granted numerous minor offices; he was also employed in a diplomatic capacity on several occasions, being appointed as envoy to the pope in 1485-6, on embassy to negotiate marriage between Prince Arthur and Catherine of Aragon in 1487-8, and on embassy to France to negotiate between France and Brittany, during the following May.

Uvedale (Uvedalle), Sir William. [fols. 59v, 60r, 61r]

Soldier and courtier of Wickham, Hampshire, Sir William was appointed to the command of Porchester castle and town in May 1483; he was summoned to receive a knighthood at the coronation of Edward V, but it was never solemnised; he was attainted of treason by Richard III in 1484, but obtained a pardon in 1485; he remained hostile to King Richard's rule, and was later appointed as esquire of the body to Henry VII, and created KB in November 1489.

Vampage, Sir William.

[fols. 29v, 44r, 47v, 49v, 63v]

Esquire and sewer for the king in 1485, and knighted around February 1486.

Vaughan, Sir Thomas ap Roger.

[fol. 44v]

Real name Sir Thomas Vaughan; Sir Thomas received a pardon on April 2, 1486, for offences under the statutes against retainers; he was granted the lordships of 'Cantressely' and 'Penketly' in the Marches of Wales in June 1487.

Vaughan, William.

[fol. 22r]

Yeoman of crown, keeper of manor of Carslowe in Buckinghamshire, and customer and collector in the town of Calais.

Vaux, Dame Catherine

[fol. 45r]

Mother of Sir Nicholas Vaux and wife of Sir Vaux (d. 1471), she fled England with her husband upon the latter's attainder in the first parliament of Edward IV in 1461; her husband was slain fighting for the Lancastrians at the battle of Tewkesbury, and she was taken prisoner in the company of Queen Margeret.

Vaux, Dame Elizabeth. (d. 1507)

[fol. 42r]

Daughter and coheir of Henry, Lord Fitzhugh (d. 1472), widow of Sir William Parr, and first wife of Nicholas Vaux.

Vaux, Sir Nicholas. (d. 1523)

[fols. 29v, 36v, 37r, 44r, 53v]

Soldier and courtier, and 1st Lord Harrowden of Northamptonshire; his father was attainted at the first parliament of Edward IV in 1461, but the attainder was reversed at Henry VII's first parliament; high in the new king's favour, Vaux was granted for life the offices of steward of the towns of Olney and 'Newport Pagnell' soon after Bosworth; he supported Henry VII at Stoke, and was knighted soon after battle; he was among the twelve knights who carried the canopy over Queen Elizabeth's litter at her coronation in 1487.

Vavasour, John. (d. 1506)

[fol. 10r]

Son of John Vavasour of Spaldington in the East Riding, he entered the Inner Temple and was called serjeant in 1478, having already served as a JP for Bridport in the parliament of 1472; he was retained as a legal councillor by the duke of Gloucester, and his appointment was renewed after the duke's accession as Richard III; he was elected as recorder of York in early 1486, and was permitted by Henry VII to exercise the office despite defeating the king's preferred candidate; he was knighted in 1489 or 1490, appointed puisne judge of the common pleas in August 1490 and justice of assize for the midland circuit in 1502, and held other positions in the ensuing years; he died without issue in 1506 and his estates presumably passed to his nephew, Sir Peter Vavasour.

Verney, Mistress Margeret.

[fols. 45r, 52v]

Wife of Sir John Verney, cousin and direct heir of Sir Robert Whitingham.

Verney, Sir John.

[fols. 36r, 44r]

Under Henry VII he petitioned for, and received, lands forfeited by his father-in-law's attainder under Edward IV; he was commissioned to inquire into riots and trespass in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire

in Mar. 1486, and he acted as squire of honour at the coronation of Elizabeth of York in November 1487.

Walker, Robert. [fol. 22r]

Yeoman of the crown.

Walsh, John. [fol. 55r]

Esquire and feodary of the great court of the honor of Gloucester in Bristol, and surveyor and receiver of a number of lordships in the same county; he acted as receiver general for all lands of Warwick, Salisbury and Spencer.

Waltham, abbot of. [fol. 42v]

Thomas, abbot of Waltham Holy Cross, appointed commissioner of the peace and of oyer and terminer in August 1489.

Warde, Sir Christopher. (d. 1521) [fols. 10r, 55v]

Son of Sir Roger Warde of Givendale, near York and wife Joan, daughter of Sir Richard Tunstall; knighted by the earl of Northumberland in 1481, he was a banneret by the following year and a Percy feedman; he found favour with Richard III, who entrusted him with authority in the South after the collapse of the 1483 rebellion, as master of the hart hounds, steward Worplesdon, JP and commissioner of array, and sherrif of Surrey and Sussex; he fought for Richard III under the earl of Northumberland at Bosworth, but was pardoned; he played little part in public affairs thereafter, although he was a member of Northumberland's retinue during the first provincial progress.

Warren (Waren), Sir John. [fols. 29v, 54v]

Bedmaker, furrier and sewer working in the royal wardrobe in London.

Waterton, Sir John. [fol. 9v, 56r]

No record exists of a knight of this name; possibly the Sir Robert Waterton created by Richard, duke of Gloucester at Hutton Field in 1482.

Wells (Welles), John, 1st Viscount Wells. [fols. 17r, 46r, 47v, 55r, 65r]

Fled to Brittany and Henry Tudor after the failure of Buckingham's rebellion in 1483, before returning with Henry Tudor to fight against Richard III at Bosworth in 1485; a viscounty was created for him in 1485 in recognition of his services to the new king.

Wentworth (Wenworth), Sir Henry. [fols. 9v, 44, 53v, 56r]

Of Nettlestead, Suffolk, and Pontefract. A Lancastrian partisan, Sir Henry was rewarded for his support of Henry Tudor at Bosworth; he was made knight of the king's body and steward, constable and keeper of park of lordship of Knaresborough; he was appointed commissioner of the peace and of oyer and terminer in August 1489.

West, Sir Thomas. [fols. 59v, 60r]

Born in 1472, the son and heir of Thomas West, 8th Baron Delawarre; made KB at the creation of Arthur as Prince of Wales in November 1489.

Westminster, Abbot of. [fol. 42v]

John Eastney, abbot of St. Peters, Westminster.

Westmorland (Westmerlande), Ralph Neville, earl. [fol. 22v]

Born in 1456 and created Lord Neville upon the reversal of his deceased father's attainder in 1472; he was created KB alongside King Edward's sons in April 1475, and was later granted substantial lands by Richard III for his services against the rebels; he was created earl of Westmorland on his uncle's death in 1484 and, although he did not fight for Henry at Bosworth, he retained his position under the new regime.

Wharton, Warton ____. [fol. 55v]

Possibly 'John Watton', the pavierman of York executed after the killing of the earl of Northumberland and northern rising of 1489.

Whiting (Whytyng), John. [fol. 54r]

Sewer to the king's first-born son and heir, Arthur.

Willoughby, Sir Christopher. (d. 1498/9) [fol. 43v]

Created KB at the coronation of Richard III in 1483, he frequently acted as commissioner of the peace and of array in Suffolk, 1483-97; the attainder of his deceased father was reversed in the first parliament of Henry VII, whereupon he was created Lord Willoughby; he was present at the coronation of Elizabeth of York in November 1487.

Willoughby, Sir Henry. [fols. 29r, 43v, 57r]

Esquire of the king's body and sheriff of Staffordshire in 1486; knighted prior to 1488.

Willoughby, Sir Robert. See **Broke, Sir Robert Willoughby.**

Willoughby, Sir William (d. 1526). [fols. 43v, 54v]

Created constable of the castle of Norwich, Norfolk, for his participation in Henry's victorious return to England in 1485; he was also made master of the king's dogs, and granted significant lands from those forfeited by the attainer of Lord Zouche.

Wiltshire (Wiltshir), Countess Aviss. [fols. 42r, 51v]

Wife of Edward Stafford, earl of Wiltshire

Wiltshire (Wiltshyre), Edward Stafford, earl. [fols. 9r, 13r, 43r, 54v]

Born in 1470, Edward was the son of John Stafford, a Yorkist Partisan who had been created earl of Wiltshire by Edward IV; he was created KB in April 1475 at the creation of Edward as Prince of Wales; he bore queen's crown at the coronation of Richard III, and later attended the coronation of Elizabeth of York in 1487.

Winchester, bishop of. See **Fox, Dr. Richard.**

Winchcomb (Wynchecombe), abbot of (d. 1488). [fol. 42v]

John Twynnyng of the order of St. Benedict.

Winkfield (Wynkfelde, Wingfeld), Sir John. [fols. 31r, 44r, 54r]

Steward and receiver of the honour of Richmond, Norfolk; appointed commissioner of the peace and of oyer and terminer in August 1489.

Winkfield (Wynkfelde), Dame Anne. [fol. 45r]

Wife of the late Robert Winkfield, knight.

Winter, Thomas. [fol. 60r]

Keeper of the park of Weggenok, Warwickshire.

- Wiseman, Simon.** [fol. 54r]
Esquire of Norfolk.
- Wistow, John.** [fol. 60r]
Yeoman of the crown and keeper of the king's herd in the forests of Sherwood and 'Blythworth' in Nottinghamshire.
- Wolton, Sir Thomas of.** [fol. 29v]
Granted the manor of Yoxsale, Staffordshire, and all possessions belonging to the attainted Francis, Lord Lovell, in February 1486.
- Woodville (Wodeville), Richard.** [fol. 22r]
Esquire for the body to Henry VII.
- Worsley, Robert.** [fol. 54v]
Bailiff of the lordship of 'Chepyngkyngton' in Warwickshire.
- Wroughton, Sir John.** [fol. 44r]
Sheriff of Wiltshire, commissioned to participate in leading the musters of the armed forces for the relief of Brittany.
- Yden, Thomas.** [fol. 54r]
Esquire and keeper of the castle of Rochester in Kent; receiver of the manor and hundred of Middelton and Merdon in the same county.
- York, Archbishop of.** See **Rotheram, Thomas.**
- York Minster, dean of.** [fols. 12v, 13r]
Geoffrey Blythe.
- York, mayor of.** See **Todd, Sir Richard.**
- Young (Yonge), Sir William.** [fol. 44v]
Clerk and comptroller of Calais; granted petty customs of town for three years in March 1487; commissioned to inspect ordinances of town and make sound its defences in August 1488.
- Zouche, John Lord. (d. 1526)** [fols. 53v, 63v]
Attended the coronation of Richard III in 1483, and fought for him at Bosworth; he was taken prisoner after the battle and attainted at the first parliament of Henry VII; his attainder was reversed in 1489, but he was not fully restored until 1495.
- Zouche, Mistress Jeane.** [fol. 45r]
Wife of John, Lord Zouche, she received annual pension in 1487, in consideration of her 'poverty and wretchedness', while her husband was incapacitated by his attainder.

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| S.C. 1 | Special Collections, Ancient Correspondence |
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| 985 | (Ceremonials and heraldic proceedings, 16thC) |
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