Public Display and the Construction of Monarchy in Yorkist England, 1461-85

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Abstract

The years 1461-85 were a particularly volatile period for the English crown, damaged by civil war and repeated usurpation. Edward IV's accession in 1461 was the culmination of a decade of intense debate on governance that had descended into violent conflict. In order to sustain his position after seizing the throne, it was essential to establish military and administrative dominance within the realm, but also to assert his legitimacy and worthiness to rule, and urgently to secure the allegiance of his subjects. This dissertation examines the construction and evolution of Yorkist monarchy from this foundation in bloodshed and discord. The focus is on the ways in which royal display served to bond people to the regime and how texts and images asserted a distinct Yorkist royal identity. The investigation encompasses a wide range of public events centred on the display of majesty, from rituals such as coronations, funerals and marriages to civic pageantry, tournaments, the reception of distinguished visitors, and the king's performance in parliament, on the battlefield and as promoted and commemorated in Yorkist texts. This broad scope facilitates a comprehensive understanding of the significance of royal spectacle and the ideas and imagery of Yorkist monarchy that were of paramount importance throughout the period. The approach is thematic, analysing the places where Yorkist monarchy was displayed, the ways in which an elite was cultivated in circles of intimacy around the king, and the messages communicated through the written word and visual symbolism. Three dominant themes emerge throughout: the significance of the regime's foundation in civil war, fuelling the promotion of Edward IV as a warrior monarch and heightening the rhetoric of loyalty; the competition with Lancastrian kingship and the difficulties in dealing with a living, rival monarch in Henry VI through the 1460s, driving Edward IV's attitudes towards both Lancastrian foundations and Henry VI himself; and the impetus to fuse royal sites and symbolism with those of the house of York in order to elevate status and assert legitimacy.

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Declaration

The work submitted in this thesis is the author's own and has not been submitted for examination at this or any other institution for another award.

Introduction

The Yorkist era was one of the most turbulent periods for the English monarchy. The years 1461 to 1485, from Edward IV's seizure of the throne to the death of Richard III at the battle of Bosworth, saw the demise of four kings and the throne change hands five times against a backdrop of bloody civil war. Throughout this quarter of a century the political climate was suffused with a heightened sense of competition for the crown, so that the right to it had to be defended. The Yorkist claim to rule did not suddenly emerge with Edward IV's elevation to the throne, but had been publicly presented five months earlier, when his father Richard, duke of York, had been accepted as legitimate heir to the throne by parliament.[1] The Act of Accord, agreed on 25 October 1460, was the denouement of a decade marked by factional discord and conflict. Tensions between York and the Lancastrian king, Henry VI, and his government had mounted early in the 1450s and deteriorated into violent conflict in 1455.[2] The attainder of the Yorkists in November 1459 escalated the antagonism, enemies taking to the battlefield again and with more bitterness and ferocity in 1459 and 1460.[3] York's claim to the throne was both an attempt to elevate himself and a practical solution to the desperate political situation; it was also wholly unacceptable to supporters of the king.[4]

The agreement that York was the rightful heir to the throne in October 1460 was the platform upon which the monarchy of his son was constructed. By making his challenge

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[1] R. Horrox, 'Henry VI: Parliament of October 1460, Text and Translation', *PROME* (accessed 19 June 2013), items 18-19, 22, 27. The act recognised Henry VI as king for the rest of his life but declared York and his successors heirs to the throne.

[2] On the 1450s see especially J.L. Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 260-362; *idem.*, 'Polemic and Politics in the 1450s' in *John Vale's Book,* pp. 3-42; R.A. Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI: The Exercise of Royal Authority 1422-1461* (London, 1981), pp. 693-853; *idem.*, 'Duke Richard of York's Intentions in 1450 and the Origins of the Wars of the Roses', *Journal of Medieval History,* 1 (1975), pp. 187-209; M.K. Jones, 'Somerset, York and the Wars of the Roses', *English Historical Review,* 104 (1989), pp. 285-307. On the battle of St Albans, C.A.J. Armstrong, 'Politics and the Battle of St Albans', *BIHR,* 33 (1960), pp. 1-72; M. Hicks, 'Propaganda and the First Battle of St Albans, 1455', *Nottingham Medieval Studies,* 44 (2000), pp. 167-83.

[3] At the 1459 parliament leading supporters were sentenced to death, their lands forfeit and their heirs excluded from inheriting, R. Horrox, 'Henry VI: Parliament of November 1459, Text and Translation' *PROME* (accessed 6 July 2013), items 20, 22; Watts, *Henry VI,* pp. 352-54; Griffiths, *Henry VI,* pp. 823-27; M.L. Kekewich, 'The Attainder of the Yorkists in 1459: Two Contemporary Accounts', *BIHR,* 55 (1982), pp. 25-34. The battles are listed below, n. 235.

[4] On York's claim to the throne and reactions to it, see P. A. Johnson, *Duke Richard of York 1411-1460* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 211-18; M.K. Jones, 'Edward IV, the earl of Warwick and the Yorkist Claim to the Throne', *Historical Review,* 70 (1997), especially pp. 347-51.

for the throne in parliament, York ensured that his success or failure would be a political decision, a formidable undertaking for those involved.[5] His claim was based upon lineage superior to that of the Lancastrian king, as the senior descendant from Edward III (see figure 1). While the Lancastrian claim to rule was through Edward III's fourth son, John of Gaunt, York claimed heritage from the third son, Lionel of Clarence. The Lancastrian claim was through all males, however York's lineage passed through two females, his mother Anne, daughter of Roger Mortimer, and great-grandmother Philippa, daughter of Lionel of Clarence.[6] The approval of York's argument in the Act of Accord made the duke and his heirs legitimate rulers after Henry VI. Following his death at the battle of Wakefield two months later, therefore, this right to rule was transmitted to his son. Edward prosecuted this claim by taking the throne on 4 March 1461, justifying his actions by declaring that the Lancastrians had committed treason in killing his father.[7] Parliamentary endorsement of this claim remained the bedrock of Yorkist monarchy, validated by military success on the battlefield and hence the proof of divine sanction. Yet this did not put an end to factionalism, warfare and competition with the rival king, Henry VI.

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[5]   The judgement was profoundly difficult for those involved: discussion passed from the lords to the king, then to the king's justices and finally the sergeants-at-law, with all refusing to consider the issue let alone come to a verdict, Horrox, 'Parliament of 1460', item 12.

[6]   The ability of females to transmit a claim to inheritance was tacitly permitted, see C. Taylor, 'Sir John Fortescue and the French Polemical Treatises of the Hundred Years War', *English Historical Review,* 114 (1999), pp. 112-16 for discussion of Fortescue's pro-Lancastrian arguments on this matter. The potential problems with York's lineage as superior to Henry VI's had been recognised a decade earlier, in the search for an heir to Henry, Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 264-65.

[7]   The lives of York, his heirs and Henry VI were protected by oath in the Accord, Horrox, 'Parliament of 1460', items 21, 24-25.

Edward III
r. 1327-77

Edward Prince of Wales d. 1376 — **William of Hatfield** d. 1337 — **Lionel Duke of Clarence** d. 1368 — **John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster** d. 1399 — **Edmund Duke of York** d. 1402

Richard II r. 1377-99 d. 1400

Philippa = Edmund Mortimer Earl of March d. 1381

Roger Mortimer Earl of March d. 1398

Anne Mortimer = Richard Earl of Cambridge

Henry IV r. 1399-1413

Henry V r. 1413-22

Edward Duke of York d. 1415 — **Richard Earl of Cambridge** d. 1415

See left

Richard, Duke of York d. 1460

Henry VI r. 1422-61, 1470-71 d. 1471

Edward of Lancaster Prince of Wales d. 1471

Edward IV r. 1461-70, 1471-83 — **George, Duke of Clarence** d. 1478 — **Richard III** r. 1483-85

Edward V r. 1483 (April-June)

Figure 1: Genealogy from Edward III

The legacy of division, conflict and usurpation haunted the Yorkist regime. Three key crisis-points punctuated the era: the collapse of the relationship between Edward IV and his chief supporter, Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, in 1469-70 and the subsequent Readeption of Henry VI; the fall of the king's brother, Clarence, in 1478, and the usurpation of Richard III in 1483. The Lancastrian king's return to the throne in October 1470 was the product of a remarkable alliance with Warwick. The earl's disaffection with Edward had led to open rebellion in 1469 with Clarence, the heir to the throne, siding with his new father-in-law.[8] Failure to control or defeat Edward led to the monumental political volte-face in July 1470, Warwick agreeing terms with Henry VI's queen, Margaret of Anjou, through the encouragement of Louis XI of France.[9] Henry's restoration in October 1470 was short-lived. Edward IV returned from exile in Flanders in March 1471 and within weeks had reclaimed his capital and defeated and killed

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[8]   Clarence married Isabel Neville on 11 July 1469. On the breakdown in the relationship between Edward and Warwick, see C. Ross, *Edward IV* (London, 1974), pp. 126-37; M. Hicks, *False, Fleeting, Perjur'd Clarence. George, Duke of Clarence 1449-78* (Gloucester, 1980), pp. 43-51; *idem.*, *Warwick the Kingmaker* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 263-78; A.J. Pollard, *Warwick the Kingmaker: Politics, Power and Fame* (London, 2007), pp. 59-67.

[9]   The agreement between Warwick and the Lancastrians was documented in 'The maner and guyding of the earl of Warwick at Angers', *John Vale's Book,* pp. 215-18; Hicks, *Clarence,* pp. 80-82 and *idem., Warwick,* pp. 291-96.

Warwick, the Lancastrian heir Prince Edward, and Henry VI.[10] The Yorkist king's triumph was complete: for the first time in his reign he was the only anointed English king alive.

The return of Clarence to the Yorkist fold had been critical in Edward's recovery of the throne, but theirs proved to be a persistently corrosive fraternal relationship.[11] Although the duke had been forgiven for his actions in rebelling alongside Warwick, new conflict led to his attainder for treason in the parliament of January 1478.[12] His trial was held concurrently with marriage festivities for Edward's second son, Richard duke of York, and was determinedly public, in marked contrast with his secretive execution at the Tower of London on 18 February.[13] Politically, the removal of Clarence presented few difficulties for Edward IV but this was a moment of profound importance for the Yorkist monarchy. Although Clarence was no longer heir to the throne in 1478, he had been the most important royal figure next to the king for nearly two decades. His destruction was at once deemed necessary to the maintenance of Edward's position and yet weakened the royal family. Not least, the consequent elevation of Richard, duke of Gloucester, made him the senior adult male of the royal family at Edward IV's death on 9 April 1483, enabling him to sue for position as Protector and from there engineer his seizure of the throne.[14]

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[10] Warwick was killed at the battle of Barnet, Prince Edward at Tewkesbury and Henry VI shortly after Edward IV's return to London following victory at Tewkesbury. For a survey of these events, Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 161-77.

[11] On Clarence's fall, including his trial for treason, see J.R. Lander, 'The treason and death of the duke of Clarence: a reinterpretation' in *idem., Crown and Nobility, 1450-1509* (London, 1976), pp. 242-66; Hicks, *Clarence*, pp. 128-69; C. Carpenter, 'The Duke of Clarence and the Midlands: A Study in the Interplay of Local and National Politics', *Midland History,* 11 (1986), pp. 23-48.

[12] The trial of Clarence was not enrolled on the parliamentary record, though the charges that appear to form his attainder are given as an appendix in R. Horrox, 'Edward IV: Parliament of January 1478, Text and Translation', *PROME* (accessed 19 June 2013), and printed in full in J. Strachey (ed.), *Rotuli Parliamentorum,* (6 vols, London, 1767-77), vol 6 pp. 193-95.

[13] *Crowland*, pp. 143-47.

[14] Gloucester's elevation began even before his brother had been executed. Three days before Clarence's execution on 15 February 1478, Gloucester was a witness to the charter which created his son earl of Salisbury, one of Clarence's former titles. The office of great chamberlain, which Gloucester had surrendered to his brother in 1472, was returned to him three days after the execution, on 21 January, *CPR* 1476-85, pp. 67-68. Property gains from Clarence's estates both enriched Gloucester and strengthened his position in the north of England, C. Ross, *Richard III* (London, 1981), pp. 26, 33-34; R. Horrox, *Richard III. A Study of Service* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 56-57.

Richard's usurpation was calculated and swift.[15] He took charge of the new Yorkist king, Edward V, before entering London, imprisoned his guardians and executed Edward IV's chamberlain, William, Lord Hastings. His title was publicly proclaimed on 22 June and his accession took place on 26 June 1483.[16] Richard III, like Edward IV, began his reign mired in the need to justify his position by asserting his right to the throne and suitability for the role. Repetition of Edward's mode of taking the throne and the rush to be crowned and anointed were an assertion of legitimacy, ratified at the parliament held in January 1484.[17] Instead of a military victory over his rivals, however, Richard declared a moral one, the illegitimacy of Edward IV's sons.[18] The continual need to reassert his position plagued Richard's reign, as he defended his claim to the throne and resisted sedition. His death at the battle of Bosworth on 22 August 1485 was not the end of a turbulent period, or the promotion of the Yorkist claim to the throne, but it was the end of Yorkist monarchy.[19]

The Yorkist monarchy has received a wealth of scholarly attention, most notably from Charles Ross, Michael Hicks, Tony Pollard and Rosemary Horrox.[20] Their work has

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[15] The stages of the usurpation are discussed in detail in *ibid.,* pp. 89-137.

[16] *Crowland*, p. 159; *Mancini*, pp. 89-93; *Great Chronicle*, pp. 231-32; Ross, *Richard III*, p. 93.

[17] R. Horrox, 'Richard III: Parliament of January 1484, Text and Translation', *PROME* (accessed 14 June 2013), item 1[5].

[18] *Crowland*, p. 161; Ross, *Richard III*, pp. 88-93.

[19] On 'Yorkist' revolts during the reign of Henry VII, see for example M.J. Bennett, *Lambert Simnel and the Battle of Stoke* (Gloucester, 1987), and *idem.*, 'Henry VII and the Northern Rising of 1489', *English Historical Review,* 105 (1990), pp. 34-59; M. Hicks. 'The Yorkshire Rebellion of 1489 Reconsidered', *Northern History,* 22 (1986), pp. 39-42.

[20] In particular Ross, *Edward IV, Richard III,* 'Rumour, Propaganda and Popular Opinion During the Wars of the Roses' in R.A. Griffiths (ed.), *Patronage, The Crown and The Provinces in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1981), pp. 15-32; Horrox, *Richard III*, and her edited works including R. Horrox and P.W. Hammond (eds.), *British Library Harleian Manuscript 433* (4 vols, Upminster, 1979-84) and contributions to *PROME*; A.J. Pollard, *North-Eastern England During the Wars of the Roses. Lay Society, War and Politics 1450-1500* (Oxford, 1990) and his *Warwick;* Hicks, biographies of key figures especially Clarence, *False, Fleeting, Perjur'd Clarence. George, Duke of Clarence 1449-78* (Gloucester, 1980) and Warwick, *Warwick the Kingmaker* (Oxford, 1998), plus numerous articles on the politics of the period, for example, 'The Changing Role of the Wydevilles in Yorkist Politics to 1483' in *idem., Richard III and his Rivals. Magnates and their Motives in the Wars of the Roses* (London, 1991), pp. 209-28 and 'Attainder, Resumption and Coercion 1461-1529', *Parliamentary History,* 3 (1984), pp.15-31. This is supplemented by a wide range of scholarship, a very few examples of which include C. Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses. Politics and the constitution in England, c. 1437-1509* (Cambridge, 1997); C. Richmond, *The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century* (3 vols, Manchester, 1990-2000) and *idem.,* 'Patronage and Polemic' in J.L. Watts (ed.), *The End of the Middle Ages? England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Stroud, 1998), pp. 65-87 and 'Fauconberg's Kentish Rising of May 1471', *English Historical Review,* 85 (1970), pp. 673-92; J. Hughes, *Arthurian Myths and Alchemy. The Kingship of Edward IV* (Stroud, 2002); Lander, *Crown and Nobility.*

shed important light on the politics and personalities of the period, administrative and fiscal developments, the role of the nobility, importance of the royal household and the regional impact of national politics. In recent years, increased attention has been paid to political culture throughout the fifteenth century and the importance of ideas and principles during this period, in particular by John Watts in his work that attempts to reintegrate contemporary views on kingship and authority into our understanding of politics.[21] Less attention, however, has been paid to the complex ways in which fifteenth-century monarchy was performed and displayed, not just in well-known events like coronations and funerals, but also in a range of other, more informal contexts.[22] This thesis aims to contribute to this area of scholarship, focusing on the significance of the performance of majesty and expression of royal identity through display and ritual, written records and visual symbols including badges and heraldry.

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[21] See especially Watts, *Henry VI*, also 'Polemic and Politics', pp. 3-42; 'The Pressure of the Public on Later Medieval Politics' in L. Clark and C. Carpenter (eds.), *The Fifteenth Century IV: Political Culture in Late Medieval Britain* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 159-80; 'Public or Plebs: the Changing Meaning of "the Commons", 1381-1549', in H. Pryce and J. Watts (eds.), *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages. Essays in Memory of Rees Davies* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 242-60.

[22] Exceptions include C.A.J. Armstrong, 'The Inauguration Ceremonies of the Yorkist Kings and Their Title to the Throne', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* fourth series, 30 (1948), pp. 51-73; J.F. Burden, 'Rituals of Royalty: Prescription, Politics and Practice in English Coronation and Royal Funeral Rituals c.1327 to c.1485' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of York, 1999) and *idem.,* 'Re-writing a Rite of Passage: The Peculiar Funeral of Edward II', in N.F. McDonald and W.M. Ormrod (eds.), *Rites of Passage: Cultures of Transition in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 13-29 and 'How Do You Bury a Deposed King? The Funeral of Richard II and the Establishment of Lancastrian Royal Authority in 1400' in G. Dodd and D. Biggs (eds.), *Henry IV: The Establishment of the Regime, 1399-1406* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 35-53.

The most prominent royal ceremonial events such as coronations and funerals have long sparked the interest of scholars.[23] Studies of French royal ritual have underlined their importance in the development of monarchical power both in France and other countries that echoed and mirrored them.[24] Scholars of the early modern period in England have worked to define ritual and to evaluate the evolution of such ceremonies within the context of the Reformation.[25] Their work is important for the study of medieval royal ceremony, as they have determined patterns and contrasts against the earlier periods. Sydney Anglo's focus on early Tudor ceremony and royal display as state propaganda is of particular importance.[26] Subsequent work has built on his examination of the relationship between ceremony and power, embracing anthropological approaches in excavating the ideas behind the spectacle in order to study its cultural and social resonance.[27] The result has been an increasingly sophisticated reading of these events, with Anglo himself more recently revising his view that they can be seen as simple

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[23] The study of coronations, for example, began in the nineteenth century with P.E. Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation* (Oxford, 1937), which remains the most comprehensive survey of the ceremony; more recently, see R.C. Strong, *Coronation: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy* (London, 2005). Discussion of the significance and purpose of the coronation ceremony has attracted much attention from scholars who have analysed these events to expose underlying cultural and political attitudes. Different frameworks, legal and theological as well as political and cultural, have been employed in analysing coronations and study has focused in particular on assessing the evolution of the ceremony, an approach which has been a key concern of early modernists, while medievalists have analysed these events for what they reveal about medieval queenship. See, for example, J.M. Bak, 'Introduction: Coronation Studies - Past, Present, and Future' and D.J. Sturdy, '"Continuity" versus "Change": Historians and English Coronations of the Medieval and Early Modern Periods' in J.M. Bak (ed.), *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual* (Berkley, 1990), pp. 7, 228-45; A. Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation. Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2008); J.L. Laynesmith, 'Crowns and Virgins: Queenmaking in the Wars of the Roses' in K.J. Lewis, N.J. Menuge and K.M. Phillips (eds.), *Young Medieval Women* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 47-68, J. Carmi Parsons, 'Ritual and Symbol in the English Medieval Queenship to 1500' in L.O. Fradenburg (ed.), *Women and Sovereignty* (Edinburgh, 1992), pp. 60-77. Increasingly, specific aspects of coronation ceremonies have been examined in efforts to interpret the spectacle as a demonstration of dynastic power, for example the feast, R. Epstein, 'Eating their Words: Food and Text in the Coronation Banquet of Henry VI', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies,* 36 (2006), pp. 355-77. Similarly on funeral effigies, for instance W.H. St John Hope, 'On the Funeral Effigies of the Kings and Queens of England, with Special Reference to those in the Abbey Church of Westminster', *Archaeologia,* 60 (1907), pp. 517-70; more recently P.G. Lindley, 'Ritual, Regicide and Representation: The Murder of Edward II and the Origin of the Royal Funerary Effigy in England' in *idem. Gothic to Renaissance: Essays on Sculpture in England* (Stamford, 1995), pp. 47-72; Burden, 'Funeral of Edward II', pp. 13-29; C. Given-Wilson, 'The Exequies of Edward III and the Royal Funeral Ceremony in Late Medieval England', *English Historical Review,* 507 (2009), pp. 257-82.

[24] R.E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva, 1960); E.H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957); see also Given-Wilson, 'Exequies of Edward III', pp. 257-82.

[25] Sturdy, '"Continuity" versus "Change"', pp. 228-45; E. Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (2nd ed., Cambridge 2005); Hunt, *Drama of Coronation.*

[26] S. Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1969).

[27] For example the influence of C. Geertz's work analysing the Balinese 'theatre-state', see C. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 25-29.

propaganda.[28] Key in these developments has been the shift towards exposing the role of participants and spectators at ceremonial events and the significance of their interaction, noted particularly by Bryant in analysing royal entry ceremonies.[29] This approach pervades current scholarship, which asserts the complexity of rhetoric on display at events and potential multiplicity of viewpoints.[30]

Royal display has thus long been understood to constitute far more than the mere trappings of monarchy. It is a term that encompasses a wide range of contexts for the performance and symbolism of power and authority, conveying messages to an audience literate in visual culture.[31] The symbols and ideas of monarchy were communicated in other contexts beyond the high ritual of coronations and funerals. Similarly, political expression in royal pageantry was not confined to civic receptions. This thesis widens the scope of studies on ritual and civic entries to include a much broader range of royal public display and performance. The analysis of Yorkist royal identity here aims towards a far more comprehensive understanding of the importance of visual messages and ideas within the expression and exercise of monarchy. The tournament and parliamentary arenas, creation ceremonies, the use of honours, hierarchy and hospitality, the badges worn by people, fabrics and banners at ceremonies and the symbolism of the crown are all examined for what they reveal about the construction, evolution and communication of the ideology of Yorkist monarchy. Across this wide range of contexts, such display aimed both to engender allegiance and to persuade, reinforcing and echoing textual appeals to the public, such as manifestos. Central to all these instances of royal public display and performance was the spectacle of majesty, serving both to demonstrate sovereignty and to define the style of kingship.

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[28]   Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1997), p. xi; D. Shaw, 'Nothing but Propaganda? Historians and the Study of Early Modern Royal Ritual', *Cultural and Social History,* 1 (2004), p. 143.

[29]   L.M. Bryant, 'Configurations of the Community in Late Medieval Spectacles. Paris and London during the Dual Monarchy' in B.A. Hanawalt and K.L. Reyerson (eds.), *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (Minneapolis, 1994), pp. 3-33. See also his collected essays, *Ritual, Ceremony and the Changing Monarchy in France, 1350-1789* (Burlington, 2009).

[30]   Hunt, *Drama of Coronation,* p. 8; J.L. Laynesmith, 'Fertility Rite or Authority Ritual? The Queen's Coronation in England, 1445-87' in T. Thornton (ed.), *Social Attitudes and Political Structures in the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud, 2000), pp. 52-68.

[31] S. Gaunt, 'Visual Propaganda in England in the Later Middle Ages', in B. Taithe and T. Thornton (eds.) *Propaganda. Political Rhetoric and Identity 1300-2000* (Stroud, 1999), p. 27.

Through these means and contexts, the Yorkist kings established a distinct royal identity. The regime's foundations in conflict and fractured government made the task of creating a credible monarchy around Edward IV in 1461 a monumental undertaking. Three key features dominated the development of Yorkist royal identity: the legacy of civil war; competition with a living, rival king, and the need to demonstrate regal status. The urgency for Edward IV to embody the role of an ideal king while simultaneously distancing himself from Lancastrian kingship shaped the construction of Yorkist monarchy. These ideas were inherent in all aspects of public royal spectacle: the places where Yorkist monarchy was displayed; the people involved in the regime and the acute need to nurture loyalty; the rhetoric which established a political platform and aimed to persuade supporters, and the symbolism which defined status and visibly elevated the house of York from noble to royal.

The structure of the thesis examines each of these aspects in turn. The first chapter establishes the arenas in which performances of majesty took place, primarily dictated by the survival of evidence. It provides a general introduction and overview of these different categories, that is to say coronations, funerals, marriages, civic entries, tournaments, the reception of visitors and the battles, parliaments and key Yorkist manifestos of the period. The sources, predominantly heralds' reports, chronicles and financial accounts, are noted within each section. Chapter two explores the geography of Yorkist power, exploring the legacy of the regime's ducal heritage and the adoption of royal sites in developing locations of monarchical authority and display. This includes sites of significance to the house of York, including Baynard's, Ludlow and Fotheringhay castles, as well as traditional locations of royal display such as Westminster Abbey, the Tower of London and St Paul's Cathedral in London and Windsor Castle. An important theme is the way in which the Yorkist regime approached places identified with the Lancastrian regime, especially Henry VI's foundations at Eton and King's College, Cambridge.

The third and fourth chapters are linked and both analyse the ways in which royal ceremony created, nurtured and defined circles of power and influence around the king. The first of these focuses on the web of relationships which formed a Yorkist elite, forged through a resurgence of chivalric ideals and the use of honours such as

membership of the Order of the Garter, elevation to peerage and knighthood, and hierarchical display. This fostered an inner circle of those with the strongest personal connections to the king, a Yorkist elite, and radiated outwards in decreasing degrees of intimacy to embrace broader groups of people. The following chapter looks at the wider circles cultivated beyond this core, again through the bestowal of honours and position but also through hospitality to both diplomatic visitors, most notably Louis of Bruges in 1472, and civic leaders.

Chapter five examines in detail the ways in which authority, majesty and allegiance were communicated textually. Manifestos and newsletters conveyed royal identity and kingly ideals in persuading people to support the regime, promoting Edward IV as a model king and countering seditious rumour in his reign and that of his brother. The outpouring of such written communication occurred predominantly at times of crisis, defining the evolution of the messages they disseminated. The chapter focuses on the written promotion of Yorkist monarchy during these instances of political upheaval in turn: the regime's foundations in the 1450s to its development in the 1460s; the defection of Warwick and Clarence, Readeption of Henry VI and recovery of the throne by Edward IV in 1469-71; the 1470s and the fall of Clarence, and finally the usurpation of Richard III.

The final chapter focuses on the ways in which the imagery of monarchy was harnessed by the Yorkists and fused with their own symbolism in claiming royalty. This visual communication evolved from a striking contest with the Lancastrians, both in asserting a new royal house and in the competition with a rival king; the survival of Henry VI, as the most potent representation of kingship, determined the style of monarchy constructed around Edward IV. The chapter focuses initially on the ways in which Edward dealt with the existence of Henry VI during the 1460s and specifically how the body of the former king was displayed. The second section of the chapter analyses the use of the crown as a symbol of authority during the period, particularly at coronations, and is followed by discussion of the fusion of royal symbolism with the motifs of the house of York.

Chapter One   Yorkist Royal Display: an Overview

The performance of monarchy was especially vital to Yorkist kings because both Edward IV and Richard III established their reigns in opposition to a legitimate ruler.[32] Wearing the crown, bestowing honours, leading an army and presiding over parliament were practical and public demonstrations of royal status and authority. Being seen to embody the role of king and function as ruler was paramount in the construction of a credible monarchy. Ceremony and the performance of power communicated a message of legitimacy and stability. Displays of majesty were not merely the fulfilment of traditional and customary rituals, but occasions that could offer an important contribution to efforts to win over an audience of the political elite.

This chapter provides a methodical survey of the key instances of Yorkist royal display that will be analysed in subsequent chapters.[33] The aim is to provide a comprehensive account of these occasions, establishing the political context in which they occurred and noting the nature and extent of the source material. The chapter is structured by type of display, beginning with ceremonies centred on the royal family: coronations; funerals and marriages. This is followed by spectacle which had the performance of majesty at its centre but a wider focus: civic receptions; tournaments and jousting; creation ceremonies; the reception of visitors and the monarch's performance in parliament and on the battlefield. The final section highlights the most important manifestos of the period. Although these were not occasions like the events described in the rest of the chapter, they were specific instances of royal promotion and significant in publicly communicating the performance of Yorkist monarchy at points of political crisis. They are included here to establish that context as a basis for later discussion.

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[32] This was not the first time that late medieval English monarchs faced this challenge, as seen for example in the case of Henry IV in 1399.

[33] See Appendix for a list of key events.

Coronations

Coronations were the high point of medieval ceremony, lavish spectacle centred around a king or queen.[34] The crowning and anointing of a monarch marked the most significant ritual of kingship, conveying God's sanction of the right to rule and a visual assumption of the mantle of monarchy. The ceremony did not create a king, as demonstrated by the fact that regnal years were dated from accession not coronation.[35] Nor did coronation protect royal status, as the removal of Edward II, Richard II and Henry VI from the throne showed. Rather it was essential as a demonstration of position, particularly important for usurper kings in asserting legitimacy.

Critical to this was the presence of an audience who served to validate the occasion through their participation, from the nobles with specific roles at the abbey ceremony and the civic leaders fulfilling traditional offices at the coronation feast, to the ordinary Londoners observing the pageantry and processions.[36] Traditionally the ceremony began with a procession through the city to the Tower of London, during which pageants and festivities organised by civic groups welcomed the king or queen. The next day saw the king create new knights of the Bath in celebration of the occasion, men who would then lead the royal procession of nobles, household members, civic officials and heralds to Westminster for coronation on the third day. A grand banquet followed the formal

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[34] See above, n. 23.

[35] Edward IV, for example, dated his reign from 4 March 1461, the day he took the throne, not from his coronation on 28 June, R. Horrox, 'Edward IV: Parliament of November 1461, Text and Translation', *PROME* (accessed 14 June 2013), item 10.

[36] A detailed description of the ceremonies, especially those involved at the coronation of Richard III, is given in A.F. Sutton and P.W. Hammond (eds.), *The Coronation of Richard III The Extant Documents* (Gloucester, 1983), pp. 27-46. On the potential roles of the audience, J. Van Leeuwen, 'Introduction' in *idem.* (ed.), *Symbolic Communication in Late Medieval Towns* (Leuven, 2006), pp. xiii-xvi.

anointing and crowning and typically jousts were held in the days following the coronation.[37]

Three coronations took place in the Yorkist period. Edward IV was crowned on 28 June 1461, his queen Elizabeth Woodville on 26 May 1465 and the joint coronation of Richard III and Anne Neville took place on 6 July 1483. Each of these ceremonies occurred in the aftermath of political crisis: the seizure of the throne by Edward and Richard, and the secret and diplomatically unwelcome marriage of the king to Elizabeth Woodville, a widow of gentry status. All were all held at Westminster Abbey, the traditional site for crowning English kings, and were performed by Thomas Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury.[38] Although the surviving source material is fragmentary and does not give a complete picture of the festivities for the Yorkist coronations, the evidence indicates that in each instance the emphasis was on adhering to custom in the ceremony. Much of the detail for these events appears in financial accounts and civic records that note expenditure and procedure, while the spectacle attracted the attention of heralds who reported these events for future reference. Contemporary sources are greatest for the coronation of Richard III, with numerous heraldic reports surviving as well as detailed financial accounts.[39] Edward IV's coronation is recorded primarily in

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[37] The coronation format was set down in the *Liber Regalis*, which gave the order of service and was used from the early fourteenth century, Hunt, *Coronation,* pp. 19-22. The text of the *Liber Regalis* is printed in L.G.W. Legg, *Coronation Records* (Westminster, 1901), pp. 81-130. The *Ryalle Booke* of Henry VI also detailed the procedure for coronations and was copied in the sixteenth century, printed in F. Grose (ed.), 'Her beginnith a Ryalle Booke of the Crownacion of the Kinge, Queene', *The Antiquarian Repertory,* (2nd ed., 4 vols, London, 1807-9), vol 1 pp. 296-341. Sources from the Yorkist period detailing the form of the ceremony include 'The maner and fourme of the kyngis and quenes coronacion in Englonde' within John Paston's *Grete Book,* BL Lansdowne MS 285, catalogued in G.A. Lester, *Sir John Paston's 'Grete Boke'* (Cambridge, 1984). The 'Maner and Fourme' is printed in full in H.A.L. Dillon, 'On a MS Collection of Ordinances of Chivalry of the Fifteenth Century, belonging to Lord Hastings', *Archaeologia,* 57 (1900), pp. 29-70. The recensions of the coronation ordines are discussed in H. Richardson, 'The Coronation in Medieval England', *Traditio*, 16 (1960), pp. 111-75.

[38] Bourchier also crowned Henry VII on 30 October 1485, L. Clark, 'Bourchier, Thomas (*c.*1411–1486)' *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.libproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/2993' (accessed 18 May 2011). On Westminster, N. Saul, 'Richard II and Westminster Abbey' in J. Blair and B. Golding (eds.), *The Cloister and the World. Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey* (Oxford, 1996), p. 196.

[39] Over twenty copies of a herald's report survive, though all likely to derive from one original manuscript which is no longer extant. A transcript of the most complete of these, BL, Additional MS 6113, is printed in Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation,* pp. 270-82 which also lists the surviving heralds' manuscripts describing the coronation, pp. 254-269. Great wardrobe accounts relating to this coronation are printed in Rev. Milles, 'Observations on the Wardrobe Account for the year 1483', *Archaeologia,* 1 (1770) and Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation,* pp. 88-189, from TNA LC9/50, account from 9 April 1483-2 February 1484. Richard's proclamation before his coronation is printed in Horrox and Hammond, *Harl 433*, vol 3 pp. 31-32.

fragmentary financial records and notes in chronicles.[40] Just one contemporary report of the coronation of Elizabeth Woodville survives, providing the only detailed information on the event, supplemented by chronicle notes and the financial records of London's Bridge House, which catalogued expenditure on the pageantry for the queen's entry into the city before her coronation.[41] Additional information on these events is provided in civic records, including the Corporation of London Letter Books and records of guilds and brotherhoods, such as the White Book of the Brotherhood of the Cinque Ports who noted their participation at Richard III's coronation, and the Mercers' and Pinners' records.[42]

Edward IV's coronation took place almost four months after he had taken the throne, the volatile political situation dictating when the event could be held.[43] However, his seizure of power in March 1461 had been marked by ceremony, an inauguration which involved many of the aspects of a coronation but without crowning and anointing.[44] This occasion took place on 4 March, the day after Edward formally accepted the throne, with people crowding into the city to see the new king process from St Paul's Cathedral to Westminster Palace. There Edward swore an oath to the realm and sat upon

[40] C.L. Kingsford (ed.), *Chronicles of London* (Oxford, 1905), p. 175-76; *Great Chronicle,* pp. 197-98; *Hearne*, p. 10. Financial records are detailed in C.L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth* (2 vols, London, 1967), vol 1 pp. 181-84 and Sutton and Hammond*, Coronation,* pp. 91-92.

[41] The herald's account appears in two manuscripts, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Smith-Newsby D 19 and College of Arms, MS M 3, ff. 6-8, the former is printed in G. Smith, *The Coronation of Elizabeth Wydeville* (London, 1935). Bridge House Accounts are printed in A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, 'The Entry of Queen Elizabeth Woodville over London Bridge, 24 May 1465', *The Ricardian,* 19 (2009), pp. 21-31, also given in G. Wickham, *Early English Stages 1300-1660* (London, 2002), pp. 324-331. Of the chronicles, *Annales* contains the greatest detail, vol 2 part 2 pp. 783-84; also *Short English Chronicle,* p. 80; *Great Chronicle,* p. 203. Additional financial accounts detailed in Smith, *Coronation*, p. 37 and B. Botfield (ed.), *Manners and Household Expenses of England in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: Accounts and Memoranda of Sir John Howard, 1462-71* (London, 1841), pp. 168, 469, 546, reprinted in A. Crawford, (ed.), *The Household Books of John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, 1462-1471, 1481-1483* (Stroud, 1992).

[42] R. R. Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of Letter Books Preserved Among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall,* Letter Book L (London, 1912), pp. 5-6, 58-59; the White Book of the Brotherhood of the Cinque Ports 1431-1571, f. 2-3v transcribed and translated in Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation,* pp. 195-99; L. Lyell and F. D. Watney (eds.), *Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company, 1453-1527* (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 49, 281; B. Megson (ed.), 'The Pinners' and Wiresellers' Book 1462-1511', *London Record Society,* 44 (2009), pp. 10-11.

[43] Edward's seizure of the throne was followed by his campaign in the north, facing the Lancastrians in battle at Towton, rather than holding his coronation. In June 1461 the original coronation date of 6 July 1461 was moved forward to 28 June, in response to threats of a French invasion in the south and Scottish-led insurgency in the north west, Scofield, *Edward*, vol 1 pp. 178-80. Speculation about the date of the coronation took place even in the week before it happened, N. Davis (ed.), *Paston Letters and Papers*, Early English Text Society supplementary series, 3 parts, 20, 21, 22 (2004-2006), part 2 pp. 235, 239-40.

[44] Armstrong, 'Inauguration Ceremonies', pp. 51-73.

the king's bench as monarch, wearing royal robes and a cap of maintenance.[45] Following services in the abbey at which Edward was handed the sceptre of St Edward and made offerings at his tomb, the new king received civic officials at the bishop's palace who petitioned for their liberties.[46] This ceremony was particularly important because it was the ritual which made Edward king, the date upon which his reign began, a sequence of events which was mirrored by his brother in June 1483.[47] Visually taking control of the realm was critical in demonstrating status and support for the Yorkists.[48] This was not simply about transforming the *de jure* claim of the duke of York into genuine authority, but a facet of elevating that claim above the mere fact of possession, Lancastrian *de facto* rule.[49]

Although Edward had taken the throne with an inauguration ceremony, a coronation was necessary to ritually anoint and crown the new monarch. The event began with the king being met at the edge of London by the mayor and brethren of the city and travelling in procession to the Tower, where he created twenty-eight knights of the Bath that night and a further four the following morning.[50] Crowning and anointing at Westminster was symbolically important, but securing the realm against opposition was vital. Two of Edward's greatest supporters, the earl of Warwick and William Herbert, for instance, did not attend the coronation because they were fighting for the king in the north and on the Welsh marches.[51] The sense of the ceremony as a requirement, rather than a celebration, is highlighted by the lack of interest in the event in the sources, which constitute brief chronicle references with no herald's account extant.[52] The

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[45] R. Flenley, *Six Town Chronicles of England* (Oxford, 1911), p. 161; 'Brief Latin Chronicle' in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, p. 173; *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 p. 777; *Great Chronicle,* p. 195.

[46] Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, pp. 174-75.

[47] Richard's right to the throne was first preached at St Paul's Cross on 22 June 1483 by Dr Ralph Shaa, and on 26 June the throne was formally offered to Richard at Baynard's Castle, followed by procession to Westminster to take his place on the king's bench, *Mancini,* p. 97; *Great Chronicle,* pp. 231-32.

[48] Armstrong, 'Inauguration', p. 54; *CSPM,* p. 61, letter of 7 April 1461.

[49] Parliamentary records persistently repeated that the Lancastrian monarchs were kings in deed but not by right, for example, twenty-nine times at Edward IV's first parliament, Horrox, 'Parliament of 1461', items 15, 28, 29, 33, 35, 37, 41.

[50] Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, pp. 175-76. At the coronation of the previous king, Henry VI, thirty-two knights of the Bath were also created, *Gregory*, p. 165.

[51] Hicks, *Warwick*, p. 234; Scofield, *Edward,* vol 1 p. 177; Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 48.

[52] Most chronicles focus on the seizure of power in March 1461 rather than on the coronation, for example *Short English Chronicle,* pp. 77-78; *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 pp. 777-78; *Gregory,* pp. 215-18.

coronation of Richard III and Anne Neville presents a contrast to this, unusual in being the first joint coronation for 175 years and highlighting the interest of heralds in preserving the example of protocol for a dual crowning.[53] Richard's reign began on 26 June 1483 and the coronation ceremony occurred just eleven days later, while the troops which had enabled him to take charge of the young king and control London were still at his back.[54] Coronation was at the heart of the political drama in summer 1483. Repeated postponements of the ceremony to crown Edward V as his father's successor highlighted Richard's control; the latter's own coronation marked the transfer of power to the usurper. Edward V's failure to be crowned epitomised his doomed reign; Richard's coronation was the ultimate statement of his taking power. The ceremony followed custom with procession, knighthoods and anointing at Westminster.[55] The king and queen were together throughout the proceedings, Anne following Richard in procession, surrounded by her own entourage; she was seated lower than the king in the formal parts of the ceremony and crowned after him.[56]

Elizabeth Woodville's coronation ritual also followed a traditional format, but was unusual in being held a full year after her marriage to the king.[57] In this it contrasted with her predecessor, Margaret of Anjou, who was crowned just over five weeks after

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[53]   Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation,* p. 1. The previous joint coronation, of Edward II and Isabella of France, took place on 25 February, 1308, one month after their marriage, J. R. S. Phillips, 'Edward II (1284–1327)', *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.libproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/8518' (accessed 18 May 2011). Many of the heralds' texts detailing Richard and Anne's coronation are sixteenth-century copies, indicating that the reason for this interest may have been the joint coronation in 1509 of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon, the manuscripts being documents created for exactly this referencing purpose. This coronation took place on 24 June 1509, just thirteen days after their marriage, E. W. Ives, 'Henry VIII (1491–1547)' *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.libproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/12955' (accessed 18 May 2011); Hunt, *Coronation,* p. 19.

[54]   *Crowland*, for example, stated that an unprecedented number of armed men were summoned to London for the coronation, p. 159. Certainly men from York were ordered to attend, and rewarded for doing so, L.C. Attreed (ed.), *York House Books 1461-1490* (2 vols, Stroud, 1991), vol 2 pp. 713-14, 729. Members of the city's companies turned out in livery to witness the king and his troops process through the city to St Paul's, Lyell and Watney, *Mercers' Company,* pp. 155-56.

[55]   It is unclear how many knights were created by Richard III at has coronation. Eighteen names are noted in the surviving documents but this is probably incomplete, BL, Additional MS 6113, f. 19v, printed in Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation,* pp. 273-74.

[56]   BL, Additional MS 18669 gives the order of ceremony detailing the actions by king and queen, Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation,* pp. 213-227.

[57]   Custom places Elizabeth's marriage to Edward IV on 1 May 1464, M. Hicks, 'Elizabeth (*c.*1437–1492)' *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.libproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/8634' (accessed 18 May 2011).

her marriage to Henry VI.[58] Elizabeth was a controversial match for Edward IV because she was neither of royal blood nor a virgin, but rather a gentry widow with some aristocratic blood and two sons.[59] The length of time between the public revelation of the marriage of Edward and Elizabeth Woodville in September 1464 and her coronation the following May highlighted the lack of urgency to crown a queen in order to assert her position.[60] However, Elizabeth's coronation was a critical opportunity to elevate her position and establish her worthiness to be queen. This rested not just in the effort to ensure that the coronation conformed to custom, but also in the civic pageantry which expressed her suitability for the role and her fecundity, putting the promotion of the queen in citizens' hands. Festivities began on Thursday 23 May 1465 with the creation of over forty knights of the Bath at the Tower of London by Edward IV.[61] The queen arrived in the city the following day in procession from the palace at Eltham and was escorted by the city's mayor and aldermen across London Bridge to be greeted by celebratory pageants, spending the night at the Tower.[62] The following day she processed through the city to Westminster Palace for her coronation on the Sunday. The spectacle ended with a tournament at Westminster on 27 May, the only Yorkist coronation to be celebrated with jousting.[63] Elizabeth Woodville's coronation, in contrast to those of Edward IV and Richard III, was not a focus for taking power but one of establishing queenship.[64]

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[58] Margaret of Anjou arrived in England on 9 April 1445 and was married on 22 April. Her coronation festivities similarly involved a state entry into London two days before her crowning at Westminster Abbey on 30 May 1445, and was followed by feasting and three days of jousting, J.L. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship 1445-1503* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 82-86.

[59] On Elizabeth Woodville's family background, see J.R. Lander, 'Marriage and politics in the fifteenth century: the Nevilles and the Wydevilles, in *Crown and Nobility,* pp. 105-09; Hicks, 'Role of the Wydevilles', pp. 209-28.

[60] The queen was formally presented to Edward IV's council at Reading on 29 September 1464, where the marriage was approved, *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 p.783; *Crowland,* p. 115. Edward told the council of his marriage on 14 September, Scofield, *Edward,* vol 1 p. 354; *Gregory,* pp. 226-27.

[61] Chroniclers differ in their estimates, ranging from the thirty-eight listed in *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 pp. 783-84 to forty-seven stated in *Short English Chronicle,* p. 80.

[62]   On the pageantry for Margaret of Anjou's coronation, see B. Crow, 'Lydgate's 1445 pageant for Margaret of Anjou', *English Language Notes,* 18 (1981), pp. 170-74; G. Kipling, 'The London Pageants for Margaret of Anjou: A Medieval Script Restored', *Medieval English Theatre,* 4 (1982), pp. 5-27. The pageantry for Elizabeth Woodville on this occasion is discussed below, pp. 31-32.

[63] *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 p. 784.

[64] Laynesmith, 'Fertility Rite', pp. 52-68.

Funerals

Both Edward IV and Richard III took the throne from a legitimate ruler, rather than inheriting from a dead ancestor. Usurpation interrupted the expected order of royal funeral followed by coronation of the heir. The potential for the ceremony to mark the end of one reign and start of another was therefore negated: Edward's predecessor was buried ten years after the Yorkist king began to rule; the father from whom he inherited the claim to the throne reburied over fifteen years after Edward had been crowned. Edward IV's funeral should have reestablished the conventional order, and his heir did succeed as Edward V. Richard III's seizure of the throne, however, shifted the lineage again. His reign began, like his brother's, by supplanting a rightful ruler rather than burying one. The royal funerals of the Yorkist period therefore encompassed a varied mix of muted display and lavish pageantry. The potential for such ceremony to express royal authority and dynastic legitimacy through commemoration was exploited, though there was little sense in which they marked a transfer of power.

There were many more funerals in the Yorkist period which might be deemed royal than there are sources describing them. Nothing at all is known beyond a date and place, for example, regarding the funerals for Richard III's queen, Anne Neville, in 1484 and Edward IV's daughter, Margaret, in 1472.[65] Indeed two Yorkist kings were denied elaborate funerals entirely. The death of Edward V was never acknowledged, and Richard III was discreetly entombed at Leicester Greyfriars after defeat at Bosworth in August 1485.[66] Potentially the most fascinating funerals, of Clarence on 25 February 1478 and the reburial of Henry VI at Windsor in 1484, are similarly obscure and thus offer no indication of how the Yorkist kings buried a royal traitor with honour or

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[65] The only source to mention the funeral of Richard's queen, Anne Neville, stated that she was 'buried at Westminster with honours no less than befitted the burial of a queen', following her death on 16 March 1485, the splendour of the event is not recorded, *Crowland*, p. 175. In her case, it is likely that reports of the funeral were made, but have not survived, Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*, p. 122. On Margaret: BL, Additional MS 6113, f. 48v; Scofield, *Edward,* vol 2 p. 28.

[66] Ross, *Richard III,* p. 225.

celebrated a dynastic enemy.[67] The impression left of Edward IV's earlier burial of Henry VI in 1471 is one overwhelmingly military in tone, with soldiers guarding the hearse as it left the Tower.[68] Expense accounts for Henry's funeral show that it cost a spartan £33, when compared with the expenditure of over £1,000 on the lavish reburial of the duke of York in 1476.[69] For some funerals mere suggestive glimmers of information exist, such as the cost of £215 16s 10d for the funeral held sometime before 22 November 1481 at Westminster Abbey for Anne Mowbray, who had married Edward IV's son Richard duke of York in January 1478.[70] All that survives of the funeral of Richard III's son Edward of Middleham is a possible tomb effigy at St Helen's Church, Sheriff Hutton, and even this cannot be definitively identified as that of the young prince of Wales, who died in April 1484.[71]

There are four royal funerals of the Yorkist period for which detailed accounts survive, those of Edward IV (9-19 April 1483), his son Prince George (22 March 1479) and daughter Mary (27-28 May 1482), all at Windsor, plus the reburial of Richard duke of York at Fotheringhay (21-30 July 1476).[72] The ceremonial details of the funerals examined here are predominantly provided by heralds' texts, written to record the order of proceedings and heraldic symbolism on display, along with wardrobe accounts,

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[67] Clarence was buried at Tewkesbury Abbey in the mausoleum of his wife Isabel. The funeral was appropriately respectful but without the trappings of pageantry, according to the letter of a royal councillor, Dr Thomas Langton, to the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, J.B. Sheppard (ed.), *Christ Church Letters. A Volume of Medieval Letters Relating to the Affairs of the Priory of Christ Church Canterbury,* Camden Society, new series, 19 (1877), p. 37; Hicks, *Clarence,* p. 142. Henry VI's corpse was moved from Chertsey Abbey to St George's Chapel, Windsor, in 1484, J.W. McKenna, 'Piety and Propaganda: The Cult of King Henry VI' in B. Rowland (ed.), *Chaucer and Middle English Studies in Honour of Rossell Hope Robbins* (London, 1974), p. 75.

[68] The body was brought from the Tower surrounded by a great number of armed men and was guarded by soldiers, *Great Chronicle,* p. 220; Kingsford, *Chronicles of London,* p. 185.

[69] Expense accounts indicate a cost of £33 6s 8½d for Henry's burial, including wax cloth, linen, spices, masses, charity and the wages of torchbearers accompanying the body from the Tower, F. Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer* (London, 1837). On the cost of the reburial see *Reburial,* p. 38.

[70] Anne's death is mentioned in a Cely letter of 22 November 1481, A. Hanham (ed.), *The Cely Letters 1472-1488,* Early English Text Society, 273 (1975), p. 125. On the cost, Scofield, *Edward,* vol 2 p. 323.

[71] M. Duffy, *Royal Tombs of Medieval England* (Stroud, 2003), pp. 260-64; P. Routh and R. Knowles suggest the tomb in the church may be that of Ralph Neville, son of Richard, earl of Salisbury, rather than Edward of Middleham, *The Sheriff Hutton Alabaster: A Reassessment* (Wakefield, 1981), pp. 27-28.

[72] These events have often been referred to in secondary literature, but little analysed. Biographies refer to the events or in some cases give the narrative, for example Scofield, *Edward,* vol 2 pp. 167-68; Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 416-17; Johnson, *Duke Richard,* p. 224. Further analysis is given for example on Elizabeth Woodville in Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens,* pp. 127-29.

supplemented by the evidence of epitaphs, laments and tombs.[73] Wider information on these funerals is scant, though there are a few references in chronicles and letters.[74] A further herald's record exists for the funeral of the Yorkist queen, Elizabeth Woodville, at Windsor in June 1492.[75] As religious ceremonies that functioned to bury an individual, funeral liturgy naturally dominated events and provided the order for proceedings: masses were said throughout the corpse's lying-in-state and at each church the hearse paused along its processional route, and services and offerings of cloth of gold were made on the day of burial. These similarities aside, however, the funerals differed greatly in scale and tone. One centred on the burial of a king, two on royal children, and York's reburial presents the biggest contrast, its occurrence and timing dictated not by death, but commemoration. This most lavish example of Yorkist royal display was almost the complete inverse to the humble and hurried burial of the former queen sixteen years later.

The reburial of Richard, duke of York in July 1476 was the most spectacular of the funeral ceremonies.[76] The event was a Yorkist showcase, which took place almost sixteen years after York's death at the battle of Wakefield on 30 December 1460. York and his second son, Edmund, earl of Rutland, had initially been buried at Pontefract and in the political turmoil which followed, there the bodies had remained. The reburial had therefore been long in the planning, dating back to early in Edward's reign.[77] The

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[73] The epitaph of the duke of York is discussed in R.F. Green, 'An Epitaph for Richard, Duke of York', *Studies in Bibliography,* 41 (1988), pp. 218-24 and transcribed from BL, Stowe MS 1047, f. 217, also given in *Reburial,* pp. 28-29. Further manuscript copies include College of Arms, MS M 3, f. i(v) and BL, Harley MS 48, f. 81v, the latter of which is printed in T. Wright (ed.), *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History* (2 vols, London, 1861), vol 2 pp. 256-57. Laments for Edward IV are given in *Royal Funerals,* pp. 82-92. On the tomb of Edward IV at Windsor see below, pp. 90-91.

[74] For example *Crowland*, pp. 139; F.R.H. Du Boulay (ed.), *Registrum Thome Bourgchier Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi* (Oxford, 1957), p. 54.

[75] BL, Arundel MS 26, ff. 29v-30, also printed in *Royal Funerals,* pp. 72-74.

[76] Descriptions of the reburial survive in several French and English manuscript copies made in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the originals are not extant. The authors of the texts are unknown, though all appear to be copies of heralds' texts. The texts are in French and English. French versions include BL, Harley MS 48, ff.78-81; BL, Harley MS 4632, ff.123-125; College of Arms, MS I 11, ff. 107-108v and College of Arms, MS I 15, ff. 207-210v. English descriptions of the reburial survive in four manuscript copies of the sixteenth to early seventeenth century: College of Arms, MS I 3, ff. 8-8v; BL, Additional MS 45131, ff. 23v-24; College of Arms, MS I 11, ff. 83v-84v and BL, Egerton MS 2642, ff. 191-191v. The BL, Harley MS 48, BL, Harley MS 4632 and BL, Egerton MS 2642 texts are printed and discussed in *Reburial,* pp. 12-32.

[77] Edward had held commemorative services for his father at St Paul's Cathedral in February and March 1461, and payments were made for the creation of a hearse for the duke at Fotheringhay as early as 1463, *Reburial,* pp. 2, 33.

ceremonies began with an eight day, almost 100 mile journey from Pontefract to Fotheringhay, where the funeral took place. Higher clergy and secular nobility took part in the event, along with foreign ambassadors; there were also hundreds of onlookers and poor people receiving alms.[78] The reinterment of York and his son at the re-founded family mausoleum at Fotheringhay was a dynastic celebration and a powerful statement of Yorkist monarchy.[79] Not only was this a gathering of almost the entire nobility in celebrating the monarch's lineage, the visual symbolism of reburying York as a rightful king was a dramatic affirmation of Yorkist legitimacy.[80]

The reburial contrasted with other royal funerals of the period in that it represented a commemorative and celebratory event, rather than a response to immediate circumstances. Edward IV's death at Westminster in the early hours of 9 April 1483 was premature, given that he was just forty years of age, but it was expected and indeed was reported in York as having happened three days earlier.[81] Messengers were braced to inform those who needed to know, including the mayor of London, Edward Shaa, and aldermen who were called on to view the body.[82] The corpse was embalmed, wrapped in cerecloth and lead, placed in a coffin and moved to St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster. Masses, dirges and commendations were sung on the first day, followed by one mass a day for the rest of the eight days the coffin rested in the chapel, watched constantly by nobles and servants. During this time preparations were made for the more lavish ceremony at Westminster Abbey on 16 April.[83] There the close group of lords and household servants who had initially attended the king's corpse were swelled by numerous mourners, their names noted in the heralds' texts for their roles in the ceremony, such as carrying banners, and their position in the hierarchy of making

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[78] Financial accounts indicate that over 2,000 guests were catered for in the feasting, *ibid.*, p. 37.

[79] The college at Fotheringhay had been established by Edward duke of York on 29 January 1412, *CCR 1409-1413*, p. 317. Edward IV issued a charter for re-founding the college on 15 February 1462, *CChR, 1427-1516*, pp. 167-71.

[80] See below, especially pp. 79-80, 310-12.

[81] *York House Books,* vol 1 p. 282; Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 415.

[82] Lyell and Watney, *Mercers' Company,* p. 146; BL, Additional MS 45131, f. 27v.

[83] Descriptions of Edward IV's funeral survive in a number of manuscript copies of heraldic records, in English and French. English copies include College of Arms, MS I 7, ff. 7-8v, printed in *Royal Funerals,* pp. 33-40; BL, Additional MS 45131, f. 27v-29; BL, Egerton MS 2642, ff. 186v-88v; College of Arms, MSS I 3, f. 7v and I 11, ff. 84-86v. One French text is extant, College of Arms, Arundel MS 51, ff. 14-18, printed in *Royal Funerals,* pp. 41-43.

offerings and procession.[84] From the abbey the coffin travelled to Windsor where the king was buried on Friday 19 April in the dynastic mausoleum that he had established at St George's Chapel.[85]

Prince George was one-year-old when he died, probably of plague, in March 1479.[86] He was the third son of Edward IV and although still an infant, he held the title of lieutenant of Ireland, granted on 6 July 1478, indicating his father's early attention to securing positions for his children.[87] His funeral on 22 March is only detailed in great wardrobe accounts.[88] Reference to a man of arms in these records shows that although a child, George was buried in full chivalric style.[89] In total over a hundred and fifty people are named or counted as servants in the accounts, including eight personal attendants.[90] Prominent Yorkist courtiers and officers of both the king's and queen's household were involved in the event, including the queen's chamberlain Lord Dacre, her brother Earl Rivers and eldest son the marquis of Dorset.[91] There is no direct reference to the king and queen attending but the account records expenditure on cleaning the king's blue robe furred with miniver, identical to the description of his clothing at his father's reburial, which might suggest that he was present.[92] At both York's reburial and the funeral of Edward IV the queen's chamberlain made offerings on her behalf even when she was present, so the involvement of her household staff in organising her son's funeral may indicate that she did attend.[93]

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[84] For example the knights and esquires of the body listed as having carried the coffin from St Stephen's Chapel to Westminster Abbey, BL, Additional MS 45131, ff. 27v-28.

[85] Edward IV's rebuilding work at St George's Chapel is discussed below, pp. 89-92.

[86] Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 271.

[87] *Royal Funerals,* p. 49.

[88] Princeton University Library MS 101 especially ff. 99-101, great wardrobe accounts for 12 April 1478-12 April 1479, printed in *Royal Funerals,* pp. 53-57.

[89] A complete harness and an axe was hired from armourer John Smyth for a man at arms who held the helmet at the ceremony, *Royal Funerals,* p. 54.

[90] *ibid.,* p. 56.

[91] Black cloth was ordered for the marquis of Dorset, Earl Rivers, and lords Strange, Mountjoy, Welles and Ferrers of Chartley, ibid., p. 56.

[92] Two shillings was 2s paid to John Caster for cleaning miniver fur for the king's robe, *ibid.* p. 54, Edward had worn a dark blue robe and hood furred with miniver at the reburial, BL, Harley MS 48, f. 79v.

[93] BL, Harley MS 4632, f. 125; College of Arms, MS I 7, f. 7.

The funeral three years later of fifteen-year-old Mary, second eldest daughter of Edward IV, was similarly grand.[94] The burial took place on 27-28 May, the body having lain in state for around a week before beginning its procession from Greenwich parish church to Windsor. The funeral ceremony differed from her brother's in appearing to be an overwhelmingly female event, with the key mourners all being women. There were men present at the event, including individuals of status, but the focus of the heralds' reports was on the hierarchy of the females present. In this the account of Mary's funeral compares with that of her mother, Elizabeth Woodville, ten years later. Three of the former queen's daughters took precedence at the ceremony.[95] The differences between funeral ceremonies for males and females was visually striking, from the focus on who had precedence kneeling within the hearse and making offerings, to the staging of the procession. Where George's funeral included a man at arms bearing martial accoutrements, Mary's cortège was welcomed by little girls dressed in white, a picture of innocence.[96]

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[94] The funeral is recorded in two manuscripts, both in English: College of Arms, MS I 11, ff. 21r-21v and BL, Stowe MS 1047, ff. 219r-219v, the latter printed in *Royal Funerals,* pp. 64-65.

[95] BL, MS Arundel 26, ff. 29v-30.

[96] College of Arms, MS I 11, f. 21v.

Marriages

The Yorkist period was remarkable for its royal marriages, not for their splendour but for the unorthodox way in which they occurred. All three royal brothers, Edward IV, Richard III and George, duke of Clarence, married in secret or as an act of rebellion and certainly without the grand ceremony that would be expected of such an occasion. The details of only two royal marriages steeped in extravagance exist, the Burgundian festivities for the wedding of Margaret of York to Charles the Bold in Damme on 3 July 1468 and that of Prince Richard to Anne Mowbray on 15 January 1478.[97] The contrast in the degree to which these events were reported by contemporaries is not merely a consequence of the accident of source survival. The marriage of Margaret to the duke of Burgundy was a diplomatic move of continental significance and the magnificence of the celebration was widely communicated.[98] Processions, entry pageants, feasts and jousting took place over ten days and were reported in chronicles and heraldic reports as well as private correspondence.[99] This was a Burgundian, not Yorkist, event, accounting for the wider interest among contemporaries. The marriage of Edward IV's second son to the heiress of the duke of Norfolk was the subject of considerably fewer reports, but was also a great spectacle that included feasting and jousting after the ceremony at St

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[97] Scholarship has focused in particular on the spectacle of the wedding celebrations for Margaret of York, for example G. Kipling *Enter the King. Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford, 1998)*,* p. 31-2, 252-3; E.A. Tabri, *Political Culture in the Early Northern Renaissance - The Court of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1467-1477)* (New York, 2004), pp. 107-19, 141-47. See also C. Weightman, *Margaret of York Duchess of Burgundy 1446-1503* (Gloucester, 1989), pp. 30-60; A. Brown and G. Small (eds.), *Court and Civic Society in the Burgundian Low Countries c.1420-1530: Selected Sources* (Manchester, 2007), pp. 54-85; M. Guay, 'Du Consentement a L'*affectio Maritalis*: Quatre Mariages Princiers (France-Angleterre, 1395-1468)*', Revue Historique,* 311 (2009), pp. 312-19.

[98] R. Vaughan, *Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (London, 1973), pp. 48-53; Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 110-11.

[99] Descriptions of the wedding festivities are given for example in H. Beaune and J. d'Arbaumont (eds.), *Olivier de la Marche, Mémoires* (4 vols, Paris, 1883-88), vol 3 pp. 101-201, vol 4 pp. 95-144, an excerpt is also translated in Brown and Small, *Court and Civic Society,* pp. 58-85; D.D. Brouwers (ed.), *Jean de Haynin, Mémoires, 1465-77* (2 vols, Liège 1905-1906), vol 2 pp. 17-63; *Excerpta Historica,* pp. 223-39; T. Phillipps, 'Account of the Ceremonial of the Marriage of the Princess Margaret, sister of King Edward the Fourth, to Charles, Duke of Burgundy, in 1468', *Archaeologia,* 31 (1845), pp. 326-38; R.D. Moffat, 'The Medieval Tournament: Chivalry, Heraldry and Reality. An Edition and Analysis of Three Fifteenth-Century Tournament Manuscripts' (University of Leeds PhD thesis, 2010), pp. 204-33; Davis, *Paston Letters,* part 1 pp. 538-40, part 2 p. 386.

Stephen's Chapel, Westminster.[100] The festivities were recorded by heralds and in celebration of the marriage twenty-four knights of the Bath were created.[101] Although receiving far less attention in sources than the Burgundian marriage, this wedding was a significant Yorkist event, an opportunity to bring the nobility together in witnessing the dynastic spectacle and celebrating the royal family. The contrast with the muted public engagement in and reporting of the marriages of the king and his two brothers is extreme and instructive, highlighting the deliberate way in which these nationally important occasions were concealed or understated rather than celebrated.

Edward IV's marriage in May 1464 confounded expectations that he would wed a continental noblewoman to reinforce the regime through a diplomatic alliance, as Henry VI had done.[102] Instead he took a gentry widow as his wife in a ceremony kept secret from the political community for nearly five months. Little is known about the wedding itself, which was said to have been secret and witnessed by only four people besides the couple and the priest.[103] Elizabeth Woodville's status was far from ideal for a queen: she had some European noble blood through her mother, Jacquetta of Luxembourg, duchess of Bedford, but had been the wife of a Lancastrian knight and was the mother of two

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[100] The wedding is documented in Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmole MS 856, ff. 94-104, printed in W.H. Black, *Illustrations of Ancient State and Chivalry from Manuscripts Preserved in the Ashmolean Museum* (London 1840), pp. 27-40; BL, Harley MS 69, ff. 1-2, includes articles of the joust; BL, Additional MS 6113, ff. 71v-72, the knights made at the marriage; BL, Stowe MS 1047, f. 111, a note of the marriage and list of knights created. The jousts were also at one time included in Paston's *Grete Boke*, BL, Lansdowne MS 285, see Lester, *Grete Boke,* pp. 62-63. The wedding feast was held in both the king's great chamber, for the highest ranking guests, and in the painted, or St Edward's, chamber.

[101] Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmole MS 856, f. 97, states that there were twenty-four and lists twenty-one, BL, Stowe 1047, f. 111 lists twenty-two, three names differ from the Ashmolian MS: John son and heir of Lord Beauchamp, Robert Broughton and Lord de la Ware.

[102] At the time of Edward's marriage, Warwick had been negotiating with Louis XI for a union between Edward and the French king's sister-in-law, Bona of Savoy, Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 91. Edward's marriage is noted in *Gregory,* p. 226; *Mancini,* pp. 60-63; R. Brown (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 1: 1202-1509* (1864)*,* p. 114; *Crowland,* p. 115. See also C. Fahy, 'The Marriage of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville: a New Italian Source', *English Historical Review,* 76 (1961), pp. 660-72. On contemporary reactions to the marriage, Lander, 'Marriage and Politics', pp. 107-108. On the elevation of the new queen's family, Hicks, 'Role of the Wydevilles', pp. 60-86; A. Crawford, 'The King's Burden? The Consequences of Royal Marriage in Fifteenth-century England' in R.A. Griffiths (ed.), *Patronage The Crown and The Provinces In Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1981), pp. 38-39.

[103] H. Ellis (ed.), *The New Chronicles of England and France in Two Parts by Robert Fabyan* (London, 1811), p. 654, they were the queen's mother, two gentlewomen and a boy to help the priest sing.

children.[104] That a woman with this background should become queen was reported as having caused consternation amongst the political and wider community.[105]

Edward IV's marriage thus presented his government with the task of elevating Elizabeth's status without the ceremony of marriage but with the need to counter the stigma of secrecy. This was attempted through a presentation ceremony at Reading Abbey on 29 September 1464, where the king's brother Clarence and Richard, earl of Warwick, escorted the queen to the council for a formal endorsement of the marriage.[106] Beyond this display of family accord, the union was further validated through promotion of the idea that this was a love match. The date the marriage was said to have taken place, 1 May, had traditional associations with love and romance and certainly the word spread abroad that the king had married for love.[107] However the attempt to diminish the effect of secrecy and hint of inappropriateness proved ineffective. The very covertness of this wedding enabled Richard III to use it in his denigration of his brother's heirs in 1483. The fact that the marriage was carried out secretly in a private chamber was decried in Richard's first parliament as having perverted the laws of God, the church and England's customs.[108] The apparently underhand nature of the event was compounded by the lack of involvement of the king's council in his marriage, as well as the accusation of sorcery levelled against the bride and her mother.[109]

Like the king, neither Clarence nor Gloucester had elaborate wedding ceremonies that were public record. Yet their marriages were clearly for alliances and profit, rather than romance. Clarence's marriage to Warwick's daughter, Isabel Neville, at Calais on 11

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[104]   Lander, 'Marriage and Politics', pp. 105-09; Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens,* pp. 39-40, 53-58; *Mancini*, p. 63.

[105]   Burgundian chronicler Waurin, for example, described the council as telling Edward his wife was neither the daughter of a duke nor an earl and was not such as a prince should marry, *Waurin,* vol 5 p. 455; Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 89.

[106]   *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 p.783; *Crowland,* p. 115; *Gregory,* pp. 226-27.

[107]   Brown, *Archives of Venice,* p. 114, newsletter of 5 October 1464 from Bruges; Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens,* pp.65-69; E. Ives, 'Marrying for Love: The Experience of Edward IV and Henry VIII', *History Today*, 50 (2000), pp. 48-53.

[108]   Horrox, 'Parliament of 1484', item 1[5].

[109]   *ibid.*

July 1469 was a symbol of the duke's rebellion against his brother.[110] The union demonstrated his association with the earl and their manifesto against Edward was issued the next day, followed swiftly by their return to England with a contingent from the Calais garrison.[111] Warwick was captain of Calais and this was a stronghold of support for him; the new duchess was left there when her husband and father set sail.[112] The marriage was identified by contemporaries with the rebellion, both in chronicles and Warwick's own letter to Coventry, readying men in arms for his return after his daughter's wedding.[113] Indeed the match had initially been forbidden by Edward IV and papal dispensation had been refused in 1467.[114] However by 1469 the marriage was expected; the dispensation had been approved on 14 March that year, and the wedding was certainly not secret. The archbishop of Canterbury gave licence for the ceremony to take place at Calais and the duchess of York spent time at Sandwich with her son before he embarked.[115] Warwick's brother, George Neville archbishop of York, performed the ceremony, which was attended by a great number of lords, ladies, knights and squires including five Garter knights. The duke and earl remained at Calais for five days after the marriage, but whether there were further festivities is not recorded.[116]

The marriage of Richard, duke of Gloucester had a similar tone of defiance, though with different brothers in conflict. Clarence had tried to prevent his younger sibling's marriage to Anne Neville because of the danger it posed to his control of the Warwick inheritance through his wife, Anne's sister.[117] Their arguments had been brought before the king and council and Edward clearly approved the match, as Gloucester and Anne Neville were married probably in mid-1472, as papal dispensation was granted on 22

[110] The wedding took place at Calais Castle and is noted in *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household*, Society of Antiquaries (1790), p. 98.

[111] Manifesto in the name of Warwick, Clarence and the archbishop of York printed in *Warkworth,* pp. 46-47; Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 130; Hicks, *Clarence,* pp. 46-47.

[112] *Collection of Ordinances*, p. 98.

[113] *Warkworth*, p. 28; *Leet Book*, vol 1 p. 342, letter of 28 June 1469.

[114] Hicks, *Clarence,* pp. 43-44; Scofield, *Edward*, vol 1 p. 495; J. Calmette and G. Périnelle, *Louis XI et L'Angleterre (1461-1483)* (Paris, 1930), p. 120 n. 4.

[115] Licence given on 1 July 1469, Hicks, *Clarence,* p. 45.

[116] *Collection of Ordinances,* p. 98.

[117] *Crowland*, p. 133 reported that Clarence had hidden Anne Neville away, such was his fear of the inheritance being divided. M. Hicks, 'Descent, Partition and Extinction: the 'Warwick Inheritance', *BIHR,* 52 (1979), pp. 116-28; Horrox, *Richard III,* pp. 52-55.

April that year.[118] No evidence for this as a grand royal occasion survives and the lack of clear date for the wedding reinforces the idea that this was a discreet occasion, at least in terms of dissemination through report. The marriage had no continental diplomatic consequences, as with Margaret of York, and was not a statement of allegiance as for Clarence. Neither was this a marriage which served to bolster legitimacy, as Henry Tudor's weak title to the throne would be enhanced through marriage to Edward IV's eldest daughter, Elizabeth of York.[119] Like many noble marriages, Gloucester married for territory and this was an assertion of his growing domestic political importance. Control demonstrated position; the wedding enabled, but did not itself validate or express that authority.

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[118] P.D. Clarke, 'English Royal Marriages and the Papal Penitentiary in the Fifteenth Century', *English Historical Review,* 120 (2005), p. 1023, the papal dispensation is quoted n. 42.

[119] Support for Tudor against Richard III was boosted by the promise to marry Elizabeth of York, first made in December 1483, Ross, *Richard III,* p. 196.

Civic Receptions

Royal entry ceremonies of the Yorkist period were informed by civic drama, influenced by political circumstances and involved pageantry which was consciously aimed at political negotiation. Yet, as with much royal display in this period, context was typically the driving force. Just as the date of Edward IV's coronation shifted to accommodate the more pressing need to manage political realities, so official entries into cities were not typically highly stage-managed, purposeful affairs. The decision that the monarch would visit a city where he might expect a grand reception could be made quickly, as with Edward at Bristol in 1461 or Richard III at York in 1483, when instructions were sent from the king just six days before his arrival in the city.[120] Thus traditional pageantry, such as the use of the creed play or the story of St George, was always a foundation against which more individual features were set.[121] Even where more time for planning was evident, symbolic negotiation of political position was grounded in custom and controlled not just by civic leaders but also influenced by royal instruction.[122]

There are details of only a handful of royal civic receptions in the Yorkist period, though many more must have taken place. For instance Edward IV visited Coventry in 1461, but there is little indication of his welcome other than a note of the smiths' pageant of Samson.[123] Similarly the king visited Salisbury in August-September of the same

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[120] Richard was welcomed into York on 29 August 1483. The city began planning the visit on 31 July that year, but received a letter from the king's secretary on 23 August with specific instructions for the welcome display, *York House Books,* vol 1 pp. 287-88. Possibly the city was informed at this point of the king's plans to hold the investiture of the prince of Wales in the city, as he was created prince on 24 August at Nottingham and robes for the occasion were only ordered on 31 August, Horrox and Hammond, *Harl 433,* vol 2 pp. 48-49, 82-83.

[121] The creed play was part of Richard III's welcome at York, on 7 September 1483, *York House Books,* vol 2 pp. 292-93; St George was used at Bristol in 1461 and Coventry in 1474, M.C. Pilkinton (ed.), *Records of Early English Drama: Bristol* (Toronto, 1997), pp. 7-8; *Leet Book,* vol 1 p. 393.

[122] As the instructions from Richard III's secretary to the city of York highlighted, see note 120 above.

[123]   Coventry Smiths' Accounts, referenced in T. Sharp, *Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries Anciently Performed at Coventry* (Coventry, 1825), pp. 151-52. This work dates the reception to 1460, which is an error: the city gave Edward £100 and a cup as a welcome to Coventry where he arrived following battle in the north, *Leet Book*, vol 1 pp. 316-17. The smiths' accounts record expenditure on the pageant of Samson including iij d. spent on gold for his garments. Edward also visited York in November 1462, though there is no indication of a civic welcome, R. B. Dobson (ed.), *York City Chamberlains' Account Rolls, 1396–1500*, Surtees Society, 192 (1978-79), pp. 114-15.

year.[124] Details survive for the pageantry held on five such occasions, predominantly in civic records including the York House Books, Coventry Leet Book and Norwich Chamberlains' Account Roll. These were Edward IV's reception at Bristol in September 1461, the pageants held on London Bridge for Elizabeth Woodville's pre-coronation procession in May 1465, her entry at Norwich in July 1469, Prince Edward's welcome at Coventry in April 1474 and for Richard III at York in August and September 1483.

Edward IV's visit to Bristol in 1461 occurred as part of a tour of key cities by the new monarch in the first year of his reign.[125] He arrived in the city on 4 September and was received with delight by citizens.[126] The event provides a small snapshot of what the progress of the monarch involved in this fraught period of political insecurity and highlights the multifaceted role the king played. The pageants honoured the king by linking him to William the Conqueror but also asserted the town's position, with a giant handing the king the keys to the city. The visit was more than just public celebration: Edward granted the town three royal charters on and subsequent to this visit, he oversaw the trial and execution on 9 September of Lancastrian rebel Sir Baldwin Fulford, and left with an extra fifty marks in a loan from his host, mayor William Canynges.[127]

The same type of political negotiation was evident in the reception of Prince Edward at Coventry thirteen years later, though the politics were different. At Bristol in 1461, Edward IV had been a new monarch requiring funds and support, with liberties to offer in opening his relationship with the city but also needing to demonstrate his exercise of royal powers, in this instance in the performance of justice. At Coventry in 1474 the pageants were an expression of the relationship between the city and a new lord, given

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[124] The visit took place before Edward arrived in Bristol on 4 September. He was presented with a gold cup and £20, Scofield, *Edward,* vol 1 pp. 198-99.

[125] Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 48-49. Further sources hint at his reception in other cities: Kingsford, *Chronicles of London,* p. 176; letter to the duke of Milan, 30 August 1461, *Brown, Archives of Venice,* p. 112.

[126] The welcome is detailed in Lambeth Palace Library MS 306, f. 132 printed in Pilkinton, *REED Bristol,* pp. 7-8; L. Toulmin Smith, *The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar by Robert Ricart,* Camden Society, new series, 5 (1872), p. 43; Kingsford, *Chronicles of London,* p. 176; *Three-Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, p. 175.

[127] P. Fleming, 'Politics and the Provincial Town: Bristol, 1451-1471' in K. Dockray and P. Fleming (eds.), *People, Places and Perspectives: Essays on Later Medieval and Early Tudor England in Honour of Ralph A. Griffiths* (Stroud, 2005), pp. 89, 93; Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 48; Scofield, *Edward,* vol 1 p. 199.

that the prince's council had been established at Ludlow in the early 1470s.[128] The pageants were part of a continued effort to repair links with the Yorkist regime. Coventry had lost civic liberties in 1471 as punishment for backing Warwick during the Readeption and although these had been bought back for 400 marks the same year, the stain of betrayal of Edward IV and the Woodvilles was hard to erase.[129] The king had been captured near Coventry by Warwick during his initial, humiliating loss of power in July 1469, and the queen's father and brother, Earl Rivers and Sir John Woodville, had been executed by Warwick at Gosford Green on the edge of the city the same month.[130] The reception for the prince on 28 April 1474 was a civic welcome in his honour, he was received by the mayor and brethren with a gift of 100 marks and was taken to view six pageants.[131] The city clearly worked hard to entertain the visitors and ingratiate themselves with the regime, demonstrated through the choice of pageantry and scale of festivity, as the streets were filled with performers, music and singing, pipes running with wine, incense burning and cakes and flowers being cast to observers.[132] These displays highlighted the bond between city and monarchy throughout, with the citizens proclaiming Yorkist legitimacy, spiritual right and power over enemies in reparation for its earlier actions, and reminding the prince of his connection to the city as a foundation for their future relations.[133]

The queen attended the pageantry at Coventry with her son and was herself honoured.[134] Details of the two events at which she alone was the focus of the festivities highlight the

[128] The council was established on 8 July 1471 to run the prince's affairs until he reached 14, *CPR 1467-77*, p. 283. The council was developed and expanded over the following two years, being based at Ludlow from the end of 1473, Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 196-97; Hicks, 'Role of the Wydevilles', pp. 222-23.

[129] Warwick sheltered at Coventry when faced with Edward's army in 1471, for example, and the city sent soldiers to fight with the earl at the battle of Barnet, *Arrivall,* pp. 154-55; *Leet Book,* vol 1 pp. 364-66. The city paid £266 13s 4d (400 marks) to the king in 1471 and its liberty was restored on 20 June 1472 with a charter of general pardon agreed through the special mediation of Clarence, *ibid.,* pp. 369, 381. Fulford had been active inciting rebellion in the south west during 1461 as rumours of French support for the Lancastrians were rife; he was executed for plotting to remove Edward from the throne, Fleming, 'Bristol 1451-1471', pp. 88-89.

[130] *Crowland*, p. 117; *Warkworth,* p. 7; *Leet Book,* vol 1 p. 346; Pollard, *Warwick,* p. 104.

[131] The account of the visit is recorded in *Leet Book,* vol 1 pp. 390-394. There is a brief note on the event in the Coventry smiths' accounts, referenced in Sharpe, *Dramatic Mysteries*, p. 154.

[132] *Leet Book,* vol 1 p. 392.

[133] Discussed below, pp. 293-94, see also C.D. Liddy, 'The Rhetoric of the Royal Chamber in Late Medieval London, York and Coventry', *Urban History,* 28 (2002), pp. 339-45.

[134] *Leet Book,* vol 1 p. 393.

differences in pageantry for a king and queen, a shift from martial to familial in tone. Elizabeth Woodville's entry into London for her coronation took place on 24 May 1465.[135] The accounts of London's Bridge House record expenditure on the pageants held on the bridge and give a detailed picture of one section of the celebrations.[136] The pageants indicate support for the Yorkist regime and more particularly recognition of the political position of the queen. Much has been made of the staging of the event as countering, or celebrating, the queen's status as a mother rather than virgin, focusing on the choice of pageants for her entry. These included figures representing mothers related to the Holy Family: St Elizabeth, the queen's namesake and mother of John the Baptist, and Mary Cleophas, mother of four disciples and half-sister to the Virgin Mary.[137] The significance of Elizabeth Woodville's lineage and the qualities, particularly fertility, which recommended her to queenship were embraced in the symbolic interpretation of the queen's position by civic pageantry. The theme of motherhood was echoed in the pageantry for Elizabeth's welcome at Norwich, 18 July 1469.[138] She had given birth to a third princess earlier that year and was greeted with a performance of the 'Salutation of Mary and Elizabeth', a section of the *Corpus Christi* cycle, before heavy rain ended the celebrations.[139] There was no hint at the political troubles rumbling through the country in these festivities, though it was close at hand; Edward IV was captured by rebels less than two weeks after the event and the queen's father and brother killed soon after.[140]

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[135] See above, pp. 16-17.

[136] Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Bridge House Accounts,* pp. 21-31. The financial burden was large; as well as the £21 14s 6½d spent by Bridge House on pageants, the city paid 1,000 marks as a gift for the queen alongside expenditure on their own involvement in the event, and guilds such as the mercers also each incurred the costs of liveries for participants, Lyell and Watney, *Mercers' Company,* p. 281; Scofield, *Edward,* vol 1 p. 376.

[137] Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens,* pp. 87-89 ; *idem.,* 'Crowns and Virgins', pp. 60-62; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Bridge House Accounts,* p. 9.

[138] Norfolk County Record Office, Norwich, Case 18a, Norwich Chamberlains' Accounts 1469/70-1490, ff. 10-14v, described in H. Harrod, 'Queen Elizabeth Woodville's Visit to Norwich in 1469', *Norfolk Archaeology,* 5 (1859), pp. 32-37.

[139] Harrod, 'Visit to Norwich', pp. 35-36. Princess Cecily was born on 20 March 1469, R. Horrox, 'Cecily, Viscountess Welles (1469–1507)', *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/4984' (accessed 16 June 2013).

[140] The executions took place on 29 July 1469.

Like Edward IV's entry at Bristol in 1461, Richard III's visit to York in 1483 was part of a tour of cities after taking power.[141] He arrived in York on 29 August to a welcoming pageant, the mayor, aldermen and councillors having met the king on horseback in ceremonial robes.[142] The centrepiece of the visit was the investiture of his son, Edward of Middleham, as prince of Wales at the archbishop's palace on 8 September. Richard's reception in York was so grand that one chronicler likened it to a repetition of coronation, and although there is no evidence that any such ceremony occurred, the king and queen certainly indulged in repeated crown wearings in the city, both at York Minster and at the investiture ceremony.[143] The endeavour to celebrate with citizens and display support for the new ruler was encapsulated in the 13,000 badges bearing Richard's boar motif ordered for the occasion to be distributed among the crowds.[144] The populace were also encouraged to put on a suitable display for the royal entry, especially for the benefit of the southern lords visiting the town. The king's secretary wrote to the mayor and aldermen of York to request the display of tapestries from windows through the town and the performance of plays to demonstrate their support for the king.[145]

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[141]   Richard travelled through areas of support, including Windsor, Oxford and Coventry, *Crowland,* p. 161; and Warwick, his queen's ancestral home, Lincoln and Pontefract, R. Edwards, *The Itinerary of King Richard III 1483-1485* (London, 1983).

[142]   *York House Books,* vol. 1 p. 287; A.F. Johnston and M. Rogerson (eds.), 'Vicars Choral Statute Book' in *Records of Early English Drama: York*, (2 vols, Manchester, 1979), vol 1 pp. 132-33; P. Tudor-Craig, 'Richard III's Triumphant Entry into York, August 29th, 1483' in R. Horrox (ed.), *Richard III and the North* (Hull, 1986), pp. 108-116.

[143]   *Crowland*, p. 161. The king and were queen crowned at the investiture ceremony and Minster services on 8 September, but not at the Minster reception on 29 August, Johnston and Rogerson, *REED York,* vol 1 pp. 132-33.

[144]   Horrox and Hammond, *Harl 433,* vol 2 p. 42; Hicks, *Richard III,* p. 202.

[145]   *York House Books*, vol 2 p. 713.

Tournaments and Jousts

A renewed interest in chivalric culture emerged in the Yorkist period, signalled by an increased frequency of jousting which was paralleled by a growth in literary interest in knightly combat.[146] Only a handful of references to jousts survive, some of these mere notes, but the fact that chronicles paid limited attention to such events may mean that they were more common than the surviving evidence would suggest.[147] For instance, knowledge about a tournament at the king's palace of Eltham in spring 1467 rests entirely on brief comment in contemporary letters.[148] Similarly, chroniclers seem only to have noted such events where they were of political significance, such as that at Westminster in 1463.[149] The latter was the first recorded joust in Edward IV's reign and occurred in the heat of conflict to establish the regime, particularly in the north.[150] The joust was highlighted as an example of the king's treatment of his enemy, Henry Beaufort, duke of Somerset, involving him in the event as a political embrace despite the duke's Lancastrian partisanship. Beaufort was reported as having reluctantly taken part in the occasion, plotting treason and soon returning to open enmity against the king.[151] Politics and leisure clearly came together in the tournament arena. The thrill of being involved in chivalric pursuits is palpable in John Paston's report of the Eltham tournament in 1467, as he wrote that he wished his brother could have seen the spectacle for himself.[152] Paston jousted on the king's side, alongside the queen's brother Anthony Woodville and against William, Lord Hastings, and viewed his participation in the event as a statement of his position in the circles around the monarch.

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[146] See below, pp. 131-35.

[147] Wardrobe accounts give some indication of these events, for example Scofield, *Edward,* vol 1 p. 273 n. 3, notes the reference to a tournament held in Pentecost week, May-June 1463, and a safe conduct to Louis de Brueil of France coming to England for points of arms with Robert Wingfield.

[148] Davis, *Paston Letters,* part 1 p. 396.

[149] *Gregory*, p. 219.

[150] The chronicle notes the joust took place between the king's reception of Sir Ralph Percy and Henry Beaufort, which happened after the fall of Bamburgh castle on 24 December 1462, and before Percy handed Bamburgh over to the French in March 1463, *Gregory,* p. 219. Edward IV was in Fotheringhay on 30 January, heading south, Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 51-53. The joust therefore seems to have taken place in February 1463.

[151] *Gregory*, pp. 221-222.

[152] The jousts may have served as a practice event for the Smithfield tournament in 1467, as they occurred around two months earlier, either at the end of March or early April 1467, Davis, *Paston Letters,* part 1 p. 396; C. Richmond, 'The Pastons and London' in S. Rees Jones, R. Marks and A.J. Minnis (eds.), *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe* (York, 2000), pp. 211-12.

Tournaments and jousts often formed part of the festivities for royal occasions, such as coronations and marriages. Yet there are records for only two such events in Yorkist England, at the coronation of Elizabeth Woodville in 1465 and the marriage of Richard, duke of York in 1478. While reports of the queen's coronation contain detail on the ceremonies, only a brief reference to the jousting at Westminster on Monday 27 May survives.[153] The event is described as a great tournament with lances held before the king at which Lord Stanley took the honours, receiving as his prize a ruby ring.[154] In contrast there is a detailed account of the jousting at York's marriage on 22 January 1478 at Westminster sanctuary ground.[155] The marriage festivities occurred concurrently with the parliament held to try the duke of Clarence for treason and some members took an active part in the spectacle.[156] Anthony Woodville was again at the heart of activities, arriving at the tourney by emerging from a hermitage dressed as a white hermit, to be de-robed by servants before taking part in the jousts.[157] The tournament lasted one day and was followed by feasting. All the royal family were at the event; the feats of arms took place in the presence of the king and queen, their sons Edward prince of Wales and Richard duke of York, and their eldest daughter Elizabeth awarded prizes.[158] The action was dominated by the queen's family, her brother Edward Woodville and her sons the marquis of Dorset and Richard Grey were prominent in the tournament.[159]

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[153] *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 p. 784.

[154] *ibid.,* Sir Thomas Wingfield and Sir Roger Chamberlain competed with lances.

[155] Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmole MS 856, ff. 94-104; BL, Harley MS 69, ff. 1-2; Lester, *Grete Boke,* pp. 62-63; *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 242-43, from BL, Lansdowne MS 285, f. 57 and BL, Harley MS 69, f. 1, cites in error this event as in celebration of the creation of the prince as duke of York.

[156] For example Sir John Cheyne, MP for Wiltshire and Sir James Tyrell, representing Cornwall. Tyrell ran in the osting harness, and Cheyne, esquire for the king's body and also master of the horse, in the tourney, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmole MS 856, f. 99; Horrox, 'Parliament of 1478', 'Introduction'.

[157] Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmole MS 856, f. 98.

[158] *ibid.,* ff. 103-104.

[159] A cousin, Sir Richard Haute, also jousted, *ibid.*, f. 101. Haute's mother was a sister of the first Earl Rivers, the queen's father, Scofield, *Edward,* vol 2 p. 158.

The most magnificent of these Yorkist tournaments was unique in being a grand diplomatic affair, emulating the grand spectacles on the continent.[160] A prelude to Edward IV's decision to politically ally with Burgundy, the event took place at Smithfield in London, 11-17 June 1467, and again Anthony Woodville was at the centre, the event originating in his challenge to Antoine de La Roche, bastard of Burgundy.[161] The tournament ignited interest across England and on the continent, both in recording what happened and as an example of knightly combat.[162] Not only are there several surviving manuscripts detailing the feats of arms and references to the event in the majority of near-contemporary chronicles, many of the manuscripts include copies of the letters between Woodville and La Roche as well as, or instead of, the combat.[163] The letters were written in French and also translated into English, indicating the degree to which both the event, and the processes through which it developed, were public.[164] As diplomacy, the event was continental in both political and chivalric outlook; in taking place at Smithfield it also recalled grand jousts there in the 1440s.[165] The pinnacle of the occasion was the feat of arms performed by Woodville and La Roche over two days, 11-12 June, which involved combat with lances, swords, axes and daggers. The inconclusive contest was presided over by the king and was followed by a week of further jousting, banquets and festivities.[166] The visit of the bastard of Burgundy lasted

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[160] R. Barber, 'Malory's *Le Morte Darthur* and Court Culture Under Edward IV' in J.P. Carley and F. Riddy (eds.), *Arthurian Literature XII* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 153; M. Keen and J. Barker, 'The Medieval English Kings and the Tournament' in M. Keen (ed.), *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages* (London, 1996), pp. 83-84.

[161] S. Anglo, 'Anglo-Burgundian Feats of Arms: Smithfield, June 1467', *Guildhall Miscellany,* 2 (1965), pp. 271-83; Barber, 'Morte', p. 141; E. Meek, 'The Practice of English Diplomacy in France 1461-71' in D. Grummitt (ed.), *The English Experience in France c.1450-1558* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 63-84.

[162] *Gregory*, p. 236; Beaune and d'Arbaumont, *Olivier de la Marche,* vol 3 pp. 48-56; G.A. Lester, 'Fifteenth-Century Heraldic Narrative', *The Yearbook of English Studies,* 22 (1992), p. 209 and *idem., Grete Boke,* pp. 130-33; Anglo, 'Smithfield', pp. 271-83. G. Kipling, *Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (Leiden, 1977), pp. 73-127, on Smithfield as a model for future tournaments.

[163] Manuscript accounts include BL, Lansdowne MS 285, ff. 18-25v, 29v-43, printed in *Excerpta Historica,* pp. 176-212; BL, Harley MS 4632, ff. 88-93v; BL, Harley MS 48, ff.82-82v; BL, Harley MS 69, ff. 11-11v; College of Arms, L5, ff. 57, 87-102; Utrecht University Library, MS 1177, ff. 186r-225r, see Anglo, 'Smithfield', p. 271, n. 1-3; Leeds Royal Armouries Library, Codex RAR.0035 (I.35), printed in Moffat, 'Tournament', pp. 169-95. Chronicle accounts include Beaune and d'Arbaumont, *Olivier de la Marche,* vol 3 pp. 41-42, 48-56; *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 pp. 786-87; *Gregory,* p. 236; Kingsford, *Chronicles of London,* p. 179; *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles,* pp. 92, 181; *Waurin,* vol 5 p. 543; *Great Chronicle,* pp. 203-204; *Hearne,* pp. 296-97.

[164] The letters were in English in Paston's *Grete Book*, BL, Lansdowne MS 285, and in French in College of Arms, MS L5, College of Arms, Arundel 48 and Leeds Royal Armouries, I 35, for example.

[165] Barber, 'Morte', pp. 142-43.

[166] Anglo, 'Smithfield', pp. 277-81.

over a month, during which he was entertained by the nobility, attended masses at St Paul's and the opening of parliament on 3 June, and shared private conversation with the king.[167] The Smithfield tournament was the focus of a protracted array of entertainments in the city and court at which the relationship between England and Burgundy was developed. The diplomatic sensitivity of the festivities was reflected in the restrained nature of the combat, a show of violence rather than a fight to the death, contrary to the report *Gregory* received.[168] Accounts of the action between Woodville and La Roche differ, but agree that the final combat with axes was halted by Edward IV before injury was done.[169]

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[167]   He arrived in London on 23 May and left shortly after 19 June when he heard of the death of his father, duke Philip, setting sail from Dover on 25 June, Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 110.

[168] *Gregory*, p. 236.

[169] Anglo, 'Smithfield', p. 282, and on differences between the English and French reports, pp. 278-81.

Ceremonies of Creation

The creation ceremonies held to invest peers with a title or bestow knighthoods were a ritualistic feature of royal patronage.[170] The splendour echoed a monarch's coronation: the cap of maintenance and rod given to new princes, for instance, were an allusion to the crown and sceptre.[171] The creation of knights of the Bath occurred as a precursor to coronation, as well as royal events including marriages and investitures. Just as there were creation ceremonies for a range of peerages, including duke, marquis, earl and viscount, there were different knightly honours, including Garter knights, knights of the Bath and knights bachelor.[172] By the Yorkist period the ceremonies involved in creating knights and peers were well-established, having developed over the century from Edward III's investiture of his son as duke of Cornwall in 1337.[173] Creations to peerage were elaborate state occasions that centred on an individual and acted to bind those present in welcoming and accepting the newly ennobled through their involvement in the ritual.

Only a handful of creation ceremonies in the Yorkist period are referenced in surviving sources: Louis of Bruges as earl of Winchester on 13 October 1472; the queen's eldest son Thomas Grey as marquis of Dorset on 14 May 1475; William Berkeley as viscount

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[170]   These events have attracted little scholarly attention either for their political and chivalric significance, or their role within royal patronage. An exception is F. Pilbrow, 'The Knights of the Bath: Dubbing to Knighthood in Lancastrian and Yorkist England' in P. Coss and M. Keen (eds.), *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 195-218.

[171]   For example at the investiture of Edward of Middleham as prince of Wales in 1483, Horrox and Hammond, *Harl 433*, vol 1 pp. 1-2; BL, Cotton MS Julius C vi, f. 260v; M. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, 1984), p. 73.

[172]   W. Courthope (ed.), *Debretts Complete Peerage*, 22nd ed, (London, 1838), pp. xxxv-xxxvii; W.A. Shaw, *The Knights of England* (2 vols, London, 1906), vol 2 pp. 13-22.

[173]   J.S. Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage: Royal Patronage, Social Mobility, and Political Control in Fourteenth Century England* (Woodbridge 2004), p. 106; J. Vale, 'Image and Identity in the Prehistory of the Order of the Garter' in N. Saul (ed.), *St George's Chapel Windsor in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 40-41.

on 21 April 1481 and the creation of two princes of Wales.[174] The most significant of these were the investiture ceremonies for the princes, Edward son of Edward IV on 26 June 1471 and Edward of Middleham, son of Richard III, on 8 September 1483.[175] Both occurred in the aftermath of political crisis, Edward IV's recovery of the throne and Richard III's seizure of it, as a means through which to formally identify the new heir to the throne.[176] Both of these ceremonies emphasised loyalty to the regime and in particular to the heir. The investiture of Edward IV's son as prince at Westminster was a ceremony grounded in tradition.[177] The boy, aged seven months, was confirmed in his title and rank by girding him with a sword and placing a cap of estate on his head, a gold ring on his finger and a gold rod in his hand. The investiture was followed one week later, on 3 July, with the leading clerical and secular lords publicly swearing an oath recognising Edward as undoubted heir to the throne and confirming their promise by signing their names.[178] Similar oaths were required of civic elites in towns, such as that made by Coventry's mayor and citizens directly to the prince on 3 May 1474.[179] Fewer details of Edward of Middleham's investiture are known, but it was distinct in being held in the north, at York. The event was a huge spectacle at which the king and queen went crowned in procession to York Minster and dined at the archbishop's palace following the investiture ceremony held there.[180]

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[174] Creation of Louis of Bruges as earl of Winchester: BL, Cotton MS Julius C vi, ff. 257-58v, printed in C.L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 382-84; BL, Additional MS 6113, ff. 100v-107, printed in F. Madden, 'Narratives of the Arrival of Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse, in England, and of his Creation as Earl of Winchester, in 1472', *Archaeologia,* 26 (1835), pp. 280-84. Notes also in BL, Lansdowne MS 285, f. 211v; College of Arms, MSS M 15, ff. 13v-14v, M8, f. 68v. A copy of the grant of arms of 23 November 1472 survives, BL, Egerton MS 2830, elaborately written and illuminated with a shield, a fragmented seal still attached by blue and yellow cord with gold thread. Viscount Berkeley: BL, Harley MS 169, ff. 43v-44; BL, Additional MS 6113, ff. 18-18v; the manuscripts give the date as Easter day 1481, which was 22 April, C.R. Cheney (ed.) and M. Jones (rev.), *A Handbook of Dates For Students of British History* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 229. Creation of the marquis of Dorset, 18 April 1475, BL, Additional MS 6113, f. 107v. As an example of ecclesiastical patronage, the enthronement of George Nevill as archbishop of York in 1465 was a comparative splendid occasion, T. Hearne (ed.), *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea* (6 vols, London, 1770), vol 6 pp. 2-14.

[175] Edward, son of Edward IV, R. Horrox, 'Edward IV: Parliament of January 1472, Text and Translation', *PROME* (accessed 19 June 2013), items 12 and 13; Edward of Middleham, Horrox and Hammond, *Harl. 433,* vol 1 pp. 1-2; Johnston and Rogerson, *REED York,* vol 1 p. 133.

[176] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1484', item 1[5].

[177] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1472', item 12.

[178] T. Rymer, *Foedera, Conventiones, Literae et cuiuscunque generis acta publica, inter Reges Angliae* (20 vols, London, 1704-35), vol 11 pp. 714-15; *CCR* 1468-76, pp. 229-30.

[179] *Leet Book,* vol 1 pp. 393-94, dated 1472 probably in error, the entry appears after the prince's reception in 1474.

[180] *Crowland*, p. 161; Johnston and Rogerson, *REED York,* vol 1 p. 133.

While elevations to a title centred on the individual, knighthoods were typically bestowed in groups. The exception within this was the Order of the Garter, its membership limited and exclusive, knights only being elected on the death or degradation of a companion.[181] While the elections of the Yorkist period are reasonably well-documented, no account of an installation ceremony survives.[182] Undoubtedly these occasions followed established ritual, taking place at St George's Chapel, Windsor with the brethren in their mantles, the Garter buckled around the left leg of the elected companion, who was girded with a sword and swore an oath to uphold the Order's statutes before the altar.[183] Much of the wider ceremony, the gathering for services, making offerings at St George's and feasting together, was similar to the Garter's annual celebration, as documented for 1476.[184] Two further types of knighthood were prominent in the Yorkist period, knights of the Bath and knights bachelor.[185] The honour conferred the same status on the recipient, but the ceremony of creation was different. Knights of the Bath were dubbed by the king following an elaborate ritual including bathing and a night-long vigil occurring as part of a royal event, including the coronations of Edward IV in 1461, Elizabeth Woodville in 1465 and Richard III and Anne Neville in 1483, the knighting of the prince of Wales in 1475 and the marriage of the king's son, Richard duke of York in 1478.[186] Knights bachelor, in contrast, were dubbed directly by the king or a fellow knight, and in this period most significantly on the battlefields of Towton in 1461, Tewkesbury in 1471 and on the outskirts of London that same year, and by Gloucester at the siege of Berwick in 1482.[187] Although all were equally knights, the mode of creation drew a distinction between military and

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[181] H. Collins, *The Order of the Garter 1348-1461* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 36-39.

[182] J. Anstis, *The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, From its Cover in Black Velvet, Usually Called the Black Book*, (2 vols, London, 1724), details the elections of the period, vol 1 pp. 172-221.

[183] Collins, *Garter*, pp. 201-203.

[184] BL, Stowe MS 1047, ff. 225v-226v, printed in Anstis, *Register*, vol 1 pp. 196-97 and J. Stowe, *The Annales or A General Chronicle of England* (London, 1615), pp. 429-30.

[185] Shaw, *Knights of England*, pp. xxxvii-liv.

[186] Pilbrow, 'Dubbing to Knighthood', pp. 201-207; list of the knights created at these events in Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol 1 pp. 133-41.

[187] A list of all the knights, including those not made on the battlefield and others such as knights of the carpet and knights banneret, is given in *ibid.*, vol 2 pp. 13-22.

ceremonial settings, further reflecting the battlefield valour and state service for which the honour could be bestowed.[188]

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[188] Pilbrow highlights that individuals were rewarded with the honour not just for military service but household, governmental, diplomatic and local office holding, 'Dubbing to Knighthood', pp. 214-15. Knighthood on the battlefield did draw contemporary notice, for example a letter of William Paston of 4 April 1461 reported those, including William Hastings and Humphrey Stafford, who had been made knights at Towton, Davis, *Paston Letters,* part 1 p. 165.

Reception of Visitors

The style with which a monarch welcomed diplomatic visitors to court represented more than expected hospitality: it was an opportunity for display on an international stage.[189] Diplomatic missions were measured in the grandeur of the reception as well as the political outcome, as Edward IV's contrasting treatment of the Burgundians and the French in 1467 demonstrated.[190] In this instance, the elaborate welcome of Antoine de La Roche, bastard of Burgundy, peaking with the shared chivalric spectacle of the Smithfield tournament, indicated the king's preference for an alliance with the duchy. The French ambassadors arrived in England in February 1467 but Warwick was deputised to deal with them, returning to France with an embassy in May as the Burgundians arrived.[191] Travellers likewise carried report with them back to the continent of the splendour of the court and lavish hospitality.[192] Only a few examples of such instances occur for the Yorkist period giving detail of the display. As well as the visit of the bastard of Burgundy in 1467, the views of Bohemian travellers with Lord Leo von Rozmital in February 1466 are recorded, as is the entertainment organised for Louis of Bruges during his stay in October 1472.[193] Further visits, such as that of Edward IV's sister Margaret of York from Burgundy in 1480, are noted but little detail survives.[194]

The visit of Rozmital occurred soon after the birth of Edward IV's first child, Elizabeth, on 11 February 1466. The Bohemians were received by members of the council on their

[189]   Fortescue comments on this, S. Lockwood (ed.), *On the Laws and Governance of England* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 97-98; Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 257-61; J. Huesmann, 'La procédure et le cérémonial de l'hospitalité à la cour de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne', *Revue du Nord,* 84 (2002), pp. 295 -317.

[190]   Meek, 'English Diplomacy', pp. 76-79.

[191]   Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 108-109; the ambassadors were certainly treated as guests, however, Scofield, *Edward,* vol 1 p. 413, notes that the French ambassadors cost Edward IV over £500 for their stay, £152 of that on wine.

[192]   For example *Rozmital*, pp. 46-47.

[193]   *ibid.*, pp. 43-56; for sources on Louis of Bruges' visit, see note 174 above.

[194]   Wardrobe accounts show that Edward supplied Coldharbour house for his sister's visit and ensured she had a lavish entourage, N.H. Nicholas (ed.), *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York: Wardrobe Accounts of Edward IV* (London, 1830), pp. 126, 141-45, 163-66. A banquet was held in her honour on 20 July 1480, Scofield, *Edward,* vol 2 p. 287. London's civic leaders noted on 28 August 1480 a gift of £100 for the duchess, London Metropolitan Archives, Journal of the Common Council 8 1471-82, f. 231; in contrast Edward had berated the archbishop of Canterbury for failing to give his sister a gift, Sheppard, *Christ Church Letters*, p. 19.

arrival in London, following which the king feasted with them and knighted several of their number, awarding all members of Rozmital's party with gold and silver badges of his fellowship.[195] Even the expenses at their inn were paid by Edward. They were shown the royal treasury and taken to see elegant gardens, golden tombs and holy relics in the capital's churches, as well as the heart of St George at Windsor.[196] The latter had been presented to Henry V in 1416 as a gift from Emperor Sigismund, also elected King of Bohemia in 1419, and was therefore particularly evocative for these visitors.[197] The grandest spectacle they witnessed was the queen's churching.[198] The account written by Gabriel Tetzel, present at the event with Rozmital, expressed astonishment at the splendour on display. The ceremony conformed to custom, but was also an extravagant assertion of royalty, one that was meant to be viewed and reported. Even though this was a female occasion, the Bohemian lord and his entourage were invited to watch the queen's banquet from an alcove.[199] The entertainments and hospitality lavished on these visitors was a demonstration of royal wealth and security, encouraging a positive report from the Bohemians on their return journey.[200]

The visit of Louis of Bruges was more personal for Edward IV, as the Burgundian lord's hospitality had sustained Edward during his exile in 1470-71.[201] His stay in England in

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[195] *Rozmital*, pp. 45-46, 53. On Rozmital's visit generally see P. Contamine, 'L'hospitalité dans l'Europe du milieu du XVe siècle: aspects juridiques, materiériels at sociaux, d'après quelques récits de voyage' in *La Conscience Européen au XVe et au XVIe Siècle. Actes du Colloque international organisé à l'Ecole Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles (30 septembre - 3 octobre 1980) avec l'aide du CNRS* (Paris, 1982), pp. 75-87; F. Michaud-Fréjaville, 'Dangereux Occident: Le voyage de Léon de Rozmital jusqu'à Saint-Jacques de Compostelle (1465-1466)' *Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes,* 3 (1997), pp. 57-69; A. Thomas, *A Blessed Shore: England and Bohemia from Chaucer to Shakespeare* (New York, 2007), pp. 149-66.

[196] *Rozmital*, pp. 52-55.

[197] Sigismund presented the relic during his visit to England in 1416, C.T. Allmand, *Henry V* (London, 1992)*,* pp. 104-109; J. Klassen, 'Hus, the Hussites and Bohemia' in C.T. Allmand (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History, vol vii: c.1415-c.1500* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 377. The presentation of the heart of St George at Windsor Castle is depicted in the Beauchamp Pageant*,* BL, Cotton MS Julius E iv, f. 18, see below n. 630.

[198] *Rozmital,* pp. 45-48; Hughes, *Arthurian Myths,* p. 175; Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 258-59; Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens,* pp. 117-18; Scofield, *Edward,* vol 1 pp. 395-96.

[199] *Rozmital,* p. 47; Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens,* p. 118.

[200] *Rozmital*, p. 46. The report was enthusiastic about the lavishness of the welcome and compared their welcome favourably with Burgundy, which they had visited earlier.

[201] On Edward's exile, see L. Visser-Fuchs, '"Il n'a plus lion ne lieppart, qui voeulle tenir de sa part": Edward IV in exile, October 1470 to March 1471' in J-M. Cauchies (ed.), *L'Angleterre et les pays bourguignons: relations et comparaisons (XVe-XVIe s.)* (Publication du Centre Europeen d'Etudes Bourguignonnes (XIVe-XVIe s.), Neuchâtel, 1995), pp. 91-106.

1472 was both diplomatic, as an ambassador for the duke of Burgundy discussing war with France, and an opportunity for the king to repay his generosity.[202] Throughout his visit the treatment of Louis of Bruges surpassed even that lavished on the bastard of Burgundy, a reflection of his own hospitality to Edward in exile, the degree of gratitude for that, and the significance of the diplomacy. He arrived in Dover late September or early October 1472 and travelled through Canterbury and Rochester to London, being presented with gifts of fruit, wine and game along the journey.[203] From London, Louis travelled to Windsor to enjoy more exclusive royal ostentation with the king, his family and key courtiers at the castle. There he was led on tours through chambers of pleasance by the king and queen, was invited to enjoy pastimes with the royal family, hunted, feasted and worshipped with the king. The lavish hospitality was designed to impress not just the visitors but the court to which they would return with descriptions of their reception and all those who heard of it. The pinnacle of Louis' visit was his creation as earl of Winchester at parliament on 13 October, the title and its annuity a more tangible and lasting reward from the king than the entertainments in his honour.[204]

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[202] Gruuthuse is noted as an ambassador in BL, Additional MS 6113, f. 103v; BL, Cotton MS Julius C vi, f. 258v; *CSPM*, p. 163, letter of 4 October 1472. Similarly, the Canterbury records note expenditure on gifts to Louis of Bruges as he passed through on his way to London, describing the party as ambassadors of the duke of Burgundy, *Ninth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London, 1883), part 1 p. 142.

[203] BL, Cotton MS Julius C vi, ff. 258v-259; BL, Additional MS 6113, f. 103v.

[204] The creation is not noted on the parliament rolls, but is given in Rymer, *Foedera,* vol 11 p. 765 and printed in Madden, 'Louis de Bruges', pp. 285-86. The event is described in manuscript copies detailed in note 174 above.

Parliament

The critical parliament for the Yorkists occurred during the reign of Henry VI. The session opened on 7 October 1460 and York stated his claim to the throne there nine days later. This was a move that astounded the political community, including York's own supporters, but the outcome established the basis upon which Yorkist monarchy was founded.[205] The Act of Accord agreed on 25 October accepted the duke as Henry VI's heir on the king's death or abdication, and made him regent.[206] Not only did the Accord validate York's claim to the throne, enabling Edward IV's usurpation the following year, parliamentary backing was itself legitimising. Edward IV held six parliaments during his reign, bisected by the parliament of Henry VI's Readeption from 26 November 1470 to April 1471.[207] They were held in 1461-62, 1463-65, 1467-68, 1472-75, 1478 and 1483. Richard III held just one parliament, in 1484.[208] Edward's parliaments were of varying lengths and were held to achieve different ends: money for French campaigns in 1467 and 1472-75 and for war with Scotland in 1483, and for the trial of Clarence in 1478. The need for money through taxation diminished during the later 1470s, following Edward's French campaign and the payment of an annual pension by Louis XI.[209] The need to call parliament was thus only revived at the end of the reign to deal with the rebellious Clarence and as the financial burden of fighting the Scots began to bite. These two later parliaments of 1478 and 1483 each constituted a single session, while those of 1463 and 1472 had been much longer, meeting for six and seven

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[205] See above, pp. 1-2.

[206] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1460', items 10-30.

[207]   Date of the Readeption parliament, R. Horrox, 'Henry VI: Parliament of November 1470, Introduction', *PROME* (accessed 23 January 2013). Scholarship on the Yorkist parliaments has focused on discussion of these monarchs' relationships with their parliaments and more specifically analysed the crafting and drafting of speeches in parliament to expose the subtlety of messages and evolution in their presentation, for example Edward IV's relations with parliament discussed in Scofield, *Edward,* vol 2 pp. 379-87 and Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 341-50; Richard III in Ross, *Richard III,* pp. 184-89. See also J.S. Roskell, *The Commons and Their Speakers in English Parliaments, 1376-1523* (Manchester, 1965), pp. 271-97. Analysis of different drafts of the address John Russell, bishop of Lincoln gave at Richard III's parliament in January 1484, A. Hanham, 'Text and Subtext: Bishop John Russell's parliamentary sermons, 1483-1484', *Traditio,* 54 (1999), pp. 301-22; J.L. Watts, '*The Policie in Christen Remes:* Bishop Russell's Parliamentary Sermons of 1483-84' in G.W. Bernard and S.J. Gunn (eds.), *Authority and Consent in Tudor England* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 33-59.

[208] The dates are, Edward IV: 4 November 1461-6 May 1462; 29 April 1463-28 March 1465; 3 June 1467-7 June 1468; 6 October 1472-14 March 1475; 16 January-28 February 1478, and 20 January-18 February 1483. Richard III: 23 January-20 February 1484.

[209] On the French campaign, see below, pp. 53-54.

sessions respectively.[210] The rolls of parliament survive for all these sessions, except for the Readeption parliament.[211] The focus of the records was the business of parliament and there is little note of the ceremonial elements, which are supplemented in a few instances by chronicle and heralds' accounts.[212]

Parliament was a meeting point of king and commons and was steeped in spectacle, from the arrangement of the chamber around an enthroned king to the members wearing parliament robes for the occasion.[213] All Yorkist parliaments were held in the painted chamber at Westminster, which was decorated for ceremony, a contrast to the more peripatetic Lancastrian parliament.[214] The format for parliamentary discussion was somewhat ritualistic, opening with the chancellor's sermon, followed by instruction to the commons to choose a speaker, and the presentation of that speaker to the king, protesting his excuses, two days later.[215] The speech of a king to parliament constituted a significant moment of royal display, promises made to the commons in the monarch's own words. Two such instances are recorded on the parliament rolls for this period, both early parliaments of Edward IV. The speeches of 21 December 1461 and 6 June 1467 were both recorded in English and included similar themes, the king pledging to be a

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[210] The 1463 parliament, however, was opened and prorogued the same day on three occasions at York in 1464, R. Horrox, 'Edward IV: Parliament of April 1463, Text and Translation', *PROME* (accessed 19 June 2013), items 13, 14, 16.

[211] Transcriptions and translations in *PROME*. A journal of the discussions of the lords during the 1461 parliament also survives, printed in W.H. Dunham (ed.), *The Fane Fragment of the 1461 Lords' Journal* (New Haven, 1935); R. Virgoe, 'A New Fragment of the Lords' Journal of 1461' in C. Barron, C. Rawcliffe and J. T. Rosenthal (eds.), *East Anglian Society and the Political Community of Late Medieval England* (Norwich, 1997), pp. 309-14.

[212] P.R. Cavill, 'Debate and Dissent in Henry VII's Parliaments', *Parliamentary History,* 25 (2006), pp. 161-62. For example: the creation of Louis of Bruges as earl of Winchester at the 1472 parliament, see note 174 above; *Crowland* comments on the parliaments of 1472-5, 1478 and 1484, pp. 133-35, 145-47, 169-71; on those attainted in 1461 and the parliament of 1467, *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 pp. 778-79, 789; on the parliament of 1461, *Whethamstede,* vol 1 pp. 415-20.

[213] P.R. Cavill, *The English Parliaments of Henry VII 1485-1504* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 21-28.

[214] Parliaments were held at Reading, Bury St Edmunds, Winchester, Leicester and Coventry as well as Westminster in the 1440s and 1450s. Yorkist parliaments were planned outside of London but never met: parliament was opened in York three times in 1464 but prorogued the same day, see note 210 above, and in 1467 was called at Reading on 5 May but immediately prorogued to Westminster for the following week, R. Horrox, 'Edward IV: Parliament of June 1467, Text and Translation', *PROME* (accessed 19 June 2013), item 18. On decoration in parliament: for example, worsted cloth, hooks and pins were ordered for the chamber for the 1483 session, Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 505. On decoration of the parliament chamber in the early Tudor period, A. Hawkyard and M. Hayward, 'The Dressing and Trimming of the Parliament Chamber, 1509-58', *Parliamentary History,* 29 (2010), pp. 229-37.

[215] Cavill, *Parliaments of Henry VII,* pp. 23-24.

good and gracious sovereign and offering his body for the defence of the realm.[216] The first of these centred on Edward's accession, thanking the commons for their support in the recovery of his rightful title, the second on money, the promise to live from his own resources, barring exceptional circumstances such as a threat to the country. Legitimacy of title and taxation were critical reasons for the calling of parliament and, alongside dealing with enemies, constituted the key ways it was used in the Yorkist period.

Ratification of the claim to the throne dominated both Edward IV and Richard III's first parliaments, in 1461 and 1484 respectively.[217] This was particularly significant to the Yorkists not just because these kings were usurpers but also as an echo of the parliamentary reinforcement of their father's right to the throne in 1460. The assertion of Edward's title took the form of a petition from the commons, which was declared on 12 November 1461. Rather than simply a formality, this affirmation had a renewed significance to a regime founded on parliamentary acceptance of its claim through superior royal lineage. However far the Yorkists had created their path to the throne, this was a reign sanctioned by parliament and rather than publicly distancing Edward's rule from that basis, it was embraced as a legitimising force.[218] The record set out Edward's legitimacy as ruler, through Lionel of Clarence as third son of Edward III and Edward as 'cousyn and heire' to Richard II, as well as the unlawful usurpation of Henry IV.[219] Including this reworking of the historical narrative in the parliament rolls served to establish the Yorkist right to the throne on the official record. Giving the commons a visible and important role in establishing the regime not only established a specific dynamic between king and commons, in which both publicly promoted the Yorkist version of events, it enhanced the political legitimacy of the process of taking power and demonstrated the king's control of parliament. The assertion of legal legitimacy was fortified by acts of attainder against rebels and forfeiture of their estates at these sessions. Edward IV's first parliament did not approve taxes for funding the new regime, but by confirming forfeitures to the crown, including the hugely wealthy duchy

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[216] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1461', item 38; *idem.*, 'Parliament of 1467', item 7.

[217] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1461'; *idem.*, 'Parliament of 1484'.

[218] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1461', item 7.

[219] *ibid.,* item 9.

of Lancaster, it did provide channels of income for the king.[220] Potential difficulties abounding from delegitimising sixty-two years of Lancastrian rule and the statutes and gifts of three kings were not dealt with head on; the acts deposing Richard II and his heirs were repealed but no overt statement of the implications of this was made. Instead an assertion of items binding on the new king were given.[221]

The request for money to fund war with external enemies, specifically France and Scotland, was the focus of Edward's parliaments of 1463, 1467, 1472 and 1483. Alongside the grant of taxation, acts of resumption were repeated in 1463, 1467 and 1472 as another way of controlling royal finance.[222] A further key use of parliament in this period was for managing family disputes. In 1472-75 this involved division of estates to the benefit of the king's brothers, Clarence and Gloucester, and in 1478 the execution of Clarence for treason.[223] Parliamentary authority was used to publicly validate royal will in these instances, just as with the claim to the throne. The Yorkist period did see some innovation in the use of parliament, most notably the introduction of payments to the speaker and in Richard III's legislation to make taxes such as benevolences illegal.[224]

Royal display was not only a facet of parliamentary sessions, but celebratory events were timed alongside sittings. The assembly of the lords and commons was a useful opportunity to make spectacle count by involving as witnesses this body of men who were locally important in every region of the kingdom. This began in 1461 with the creation of the new king's brother as duke of Gloucester on 1 November, just before the opening of his first parliament, serving to boost the dynastic strength of the Yorkist royal family.[225] In 1467 the opening of parliament on 3 June was concurrent with the

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[220] *ibid.,* item 26.

[221] *ibid.,* 'Introduction'; item 41.

[222] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1463', item 39-40; *idem.,* 'Parliament of 1467', item 8; *idem.,* 'Parliament of October 1472', item 6; Hicks, 'Attainder, Resumption', pp. 15-31.

[223] On the Clarence-Gloucester feud, see for example Hicks, 'Warwick Inheritance', pp. 116-28 and *idem. Clarence,* pp. 110-117. On Clarence, *ibid.,* pp. 141-69; Lander, 'Clarence', pp. 242-66.

[224] Richard III's reforming legislation of 1484, Ross, *Richard III,* p. 189. On payments to speakers, Roskell, *The Commons and Their Speakers,* p. 103; for example £100 was paid to John Wood in 1482 as a reward for services as speaker, Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer,* p. 505.

[225] Rymer, *Foedera,* vol 11 p. 476; Scofield, *Edward,* vol 1 p. 216.

visit of the bastard of Burgundy and magnificent jousting at Smithfield.[226] The merging of politics, diplomacy and chivalric performance was further echoed in 1472 with the creation of Louis of Bruges as earl of Winchester at the start of the parliamentary session on 13 October.[227] The impetus for his visit was as an ambassador for the duke of Burgundy, and the purpose was to discuss war with France. This lengthy parliament, the longest ever held up to that date, granted taxes to fund Edward's French campaign of 1475.[228] In 1478 the confluence of royal spectacle with parliamentary business was about contrast, not persuasion. The session focused on the trial and condemnation of the duke of Clarence and entwined publicly with the marriage of the king's son, Richard duke of York. The prince's wedding was held on 15 January at Westminster with feasting taking place in the parliament chamber and was followed the next day by the opening of parliament in the same chamber.[229] Jousting and the creation of knights of the Bath in celebration of the marriage similarly took place amongst parliamentary business, such as the election and presentation of the speaker, and in the same place.[230]

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[226]   The bastard of Burgundy arrived in London on 23 May 1467, Anglo, 'Smithfield', p. 275. Safe conduct had been granted on 29 October 1466 for eight months from 2 November, for the count and 1,000 people with him, Rymer, *Foedera,* vol 11 p. 573.

[227]   See above, note 174.

[228]   Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 346.

[229]   On the wedding festivities, see above, p. 35. For the trial of Clarence, Horrox, 'Parliament of 1478', appendix; Strachey, *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol 6 pp. 193-95; *Crowland,* pp. 143-47.

[230]   The jousting took place in Westminster sanctuary, for example, and knights were created in the painted chamber, rather than at the Tower of London, as with coronation, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmole MS 856, f. 97.

Battle

The battles of the period were an inescapable facet of Yorkist monarchy; it was a regime founded on civil war. While they did not constitute events of royal spectacle in themselves, the performance of the king, the royal family and their rivals on the battlefield was critical.[231] Reports of battles and criticism of those who fought revolved around the contrast between military prowess and courage compared with cowardice and flight from the fray; the mere presence of the king at the battlefield could define an enemy as a traitor and inspire victory.[232] Contemporary assessments of the battles of this period encompassed a wide range of perspectives, from a fascination with the fighting and bloodshed to the political impact of the outcome and the effect on reputation.[233] Chronicle reports, continental newsletters, official accounts and visual representations were all concerned with the numbers who fought, how a battle played out, who was killed and what the consequences were, as well as highlighting the king's performance on the battlefield. Towton, more than any other battle of the period, captured the imagination of commentators in this way: diplomatic letters included lists of those who fought and died; chronicles reported the numbers of dead as ranging from 9,000 to 36,777; Edward's courage, casting himself into the fray to single-handedly turn the tide of the battle, was widely reported.[234] Both the accounts of battles and their political afterlife, the repeated references to conflict such as in parliament and through commemoration, constitute important aspects of royal display. They shaped Yorkist

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[231]   A theme explored, for example, in relation to knights in armour more generally in R.W. Jones, *Bloodied Banners: Martial Display on the Medieval Battlefield* (Woodbridge, 2010).

[232]   As with the presence of Henry VI at the battle of Ludford Bridge, Horrox, 'Parliament of 1459', item 16, below, p. 266.

[233]   This is a range of perspectives which is also reflected in the scholarship on the battles of the period, which has typically focused either on the political impact of the outcome of each battle or on the military organisation and strategy involved, for example A. Boardman, *The Battle of Towton* (Stroud, 1996); A. Goodman, *Wars of the Roses: the Soldiers' Experience* (Stroud, 2005); on the impact of the wars see also J.R. Lander, 'The Wars of the Roses' in *Crown and Nobility,* pp. 57-73 and *idem., Conflict and Stability in Fifteenth-Century England* (3rd ed., London, 1977), pp. 157-88; A.J. Pollard, 'Society, Politics and the Wars of the Roses' in *idem.* (ed.), *The Wars of the Roses* (Basingstoke, 1995). Recent work has engaged with the cultural significance of the civil war, for example noting the way in which a significant event such as the battle at Mortimer's Cross shaped Edward IV's kingship, Hughes, *Arthurian Myths,* pp. 81-83, 120-21.

[234]   On the battle, and reported numbers of those killed, for example: *Benet,* p. 230 (35,000); *Short English Chronicle,* pp. 77-78 (36,777); *Gregory,* p. 216-18 (35,000); *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 pp. 777-78 (9,000); *Hearne,* pp. 9-10 (33,000); 'Brief Latin Chronicle' in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles,* pp. 173-74 (28,000) and 'Brief Notes', *ibid.,* pp. 159-60 (33,000); diplomatic letters not only give numbers of those killed (28,000- 28,800) but show the spread of news, for instance the figure of 28,000, was relayed between correspondents, *CSPM,* pp. 61-66, 68, 72-73, 77-78.

monarchy as a warrior kingship, Edward IV never on the losing side in battle, while exposing the difficulties of celebrating military prowess achieved in domestic warfare.

To a large degree the battles of the period track the evolution of the Yorkist regime and in particular the promotion of Edward IV's leadership. Between the conflict at St Albans on 22 May 1455 which marked the first outbreak of violence and that of Bosworth on 22 August 1485, where Richard III was killed, there were twelve significant battles.[235] The pattern of victory and defeat in these engagements signalled the ebb and flow of the political situation: the capture of Henry VI at Northampton in July 1460 giving the Yorkists political agency; the death of Richard duke of York at Wakefield in December 1460 promoting his son to Yorkist figurehead; Towton in March 1461 a comprehensive defeat of the Lancastrians, shattering opposition to the new regime. Responses to this battle recognised its political significance but expressed a heaviness at its brutality, lamenting the ferocity of the fighting and the blood spilled.[236] Similarly in the crisis of 1469-71, defeat at Edgecote in July 1469 put the king in Warwick's control, while victory at Barnet then Tewkesbury in April and May 1471 wiped out Edward's key adversaries with the deaths of Warwick and Prince Edward of Lancaster. The defining battles of Edward's reign highlight his changing position: at Northampton he was alongside Warwick and fighting his father's enemies; at Mortimer's Cross almost seven months later he was avenging his father's death; at Towton he was defending his own throne.[237] Display associated with these battles focused on the divine sanction victory gave to the Yorkist king's claim to the throne, the cowardice of enemies in fleeing the fight and the significance of the endeavour to bring peace.[238]

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[235] Blore Heath, 23 September 1459; Ludford Bridge, 13 October 1459; Northampton, 10 July 1460; Wakefield, 30 December 1460; Mortimer's Cross, 2-3 February 1461; St Albans, 17 February 1461; Towton, 29 March 1461; Hexham, 15 May 1464; Edgecote, 26 July 1469; Losecoat Field, 12 March 1470; Barnet, 14 April 1471 and Tewkesbury, 4 May 1471.

[236] The battle of Towton comprised three points of action: skirmishes at Ferrybridge, Dintingdale and Towton, T. Sutherland, 'Killing Time: Challenging the Common Perceptions of Three Medieval Conflicts - Ferrybridge, Dintingdale and Towton - 'The Largest Battle on British Soil'', *Journal of Conflict Archaeology,* 5 (2009), pp. 1-25. The battle was never referred to as Towton in any of the reports or chronicles, rather Ferrybridge, Sherburn in Elmet, or its distance from York was given; *York House Books,* vol 1 p. 390 uses Palm Sunday field: 'Tolton, or Palmeston feld'. Towton is used here to encompass all and for ease of referring to the battle. Sources on the battle, see note 234 above.

[237] That this was recognised by contemporaries is highlighted, for instance, by a chronicle note describing the battle of Mortimer's Cross as Edward wanting to avenge his father's death, Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, p. 172.

[238] Discussed below, pp. 232-33, 245-48.

The battle of Mortimer's Cross, 2-3 February 1461, was critical in establishing Edward's position as a credible leader. Although little is known about the fighting on the day, this was the first battle he led and was imbued with the sense of Godly approval through the vision of three suns appearing in the sky before the conflict began.[239] This was presented as a token of the Holy Trinity, showing that God was on Edward's side, and took hold in the visual symbolism of the reign.[240] In contrast Towton, Edward's bloodiest victory and the one which secured his throne, was not commemorated and neither was it celebrated as a great victory in reports on the battle. Work to repair and enlarge the chapel of St Mary near the battlefield was planned in 1467 but seems only to have come to fruition in the reign of Richard III.[241] The victories at Barnet and Tewkesbury in 1471 were similarly hugely important politically, but reactions were understated rather than celebrated. The battle of Barnet took place on Easter Sunday, 14 April, in murky conditions.[242] The fighting began early in the morning, shrouded in such a great mist that one side could not see the other, but ended with the defeat of Warwick's forces including the death of the earl and his brother Montagu. The battle of Tewkesbury on 4 May brought Edward IV's forces against Lancastrians, the Yorkist account marking the manly fighting and determined leadership of the king in detailing the developments of the battle.[243]

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[239] Limited information on the battle means that even the date is in doubt, given as 1, 2 or 3 February in different sources: *Annales* gives 1 February, vol 2 part 2 p. 775, as does Flenley, *Six Town Chronicles,* p. 167; *Gregory*, p. 211 and the *Short English Chronicle*, p. 77 give 2 February; J.S. Davies, *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI Written Before the Year 1471* Camden Society (London, 1856)*,* p. 110, *Benet,* p. 229, J. H. Harvey (ed.), *William Worcestre Itineraries* (Oxford, 1969)*,* p. 202 and a letter of 11 March from the Milanese ambassador to France to the duke of Milan, *CSPM*, p. 57 all give 3 February. Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 31 and Scofield, *Edward,* vol 1 p. 138, and n. 2, opt for 2 or 3 February; Hughes, *Arthurian Myths,* for 3 February, p. xi. Further sources noting the battle include *Whethamstede,* vol 1 pp. 386-87; Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, p. 172; *Crowland,* p. 113.

[240] The vision is reported in the *Short English Chronicle*, p. 77; Davies, *English Chronicle*, p. 110 and *Gregory*, p. 211, and is depicted in BL, Harley MS 7353.

[241] On 6 November 1467 Edward secured papal indulgences for those who gave alms towards the repair of the chapel, J. A. Twemlow (ed.), *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (14 vols, London, 1893-1960), vol 12 p. 623. L. Toulmin Smith (ed.), *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535-1543* (5 vols, London, 1906-10), vol 1 p. 43.

[242] The key sources for the battle are the *Arrivall*, pp. 164-65; a letter of Margaret of York of April 1471, *Compte Rendu des Séances de la Commission Royale d'Histoire de Belgique* second series, 7 (Brussels, 1855), pp. 49-50 and *Warkworth*, pp. 38-39.

[243] *Arrivall,* pp. 175-76, also on Tewkesbury, *Warkworth*, pp. 40-41.

The most dramatic shift in the conflict of the Yorkist period was the move from domestic warfare to continental. Edward IV's French campaign in 1475 did not see major engagement with the enemy but nevertheless was fundamental to his evolving royal identity. Almost three years of negotiation, diplomatic and financial, preceded the start of the venture.[244] Edward sailed for France on 4 July 1475 and landed at Calais, a safe English port, rather than Normandy as the duke of Burgundy wished.[245] A large force of at least 11,000 combatants were magnificently arrayed and headed by representatives of almost the entire English nobility.[246] The army made its way through Burgundian lands to join the duke's forces at Péronne before engaging the French. The speed with which Edward agreed a truce with Louis XI, without fighting the French in battle, indicates the tentative situation in August 1475. Charles left Péronne to join his own troops around 12 August; by 18 August Louis had agreed Edward's price for peace and a deal with the French was done.[247] Edward's insecurity in his alliance with the duke and numerical inferiority compared to the French had shifted the balance. What began as a military campaign ended as continental diplomacy backed with an armed show of strength.

The visual presentation of this event was vitally important. The armies were lined up in battle array on opposite banks of the Somme at Picquigny to face each other in reality, if not in conflict.[248] Care was taken that this was an orderly presentation, the river preventing any possibility of engagement between the forces. The kings of England and France met on a bridge over the river on 29 August 1475 to conclude their treaty of peace. The agreement effectively saw the English bought off: pensions for Edward and

[244] Calmette and Périnelle, *Louis XI,* pp. 151-79; Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 205-38, J.L. Lander, 'The Hundred Years' War and Edward IV's 1475 Campaign in France' in *idem., Crown and Nobility,* pp. 220-241.

[245] Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 223; Kingsford, *Chronicles of London,* p. 186.

[246] Parliament agreed funds for 13,000 archers for one year, and the number of troops seems to have come close to this figure; Lander gives the number in the army as at least 11,451, 'Hundred Years' War', p. 237, which Ross follows, *Edward IV,* p. 221. Commynes describes the army as the largest of any king of England who invaded France, J. Blanchard (ed.), *Philippe de Commynes Mémoires* (2 vols, Geneva, 2007), vol 1 p. 260. Similarly a letter of 28 June 1475 to the Milanese court described the army as the largest that had left England, *CSPM* p. 197. Estimates of the number in the army vary widely in *CSPM,* from 32,000 archers (letter of 17 March 1475) to 18-20,000 total (letter 20 August) and 25,000 (undated letter to Madame de Bourbon), pp. 193-95, 200, 210. A letter of Louis XI of 30 June 1475 stated that there were already 4-5,000 English at Calais, J. Vaesen and C. Charavay (eds.), *Lettres de Louis XI, roi de France* (12 vols, Paris, 1883-1909), vol 5 p. 366.

[247] Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 229-31; Rymer, *Foedera,* vol 12 pp. 15-21.

[248] *CSPM* pp. 201-202, 212-13, letters of August and September 1475; Blanchard, *Commynes*, p. 289.

key members of his council; a seven year truce; commercial restrictions lifted and the betrothal of the dauphin to Edward's daughter Elizabeth.[249] The treaty of Picquigny ended Edward's campaign and he was welcomed back into London on 28 September.[250] Some contemporaries accepted that the Picquigny treaty was the most honourable exit from France that Edward could have achieved in August 1475, though continental observers mocked the English for failing to fight.[251] Scholarship has tended to plot the course of the campaign, with some debate focusing on Edward's intentions in going to war.[252] The traditional view that this venture was a failure, an expensive damp squib which damaged Edward IV's military reputation, persists.[253] Yet Edward gained everything he wanted in the treaty of Picquigny, without bloodshed, and the Yorkist attitude towards the campaign was one of triumph, not dishonour.[254]

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[249] The collection of agreements making up the Treaty of Picquigny included: 75,000 crowns given to the English to depart France immediately; a truce until 29 August 1482; freedom of mercantile intercourse; the marriage of Edward's daughter Elizabeth, or her sister Mary in her stead, to the dauphin; a treaty of amity between the two kings to not ally with the other's enemy. Any further issues, such as the title to the crown of France, were referred to arbitrators to meet at a future date. Burgundy and Brittany were to be invited to join the treaty if they wished, Rymer, *Foedera,* vol 12 pp. 15-21.

[250] Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, p. 187; he was met by the city's companies in ceremonial dress, who were ordered to attend, Lyell and Watney, *Mercers' Company*, p. 88-91.

[251] *Crowland,* for example, stated that the terms were honourable and described the pension as a tribute, pp. 137-43; *CSPM*, letters of 25 August, 5 and 27 September and 22 October 1475, pp. 201-202, 211, 217-18.

[252] Narrative sources include Calmette and Périnelle, *Louis XI,* pp. 180-216; Scofield, *Edward,* vol 2 pp. 113-47; Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 205-38; see also Lander, 'The Hundred Years' War', pp. 220-241; M. Hicks, 'Edward IV's Brief Treatise and the Treaty of Picquigny of 1475', *Historical Research,* 83 (2010), pp. 253-65.

[253] Hughes, *Arthurian Myths,* pp. 269-70.

[254] See below, p. 248.

Manifestos

Textual appeals to the public were of particular significance in this period of civil war, a critical means of stating position and persuading supporters. News-bills fuelled chronicle accounts; newsletters exchanged information on high politics domestically and internationally.[255] The Yorkist era witnessed a new fervour in these publications with the heightened need for support, seen particularly in the official accounts produced during the crisis of 1469-71 and in the proclamations of Richard III's title to the throne in June 1483.[256] Manifestos were not new, but their efficacy is more clearly seen in this period, partly due to the use of English but also the new professionalism with which they were written.[257] The political posturing of the 1450s generated a proliferation of public communication designed to assert position, through bills, letters, statements in parliament and manifestos.[258] This established the Yorkist policy of urging reform for the common good, ultimately prosecuted through York's claim for the throne. The message was well understood; the London chronicles and collections, for instance, reported the duke of York's claim to the throne and noted its proclamation throughout the city following the parliamentary decision in October 1460.[259] Proclamations were made at the heart of the city, St Paul's Cross, for Londoners to hear as well as being sent out to the provinces.[260]

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[255] For example Davies, *English Chronicle,* included a copy of a political ballad pinned up on the gates of the city of Canterbury in June 1460 and details of York's claim to the throne in October 1460, pp. 91-94, 100-106; *Gregory,* p. 216 noted the hectic spread of news in 1461 and the Paston letters reported the casualty list from Towton, also detailed in diplomatic missives, Davis, *Paston Letters,* part 1 pp. 165-66; *CSPM,* pp. 61-66, 68, 72-73, 77-78. C. Richmond, 'Propaganda and the Wars of the Roses', *History Today,* 42 (1992), p. 12.

[256] Ross, 'Rumour, Propaganda', pp. 15-32; C. Richmond and M.L. Kekewich, 'The Search for Stability, 1461-1483' in *John Vale's Book* (Stroud, 1995), pp. 43-72.

[257] Ross, 'Rumour, Propaganda', pp. 23-26; A. Allan, 'Royal Propaganda and the Proclamations of Edward IV', *BIHR,* 59 (1986), pp. 151-54; Richmond, 'Propaganda', p. 14.

[258] M. Hicks, 'From Megaphone to Microscope: The Correspondence of Richard Duke of York with Henry VI in 1450 Revisited', *Journal of Medieval History,* 25 (1999), pp. 243-56; Watts, 'Polemic and Politics', pp. 3-42.

[259] Kingsford, *Chronicles of London,* p. 172; *John Vale's Book,* pp. 195-202; Davies, *English Chronicle,* pp. 101-106.

[260] Edward IV's title to the throne, *CCR* 1461-68, pp. 54-55 and the proclamation of Richard III's title by Dr Ralph Shaa on 22 June 1483, *Great Chronicle,* pp. 231-32. P. J. Horner, 'Preachers at Paul's Cross: Religion, Society, and Politics in Late Medieval England' in J. Hamesse, B. Mayne Kienzle, D. L. Stoudt and A. T. Thayer (eds.), *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University* (Louvain-La-Neuve, 1998), p. 266.

A number of significant manifestos and proclamations punctuated the Yorkist period. The Calais manifesto of June 1460, issued by the earls of March, Salisbury and Warwick, set out their position in opposition to the Lancastrian regime, if not directly to Henry VI. The manifesto, written in York's name, included twelve grievances and aimed for a wide circulation.[261] This work established the Yorkist platform as the party took a clear political stance in the months before the duke's claim to the throne in October 1460. Edward IV's accession was promoted through proclamations sent to the sheriffs of counties, cities and towns throughout the realm.[262] The breakdown of relations between the king and Warwick in 1469 was encapsulated in official documents produced for public consumption. The first of these, the rebel manifesto of Warwick and Clarence, was issued from Calais on 12 July 1469 and detailed grievances against the king, using the examples of Edward II, Richard II and Henry VI as warning of destruction.[263] This public letter was followed by three works of propaganda indicating the progression of the hostility. The *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire* in March 1470 detailed the uprising against Edward IV from a Yorkist perspective, written by a member of the royal household and aimed at associating Clarence and Warwick with the revolt in persuading supporters.[264] The *Chronicle of the Rebellion* was followed by a Lancastrian response detailing the new alliance between Warwick and Margaret of Anjou, *The Maner and Gwidynge of the Erle of Warwick at Aungiers*.[265] The account described the reconciliation between these former enemies and publicised the terms of the alliance,

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[261] Discussed in Johnson, *Duke Richard*, pp. 201-203. The manifesto is printed in *John Vale's Book,* pp. 208-10.

[262] Proclamation of 6 March 1461, printed in *CCR* 1461-68, pp. 54-55.

[263] Letter of manifesto printed in *Warkworth*, pp. 48-51; Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 130.

[264] A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England ii: c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London, 1982), p. 261; P. Strohm, *Politique: Languages of Statecraft between Chaucer and Shakespeare* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 2005), pp. 254-55. The *Chronicle of the Rebellion* is included in College of Arms, MS Vincent 435, printed in J.G. Nichols (ed.), *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire, 1470* in K. Dockray, *Three Chronicles of the Reign of Edward IV* (Gloucester, 1988), pp. 103-130. See also 'The Confession of Sir Robert Welles', which is concerned with implicating Clarence and Warwick in the Lincolnshire rebellion, printed in *Excerpta Historica*, p. 282, and *Warkworth* notes, pp. 51-59; Richmond, 'Propaganda', p. 17.

[265] *The Maner and Gwidynge of the Erle of Warwick at Aungiers from the xv*th *day of July to the iiij*th *of August, 1470, which day he departed from Aungiers,* printed in H. Ellis (ed.), *Original Letters Illustrative of English History,* second series (London, 1827), vol 1 pp. 132-35, from BL, Harley MS 543, f. 169v and *John Vale's Book,* pp. 215-18 from BL, Additional MS 48031A, ff. 142-143v; Richmond, 'Propaganda', p. 15. On the Lancastrians in France, see M.L. Kekewich, 'The Lancastrian Court in Exile' in J. Stratford (ed.), *The Lancastrian Court. Proceedings of the 2001 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2003), pp. 95-110.

written in English and copies of which were pinned to London Bridge.[266] This enormous volte face on the part of the earl and former queen had taken place on 22 July 1470, at the instigation of Louis XI of France.[267] The alliance at Angers was sealed by the betrothal of Warwick's daughter, Anne, to Edward of Lancaster. The agreement required Warwick to invade England and restore Henry VI as king before the Lancastrian queen and her son returned; he was also to be a mentor to the prince, who would act as regent for his father.

The final major piece of Yorkist propaganda was *The Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV in England*, the official account of his recovery of the throne in 1471.[268] This account is particularly critical in understanding Yorkist monarchy because it centred on promoting the king as he reestablished his rule. Possibly written by the same person as the *Chronicle of the Rebellion,* the *Arrivall* was intended for wide circulation not just in England but more especially on the continent.[269] Copies survive in French and English, short and long versions, and two of the French manuscripts are illustrated.[270] Edward sent copies to the burgesses of Bruges, where he had lived during his exile, and to Charles the Bold.[271] These documents are particularly revealing as they represent a dialogue on the performance of monarchy which not only aimed at persuasion but was addressed to a wider public. The *Arrivall* proved to be the apogee of Yorkist political communication in chronicle form, an almost unique opportunity to create a heroic story around the king which served an immediate task of royal promotion.[272] When Richard III took the throne in June 1483 his actions were again justified and publicised through proclamation and public statement.[273] Similarly, he defended his throne by asserting his

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[266] Ellis, *Original Letters,* p. 138.

[267] Hicks, *Warwick*, pp. 292-96.

[268] *Arrivall,* pp. 131-193, from BL, Harley MS 543, ff. 31-49.

[269] Gransden, *Historical Writing ii,* p. 261; L. Visser-Fuchs, 'Edward IV's *Memoir on Paper* to Charles, Duke of Burgundy: the so-called 'Short Version of the *Arrivall*'', *Nottingham Medieval Studies,* 36 (1992), pp. 170-76; A. Gransden, 'Propaganda in English Medieval Historiography', *Journal of Medieval History,* 1 (1975), pp. 374-75.

[270] Gransden, *Historical Writing ii,* pp. 481-84; Visser-Fuchs, 'Short Version of the *Arrivall*', pp. 184-201; R.F. Green, 'The Short Version of *The Arrivall of Edward IV*', *Speculum,* 56 (1981), pp. 324-36.

[271] Visser-Fuchs, 'Short Version of the *Arrivall*', pp. 171-72.

[272] See below, section 5.4.

[273] *Great Chronicle,* pp. 231-32; Mancini, p. 95; Horrox, 'Parliament of 1484', item 1[5].

position and demanding support through proclamation, with an enhanced note of discrediting his enemies.[274]

Throughout the period, the textual assertion of position repeatedly centred on the performance of an oath. This public act of fealty had become increasingly important as government factionalised in the 1450s and had facilitated York's assertion of loyal reform. His oaths of allegiance to Henry VI were made recurrently in letters and on the parliamentary record.[275] Crucially, this was both a written and performed vow, the significance of the public event heightened by being reported widely.[276] The importance of the oath continued after Edward IV took the throne. The critical instances of oath-making in the Yorkist period came at traditional ceremonial occasions, in the coronation oaths of 1461 and 1483 and the homage to the princes of Wales in 1471 and 1484, and at points of crisis.[277] As in the 1450s, alliances were established and demonstrated through vows of loyalty, most particularly in the dramatic shift in allegiance by Warwick in 1470. The earl's desertion of Edward IV to collaborate with the Lancastrians was embodied in his oath to Henry VI at Angers, followed by the reciprocal pledges of Louis XI and Margaret of Anjou. This was fortified by a further bond: the marriage of Warwick's daughter to Edward of Lancaster, Henry's son.[278]

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[274]   Proclamations against Henry Tudor on 7 December 1484 and 23 June 1485, for example, Ross, 'Rumour and Propaganda', pp. 25-29.

[275]   For example a letter to the king written before 22 August 1450, Griffiths, 'York's Intentions', p. 203; Hicks, 'Megaphone', pp. 245-49. Similarly York's bill of 9 January 1452 issued from Ludlow, a statement of loyalty embedded with public declaration before the bishop of Hereford and earl of Shrewsbury, *John Vale's Book*, p. 195; in parliament on 14 March 1454, A. Curry, 'Henry VI: Parliament of March 1453, Text and Translation', *PROME* (accessed 21 June 2013), item 49; recorded oath of 21 November 1453, *CPR* 1452-1461, pp. 143-44.

[276]   For instance being recorded in contemporary chronicles: *Crowland,* pp. 111, 155; Davies, *English Chronicle*, p. 102; *Short English Chronicle,* p. 76.

[277]   Oaths to the princes of Wales: 1471, *CCR* 1468-76, pp. 229-30; 1484, *Crowland,* p. 171.

[278]   *John Vale's Book,* pp. 215-18.

Conclusion

This chapter has set the context for the thesis by establishing the instances of royal display which are the focus for discussion. They have been organised here by type of ceremony but it would be wrong to regard them as discrete and separate events. For instance coronations could also include civic pageantry and typically involved the creation of knights of the Bath. Similarly, diplomacy involved chivalric spectacle and creations to the peerage as well as lavish reception of visitors. Moreover it is important to note that it is impossible to provide a full account of such events because of the limitations of the surviving sources. There is no record of some events that must have occurred, such as royal visits to cities, and no detailed accounts of others that are just noted in passing, such as a royal christening, a churching ceremony and a feast for the Order of the Garter.[279] There is no record of Edward IV having touched for scrofula, though it is likely that he did.[280] This is an important reminder of the obstacles to recovering the detailed and complete story of royal display during the Yorkist period, and of the fact that written records provide a limited witness to the wide range of performances of majesty.

Defining the range and context of royal spectacle at the beginning of the thesis has been important as a platform from which to undertake a thematic analysis. The following chapters examine the ways in which these instances of the performance of majesty served to demonstrate authority, engender loyalty and promote legitimacy, and how a distinct Yorkist royal identity was created and evolved. This involved the exploitation of Yorkist ducal legacy in the places of significance to the regime (chapter two) and the relationships cultivated around the monarch (chapters three and four), and was achieved through textual promotion (chapter five) as well as the visual symbolism on display at royal events (chapter six).

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[279] The christening of Princess Bridget in 1480 is noted in BL, Additional MS 6113, f. 74, BL, Stowe MS 1047, f. 204v and BL, Additional MS 46354, ff. 41v, 51. The churching of Elizabeth Woodville in 1466 is detailed in *Rozmital*, pp. 44-48. The Garter feast is in, BL, Stowe MS 1047, ff. 225v-226v, printed in Anstis, *Register,* vol 1 pp. 196-98.

[280] Fortescue argued that the ability to cure the sick because of being anointed did not prove Edward's legitimacy to be king, implying that he performed the act, J. Fortescue, *De Titulo Edwardi Comitis Marchiae* printed in T. Clermont (ed.), *The Works of Sir John Fortescue* (London, 1869), pp. 70, 86; M. Bloch, *The Royal Touch. Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France,* English trans., J.E. Anderson (London 1973), p. 130. For Richard III, J. Hughes, *The Religious Life of Richard III: Piety and Prayer in the North of England* (Stroud, 1997), p. 94.

Chapter Two   Place and Power: the Geography of Yorkist Monarchy

Medieval kings travelled extensively across the realm, so that progresses and processions formed an important aspect of the demonstration of royal authority.[281] The Yorkist regime was anchored in a variety of geographical locations, from London and Westminster to cities around the country and key strategic sites such as the Welsh marches. The prominence given to particular places highlights both the physical location of power but also the influences shaping the construction of a specific royal identity during this period. The Yorkist regime naturally made use of locations that had traditionally been important for regal display, including royal castles such as Windsor and sites associated with the rituals of monarchy, especially Westminster Abbey. Performing majesty at these places was critical for a usurping king seeking to assert and demonstrate legitimacy, fulfilling the imperative to be seen acting as monarch at locations where such display was expected. This appropriation of royal venues took place in parallel with the elevation of sites associated with the duchy of York. The degree to which Yorkist monarchy was constructed on its ducal heritage is especially apparent in its geography. This was both territorial and strategic, through the retention of power bases such as Ludlow and the continued significance to the regime of Fotheringhay and Baynard's castles. The blend of royal and ducal sites shaping the map of Yorkist power and identity was also moulded by competition with Lancastrian kingship. Again this encompassed both regional jurisdiction, in the control and distribution of territory, and buildings, the foundations which symbolised the legacy of previous rulers.

The centrality of the Yorkist ducal legacy and rivalry with the Lancastrian regime are themes which underpin the thesis as a whole. This chapter explores the ways in which these are highlighted through location, while also examining the implication of place in the creation of a distinct royal identity. The chapter analyses the geographical context of the construction of Yorkist monarchy, encapsulated in the need to rule within the

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[281] Judicial progresses, for instance, were critical in stamping monarchical authority on lawless regions, as Edward IV undertook in 1464, travelling through Coventry, Worcester, Gloucester, Cambridge and Maidstone, in the first five months of the year, D. Starkey, 'Representation Through Intimacy: A Study in the Symbolism of Monarchy and Court Office in Early Modern England' in J. Guy (ed.), *The Tudor Monarchy* (London, 1997), p. 50. These ran alongside civic receptions, where citizens joined in the dialogue of majesty by actively performing the king, queen or prince's royalty before them, as highlighted above, pp. 29-33.

country as well as reign over it. Control of territory and the assertion of royal authority were the driving forces behind the regime's approach. Yorkist monarchy was constructed on the pragmatic need for sovereignty over the country through management of territorial possessions. This notion of control encompasses traditional themes that have interested historians, including networks and patronage, but also involved performance and display at those venues.[282] There was an ideological element within this and the ducal heritage upon which the regime was established informed the development of Yorkist royal identity. This was manifest in the choice of specific sites for the performance of majesty and again was rooted in competition with the Lancastrian kings.

The chapter is divided into three sections, the first of which focuses on locating the Yorkists, briefly establishing the territorial legacy upon which Edward IV founded his rulership. The second section builds on this idea to look at the places that were of particular significance to the Yorkists, both royal and ducal. As with territorial control, this involved a blend of pragmatic management and prominence of display. Every event that centred on a performance of majesty was qualified by the space it occupied, both in terms of how the spectacle functioned and who could witness it. The decision to preach Richard III's title to the throne at St Paul's Cross, to rebury Richard duke of York at Fotheringhay or for Yorkist kings to be crowned at Westminster Abbey, for instance, were all led by the desire to exploit the cultural significance of a place, the political value of its location and potential audience. The use of traditional royal sites served to assert continuity; new foundations demonstrated confidence and signalled a distinct regime identity. In all instances, location mattered to the performance of monarchy. The sites of particular prominence studied here are Baynard's Castle in London, Ludlow and Fotheringhay castles, London sites including Westminster Abbey and St Paul's Cathedral, and Windsor Castle.

The third section of the chapter analyses the fusion of Yorkist locations with royal estates, in particular evaluating the ways in which the new regime managed the Lancastrian legacy. This involved gaining territorial control and reacting to Lancastrian

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[282] Carpenter, *Locality and Polity;* J.A. Doig, 'Political Communities and Public Opinion in Lancastrian England, c.1399-c.1450' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Swansea, 1993); *idem*., 'Propaganda and Truth: Henry V's Royal Progress in 1421', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 40 (1996), pp. 167-79.

foundations. The latter were architectural statements of Lancastrian kingship and thus presented a challenge to Edward IV, who had choices to make in how he dealt with these compared with the visual assertion of his own royal identity. The response to these establishments highlights the importance to the Yorkist regime of royal display in stone as well as physical performance, that is the significance of building works of which the monarch was patron and royal religious foundations. As architectural representations of the regime these establishments were visual and aimed at permanence; they were intended to create a legacy.

2.1   Locating the Yorkists

Edward IV's monarchy was entirely based on the position his father had created by October 1460. Parliamentary-validated right to rule, magnate and civic support, and the landed wealth and status necessary to promote his claim were all established by York and inherited by his son. Just nine weeks separated Edward stepping into the duke's role as Yorkist figurehead in December 1460 and becoming king in March 1461. The establishment of the regime was thus wholly founded on his ducal legacy. Edward had to both consolidate his duchy and build royal authority, taking the reins of government of each, while still in conflict with Lancastrian supporters. Territory was critical in shifting the balance of power between opposing sides, centring on the amalgamation of York and crown estates and more pointedly in the forfeitures of enemy property.

Edward IV came to the throne with a complex inheritance, both politically and territorially. At his death in December 1460 Richard, duke of York was the country's largest landowner with property in over twenty counties of England, plus land in the Welsh marches and in Ireland. This vast array of estates brought together the duchy holdings of his uncle, Edward duke of York, and Mortimer property through his mother, Anne.[283] He held clusters of estates in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, East Anglia and the East Midlands, as well as in the south-west in Dorset and Somerset, in Shropshire, Herefordshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Hampshire and Essex.[284] This was territory for which York had battled, being a minor when he inherited his lands.[285] Even when he gained livery of his estates in May 1432, aged nearly twenty-one, he faced a series of

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[283] Johnson, *Duke Richard*, pp. 3-11; *CPR* 1429-36, pp. 207-208.

[284]   Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 5. Detailed information on York's estates are given in J. Rosenthal, 'The Estates and Finances of Richard, Duke of York (1411-1460)', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History,* 2 (1965), pp. 117-204 and *idem.*, 'Fifteenth-Century Baronial Incomes and Richard, Duke of York', *BIHR,* 37 (1967), pp. 299-302; C. Ross, 'The Estates and Finances of Richard, Duke of York', *Welsh History Review,* 3 (1967), pp. 299-302; T. B. Pugh, 'The Estates, Finances and Regal Aspirations of Richard Plantagenet (1411-1460)', in M. Hicks (ed.), *Revolution and Consumption in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 71-88.

[285] Richard inherited the duchy of York lands from his paternal uncle, who died at Agincourt in 1415, and the March earldom from his maternal uncle, Edmund, in 1425. His father, Richard earl of Cambridge, had been executed on 5 August 1415 for rebellion against Henry V, but his title included just a crown annuity and no land, and therefore his attainder did not materially affect his son, Rosenthal, 'Estates and Finances', pp. 117-19; Pugh, 'Estates, Finances and Regal Aspirations', pp. 71-72; Johnson, *Duke Richard*, p. 3; C. Given-Wilson, 'Henry V: Parliament of November 1415, Text and Translation', *PROME* (accessed 6 July 2013), item 6.

intricate legal issues to unravel enfeoffments and bring them into his hands.[286] The gradual acquisition of his inheritance through the 1430s and 1440s was completely undone in 1459, however, with the attainder of the Yorkists for treason at the Coventry parliament.[287] Although this was reversed in 1460, York was still fighting for his political future when he was killed at the battle of Wakefield.[288] He endowed Edward with a large range of property and a parliament-approved claim to the throne, both of which required an enormous commitment to secure.

Edward inherited directly from his father all duchy lands and titles, no provision having been made by the duke for his younger sons, the second eldest having been killed at Wakefield alongside his father.[289] Even before York's death at Wakefield in December 1460 Edward had been a significant landowner as earl of March, a title he had probably acquired in the early 1450s.[290] As well as lands on the marches of Wales, the earldom encompassed property in East Anglia and Hertfordshire.[291] Edward's seizure of the throne brought March and York lands together with crown estates and those of the duchy of Lancaster, placing a vast range of property at the king's disposal.[292] The Lancaster patrimony, part of royal landholdings since the accession of Henry IV in 1399 but legally separate from crown estates, encompassed territory across the country and especially in Yorkshire, the midlands and the north west of England.[293] The Yorkist regime acquired control of this through the attainder of Henry VI and his son, disinheriting the Lancastrian heirs.[294] Further forfeitures and resumptions augmented

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[286] Johnson, *Duke Richard*, pp. 10-14.

[287] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1459', items 20, 22; Watts, *Henry VI,* pp. 352-54; Griffiths, *Henry VI,* pp. 823-27.

[288] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1460', item 8; Griffiths, *Henry VI,* p. 865; Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 27-28.

[289] York had envisioned bequeathing his second son, Edmund earl of Rutland, lands in France before 1450, Johnson, *Duke Richard*, p. 14.

[290] No record of the creation survives, the first contemporary reference to Edward as earl of March occurs in January 1454, Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 14.

[291] Pugh, 'Estates, Finances and Regal Aspirations', pp. 71-73.

[292] Crown property was vested in Edward at his first parliament, Horrox, 'Parliament of 1461', item 11. On the difficulties with using the terms 'crown lands' and 'royal demesne', see B.P. Wolffe, *The Crown Lands 1461 to 1536. An Aspect of Yorkist and Early Tudor Government* (London, 1970), p. 29.

[293] Watts, *Henry VI,* p. 94 n. 73.

[294] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1461', item 27.

this wide range of estates during Edward's reign.[295] In 1483, Richard III's accession shifted the territorial focus from duchy of York sites and those enhanced by Edward IV to his own place of strength in the north, making the Ricardian regime geographically distinct from that established by Edward IV.

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[295] Royal possessions were further enhanced by wardships, such as that of Henry Stafford, heir of the duke of Buckingham, B.P. Wolffe, 'The Management of English Royal Estates under the Yorkist Kings', *English Historical Review,* 71 (1956), p. 5.

2.2   Yorkist Royal Sites

The beginning of the Yorkist regime was mired in the monumental task of diminishing the authority of Lancastrian kingship while not weakening the status of monarchy, and establishing a distinct, legitimate, royal identity. In this endeavour, sites associated with the duchy of York were important alongside places traditionally associated with monarchy. Adopting royal sites was a key way in which the Yorkists made the move from magnate to monarch because it was both a demonstration of control and an assertion of continuity. The ability to display majesty at sites such as Westminster Abbey signalled the regime's hold on the reins of power while also fulfilling expectations of where royal business should be seen to be carried out. This section focuses on the ways in which this balance of pragmatism and progress evolved at places of particular prominence to the Yorkists. The locations examined in this analysis are the ducal sites whose importance was elevated during the period, Baynard's Castle, Ludlow Castle and Fotheringhay Castle, and the sites of royal significance including Westminster Abbey, the Tower of London and St Paul's Cathedral in London and Windsor Castle.

Enhancing Ducal Sites

The key sites of Yorkist ducal power were critical in enabling Edward IV to take the throne in 1461: Ludlow and Fotheringhay at the centre of regions of support and Baynard's Castle in the heart of the city of London from where the bid for the throne was launched.[296] The significance of these locations was maintained throughout the period but evolved as the political landscape changed. These were sites which represented security for both Yorkist kings at the outset of their reigns, with the addition of Richard's strongholds in the north, and as such were a foundation from which they ruled. For Edward IV the use of these locations developed as the regime became more secure, less focused on protection and more on display: his son's household at Ludlow was a presence in the marches and his father's mausoleum at Fotheringhay likewise in

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[296] The scattered nature of York's estates had required the use of regional centres of administration, rather than one duchy headquarters, managed through receiverships. These were established at Ludlow near the Welsh marches and Fotheringhay at the centre of property in Yorkshire, East Anglia and the midlands, Johnson, *Duke Richard,* p. 15. Duchy of Lancaster estates were similarly divided into two parts, north and south, each with an auditor, H. Castor, *The King, the Crown and the Duchy of Lancaster. Public Authority and Private Power, 1399-1461* (Oxford, 2000), p. 28.

the east of England. The performance of power at these Yorkist sites remained important both in retaining support and maintaining position as overlord in the region as well as king. However, their significance to the development of Yorkist royal identity was indicated as much by the shift away from sites of ducal importance as it was in their elevation in status. Baynard's, Fotheringhay and Ludlow castles had an enhanced prestige during the period through their connection to the king, as the home of his mother, the mausoleum of his ancestors and the focal point of the principality of his son.

Baynard's Castle, London

Baynard's Castle had been originally built by William the Conqueror and was a prominent landmark in the city of London from the twelfth century, subsequently undergoing several rebuilding phases.[297] The fifteenth-century castle was on a slightly different site to the original and had been completely restored by Humphrey, duke of Gloucester following a fire in 1428.[298] A large, fortified building located in the heart of the city, Baynard's held a prominent position on the bank of the Thames, a few streets away from St Paul's Cathedral.[299] The castle was the London home of the duke of York in the 1450s and had passed to him through his Mortimer ancestors.[300] Richard inherited the castle from Edmund Mortimer in 1425 while still a minor, his property then in the hands of the crown, and Gloucester took possession as the holder of York's wardship.[301] York regained Baynard's Castle after duke Humphrey's death in 1447 and held it during the 1450s.[302] The castle was given to Edmund Tudor, Henry VI's half brother, after York's attainder in 1459, but was soon back in Yorkist hands with the accession of Edward IV in March 1461.[303]

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[297] P. Marsden, 'Baynards Castle', *London Archaeologist,* 1 (1972), p. 315; A. Wheatley, *The Idea of the Castle in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 57-58; C.M. Barron, 'Centres of Conspicuous Consumption: The Aristocratic Town House in London 1200-1550', *London Journal,* 20 (1995), pp. 3-4.

[298] The second Baynard's Castle had been built in 1275 on a new site east of the original, Marsden, 'Baynards Castle', pp. 315-16. *Gregory*, p. 163, noted the fire at Baynard's on 30 October 1428.

[299] The building stretched from the west of St Paul's wharf to what is now Queen Victoria Street along the Thames, and northwards to Thames Street, J. Scofield and C. Maloney (eds.), *Archaeology in the City of London 1907-1991*: *A Guide to Records of Excavations by the Museum of London and its Predecessors* (London, 1998), p. 84.

[300] C. White, 'The Second Baynard's Castle', *Notes and Queries,* (1938), p. 164. York, for instance, stayed at Baynard's on returning to London in January 1459, Johnson, *Duke Richard,* p. 181.

[301] White, 'Baynard's Castle', pp. 164-65.

[302] Johnson, *Duke Richard,* p. 66 and n.114.

[303] *ibid.,* p. 121; *CPR* 1452-61, p. 79.

At the beginning of the reign of Edward IV Baynard's Castle was distinctly associated with Richard, duke of York, not only through his ownership of the property as a London power base, residing there for instance during his protectorate in 1454-55, but also as a base of Yorkist political plotting.[304] Baynard's was a secure foothold in the capital and possession had become a statement of political power as the duke's fortunes had waxed and waned in the mid-fifteenth century. As a site of display the castle was entirely about power, from its physical state to its use by both Edward IV and Richard III as the place at which they accepted the throne. Baynard's was clearly associated with Yorkist power and was also literally safe ground, fortified and able to accommodate at least 400 armed men.[305] That it was a Mortimer property, the lineage through which the Yorkists claimed the throne, may have added further weight to the use of the castle in this context: the staging of both Edward and Richard's accession saw a council enter Baynard's to formally ask each of these men to take the crown.[306]

The location of Baynard's Castle in the centre of the city was critical to its use as the epicentre of the Yorkists' bid for power. The offer of the crown to Edward took place in London on Sunday 1 March 1461, following the citing by George Neville, bishop of Exeter, of articles against Henry VI to a large crowd at St John's field. Edward's claim was promoted publicly to reported acclaim before the leaders of this rally came to Edward at Baynard's to inform him that he had been chosen by the people to be king.[307] Two days later, a council met at the castle to finalise Edward's accession and his reign began following public ceremony on 4 March.[308] Five days later, on 9 March, Yorkist leaders were still using Baynard's as their political headquarters. Neville was officially installed as chancellor of England there, repeating his oath of office in the tower

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[304] White, 'Baynard's Castle' p. 165; Johnson, *Duke Richard,* notes the accusation that rebellion against the crown was planned at Baynard's on 6 March 1452, p. 115. York was effectively kept prisoner at Baynard's in 1452 before making an oath of allegiance to the king at St Paul's Cathedral, Griffiths, *Henry VI,* p. 697.

[305] Kingsford, *Chronicles of London,* p. 168; F.W.D. de Brie (ed.), *The Brut, or The Chronicles of England,* Early English Text Society, original series, 131, 136 (2 vols, 1906-8), vol 2 p. 525.

[306] On the Mortimer lineage, see below, pp. 300-302.

[307] Flenley, *Six Town Chronicles*, p. 161; *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 p. 777.

[308] *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 p. 777; Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 34. See above, pp. 14-15.

witnessed by a close group of key Yorkists including Thomas Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury, John Wenlock and William Herbert.[309]

A snapshot of the castle functioning as a Yorkist headquarters for the embryonic regime is given in the letters written from London in April 1461, highlighting its position as a centre of news and people-gathering. Nicholas O'Flanagan, bishop of Elphin, was one of the first to report the outcome of the battle of Towton to the continent, having waited at Baynard's for news:

> 'at the hour of vespers, on the second feast of Easter week, I was present in the house of the Duchess of York. Immediately after vespers the Lord Treasurer came to her with an authentic letter stating that the late king with his kindred and those mentioned above had all been taken and brought to King Edward'.[310]

The urgency for news was further demonstrated in the letters sent concurrently with O'Flanagan's by leading Yorkist clergy, chancellor George Neville and Richard Beauchamp, bishop of Salisbury. All wrote similar accounts to the same papal legate, Coppini, and were clearly sharing information amongst themselves; the home of the king's mother was a centre for gaining the most accurate, up-to-date news.[311] This was not restricted to councillors but involved wider supporters. William Paston, for instance, also read the letter the duchess received from Edward IV and he reported this information to his correspondent.[312] The castle, then, was Yorkist both physically, through the use of the site, and symbolically, through its association with Richard, duke of York.

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[309] Rymer, *Foedera,* vol 11 p. 473; Scofield, *Edward,* vol 1 p. 158. George Neville was ordained chancellor of England on 4 March 1461 and on 9 March formally installed in office.

[310] Letter of 7 April 1461, to papal legate Francesco Coppini *CSPM,* p. 66. The treasurer was Henry Bourchier, soon to be made earl of Essex, who was married to Isabel, sister of Richard duke of York, L. Clark, 'Bourchier, Henry, first earl of Essex (*c.*1408–1483), *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/2987' (accessed 10 November 2011).

[311] O'Flanagan wrote on 10 April to Coppini stating he was aware of Neville and Beauchamp's letters, *CSPM,* p. 67.

[312] Davis, *Paston Letters,* part 1 pp. 165-66.

The association between Baynard's and the duchy of York was sustained by the gift of the castle to duchess Cecily within a month of Edward's accession, on 1 June 1461.[313] The duchess appears to have been living at the castle in the period leading up to Edward's accession; it was from London that Cecily sent Edward's younger brothers, George and Richard, to Utrecht for safety following the Lancastrian victory at St Albans on 17 February 1461, just before Edward's return to the city.[314] The castle was Cecily's home during the reigns of both Edward IV and Richard III and remained a stronghold of the duchy of York throughout the period and beyond.[315] Following Edward's death the executors of his will met at the castle for the sequestration of his goods on 23 May 1483, indicating its continued significance as a nerve centre of Yorkist affairs from the beginning to the end of his reign.[316]

The castle was also an important site during Edward IV's recovery of the throne in 1471, the support of Londoners again vital to the Yorkist cause, citizens being called upon to defend their city.[317] On returning to London from exile Edward secured the capital, took custody of the former king, and then travelled to Westminster to release his queen and children from sanctuary in the abbey. This was no small statement of confidence: the situation was volatile with Warwick's forces encroaching on London and there was still danger in the city. Edward took the royal family, those he had most responsibility to protect, including a new son and heir, initially to Baynard's Castle before heading to the Tower of London.[318] Removing his family from the safety of sanctuary was a declaration of control in London by a renewed monarch; it also highlights the fact that the castle was one of his key areas of security in the city.

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[313] *CPR* 1461-1467, p. 131.

[314] *Hearne*, p. 6; Kingsford, *Chronicles of London,* p. 174. On his return to London in February 1461 Edward was at Baynard's Castle, *Annales*, vol 2 part 2 p. 777.

[315] Cecily was still in possession of Baynard's at her death, her will included a bequest to John Brown of 'all such stuf as belongith to the kechyn in his keping at my place at Baynardscastell in London', A.J. Spedding, 'At the King's Pleasure: The Testament of Cecily Neville', *Midland History,* 35 (2010), p. 270.

[316] J. Nichols (ed.), *A Collection of all the Wills Now Known to be Extant of the Kings and Queens of England* (London, 1780), p. 345.

[317] A number of citizens were knighted for their defence of the city against the attack of Fauconberg, Richmond, 'Fauconberg's Kentish Rising', pp. 677-81; *Great Chronicle*, pp. 218-20; *Arrivall,* pp. 181-84.

[318] *ibid.,* p. 163.

Not only was Baynard's a safe haven for the family, it was repeatedly the site from which power was negotiated. The Yorkist account of Edward's return to the throne reported that he took advice there from family and councillors in planning their strategy for recovering the throne.[319] That this happened at Baynard's, rather than a royal palace, is demonstrative of the narrowing of Edward's power base at this moment of political crisis, just as it had highlighted the small group who had engineered his accession in 1461. The castle offered physical protection and political cloistering, space in which those few at the very heart of the Yorkist regime could negotiate its survival as a relatively private council. Baynard's Castle was an important London landmark, but was not a public site like St Paul's Cathedral or Westminster Palace. Rather it was ducal property and the fortification there meant that access could be controlled.

This sense of the castle offering a greater degree of privacy than a royal palace is further echoed in the need for the monarch to take display outside its walls. In asserting family unity in 1469 during the build up to Clarence's rebellion, the brothers met at Baynard's Castle but publicly demonstrated solidarity by making offerings together at St Paul's.[320] The event occurred as a reaction to reports and bills which had appeared across the city propagating rumour about Clarence and Warwick's disaffection, an attempt to visually stymie such gossip by appearing in unison at worship. This was specifically a public appearance rather than a spiritual need, as the brothers could have attended services within the chapel at the castle.[321] The public show of dynastic unity was a deliberate policy pursued by Edward, particularly in dealing with his brothers, and occurred again in 1472 for example to mute the intensifying quarrel between Clarence and Gloucester.[322] There is a further significance of the use of space here in understanding Baynard's as a family home: it was neutral ground at which Clarence and Edward could meet, rather than a royal palace, the domain of their mother who perhaps had the interests of both sons at heart, and something of a Yorkist headquarters beyond the

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[319] *ibid.*

[320] Kingsford, *Chronicles of London,* p. 180.

[321] The royal family heard divine service at Baynard's on the king's return to London in April 1471, including on Good Friday, for instance, *Arrivall*, p. 163.

[322] Sir John Paston reported the sight of Clarence, Gloucester, the king and queen going to pardon together at Sheen on 16 February 1472, but noted the undercurrent of discord, Davis, *Paston Letters,* part 1 p. 447.

interests of the monarch alone.[323] In this notion it connects also to Richard III's choice of Baynard's for his usurpation; not just an echo of his brother 's actions but Yorkist hallowed ground, Richard presenting himself as the rightful heir of York.

The focus on the York residence in taking and regaining the crown grounded Edward's monarchy in the city, as a citizen as well as royal, and set the pattern for successful Yorkist usurpation. Holding power within the city was equally crucial to Richard III during his bid for the throne, with Baynard's Castle offering a visual reiteration of his brother's route to power as well as a secure site. Accepting the throne in 1483, Richard III was addressed by a council at Baynard's, just as his brother had been: on 26 June an assembly of lords and commons, including London's civic leaders and led by the duke of Buckingham, presented a petition asking him to take the throne, which he accepted.[324] Possibly Richard was staying at the house during this period; Mancini noted that the choice of this residence as the site of taking power and receiving of oaths of allegiance was deliberate, an avoidance of using the Tower of London where Edward V was held.[325] Richard's queen, Anne Neville, and nephew Edward, earl of Warwick, may also have been staying there.[326]

For both monarchs the choice of Baynard's, a ducal stronghold and not a royal palace, was significant in associating these kings with their own lineage and asserting legitimacy, rather than through occupation of a royal site such as the Tower or the palace at Westminster.[327] This also indicates the fraught geography of control in the city during both of these usurpations. Edward began his reign acting as a king but operating with a small group of key councillors managing affairs from a fortified townhouse, not a seat of royal power. Although the Yorkists had control of the city in 1461, the enemy

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[323]   Clarence came to the king and his mother at Baynard's on shrove Sunday 1470, for example, *Great Chronicle,* p. 210.

[324] Horrox and Hammond, *Harl 433,* vol 3 p. 29; Ross, *Richard III,* p. 93.

[325] *Mancini*, p. 97.

[326]   *Arrivall*, p. 163. A letter from Simon Stallworthe to William Stonor of 9 June 1483 stated that Anne arrived in London on 5 June, and Mancini places the young earl in her household, C. Carpenter (ed.), *Kingsford's Stonor Letters and Papers 1290-1483* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 160; *Mancini*, p. 89.

[327]   Henry IV, in contrast, located his taking power in 1399 around Westminster, in his case the focus being on political control: he took charge while Richard II was still king, and became king through the latter's resignation, not through having to stake a superior claim. D. Biggs, *Three Armies in Britain. The Irish Campaign of Richard II and the Usurpation of Henry IV, 1397-1399* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 255-59.

threat was close at hand and security, as well as the pragmatism of using a location known as a centre of Yorkism, was paramount. For Richard, his dominance in the city was more comprehensive but the weight of opposition was uncertain. Baynard's Castle functioned as something akin to 'private' Yorkist space, used for taking power, plotting, planning and ensuring safety. As such, it was a pivotal location for the Yorkists at points of crisis, acting as secure ground. However, Baynard's was also discrete space, not public, a base for the delivery of royal authority but not for its display. In this, the proximity to St Paul's was significant, the cathedral functioning as a public arena which Baynard's could not.

Ludlow Castle, Welsh Marches

The strategic importance of Baynard's Castle, in London and at the centre of political change, was critical to its importance for the regime. The location of Ludlow Castle in the Welsh marches similarly made it a key Yorkist site, from the 1450s as a power base of Richard, duke of York and in the 1470s as the castle became the home of the prince of Wales, enhancing royal authority in the region through the presence of the heir. Ludlow was one of the duchy of York's principal towns, a headquarters in the Welsh marches which again had been a Mortimer property.[328] During the escalation of conflict between York and Henry VI Ludlow had proved a critical location for the rebels, a stronghold which provided security in the face of encroaching royalist attack. Warwick was confronted by conflict with the king's army at Blore Heath on 23 September 1459 en route to Ludlow to join forces with York, and it was from the castle that the duke and earls of Warwick and Salisbury wrote to Henry VI professing loyalty just over two weeks later.[329] In this climate of violent conflict, troops mustered at Ludlow and Yorkist and royal forces faced each other on 12 October 1459 at Ludford Bridge.[330] From this standoff the duke of York fled to Ireland with his second son, Edmund, while Warwick, Salisbury and Edward fled to Calais. In the aftermath the Yorkist lords were attainted and Ludlow itself attacked by the Lancastrians for its partisanship, the town said to have

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[328] The castle was established late eleventh century and came into Mortimer hands during the fourteenth century under Roger Mortimer, earl of March, who enlarged the living space there, T. Wright, *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of Ludlow Castle and of the Church of St Lawrence, Ludlow* (Ludlow, 1869), pp. 27, 43, 48; R.A.Brown, H. Colvin and A.J. Taylor (eds.), *The History of the King's Works* (2 vols, London, 1963), vol 2 p. 732.

[329] Letter of 10 October 1459, Davies, *English Chronicle*, pp. 80-83.

[330] Johnson, *Duke Richard,* pp. 187-89.

been robbed to the bare walls while the duchess of York was captured and cruelly treated.[331]

Ludlow was thus both a defensive site and a political base, the place from which York was said to have been asked to assume the throne by local gentry.[332] This was reported in a later chronicle and may have been an elaboration, a reiteration of York's claim to the throne in the 1470s rather than having genuinely occurred in the summer of 1460. However it does serve as an example of the continuing importance of Ludlow to the Yorkist regime. The castle was viewed as a Yorkist headquarters and the site at which the duke's council met to plan regime change. Certainly it was from Ludlow that York headed to London to claim the throne in October 1460.[333] Throughout the 1450s Ludlow had consistently functioned as a Yorkist stronghold and was a focus of support not only for the duke as regional lord but as a claimant to the throne, providing men to fight for him in the conflicts of 1459-60. The significance of the town is highlighted in the punishment meted out by the Lancastrians after York fled abroad, retribution against an enemy location. The violence which overshadowed the town during these years changed character with the accession of Edward IV, the point at which the castle transitioned from ducal residence to site of royal authority.

Ludlow's position in the Welsh marches made it an important site for asserting Yorkist dominance in the region. Lancastrian support remained strong in Wales and neutralising this threat was a major concern in the early years of the regime. In 1461 Edward planned to lead a campaign into Wales, ultimately deputised to William Herbert, and he resided at Ludlow during that autumn following royal progress through the south and south-west.[334] The performance of monarchy at Ludlow, a site long grounded in support for the duke of York, differed greatly from the civic receptions recorded at other towns and cities.[335] There is no evidence of celebratory welcome ceremonies or laudatory pageantry; the Yorkist king was at home in the town and castle, not a visitor. Edward

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[331] Davies, *English Chronicle*, p. 83; Horrox, 'Parliament of 1459', item 19.

[332] *Waurin*, vol 5 pp. 310-12.

[333] Johnson, *Duke Richard,* p. 212.

[334] Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 48-49.

[335] See above, pp. 29-33.

IV had been brought up at Ludlow castle and letters written from there by him as a young teenager survive.[336] These letters, of 3 June 1454 and Easter week probably in the same year, were signed by Edward and his brother, Edmund, aged 13 and 11 respectively. They indicate the continual stream of information within the family, through letters and messengers, demonstrating the way in which even locations as ostensibly remote from the centre of political power as Ludlow were constantly connected. The correspondence was written during York's protectorate and the political jeopardy of the situation is clear in the substance of the letters of the young Edward. Both include references to enemies against whom York was operating, men of his household having related information on the political climate to his heirs. Despite their youth, these boys were part of an adult world, sharing their father's successes and enemies. Although conspicuous royal display was not reported at Ludlow, the castle's importance to Edward is clear from the money spent on repairs there during the 1460s.[337]

This model for the upbringing of Yorkist heirs was repeated by Edward IV with his own son, creating a focus for royal authority at Ludlow. Prince Edward's household was established at the castle in 1473 and household ordinances drawn up on 27 September that year.[338] The intention may not initially have been for the prince to remain at Ludlow for all of his upbringing, but the value of this assertion of royal authority in the Welsh marches meant that he did remain there. In the decade after the household moved to Ludlow the king's possessions in Wales were gradually handed over to the prince's council as the permanence of its residency was established.[339] Although there was no traditional site for raising a royal heir and so this did not represent a deliberate shift from previous reigns, it was a conscious reference to Yorkist heritage, landed power and

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[336]   BL, Cotton MS Vespasian F xiii, f. 35, printed in *Excerpta Historica,* pp. 8-9; BL, Cotton MS Vespasian F iii, f. 9, printed in J.O. Halliwell, *Letters of the Kings of England* (2 vols, London, 1846), vol 1 pp. 121-22. York, who was made protector on 27 March 1454, is referred to by that title in the letters, Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 17.

[337] Brown and others, *King's Works*, vol 2 p. 732.

[338]   Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 196-98; *Collection of Ordinances,* pp. 27-33; D.E. Lowe, 'Patronage and Politics: Edward IV, the Wydevills, and the Council of the Prince of Wales, 1474-83', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies,* 29 (1981), pp. 545-73.

[339] M. Hicks, *The Prince in the Tower* (Stroud, 2003), pp. 96-97.

security.[340] Richard III followed his brother's example, choosing to locate his heir at the centre of his power base in the north. The establishment of the council in the north at Sandal castle took place in summer 1484, a few months after the death of Richard's son Edward of Middleham, who was probably intended as its head. Instead, Richard's nephew and new heir, John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, became president of the council.[341] Retaining a royal presence in areas of traditional strength was characteristic of the Yorkist regime and this use of heirs as head of regional councils was echoed in commemoration. The burials of the duke of York at Fotheringhay and Edward of Middleham, probably intended to be at York, maintained a dynastic focus in these centres of Yorkist influence.[342]

Fotheringhay Castle and College, Northamptonshire

As much as Ludlow was the location focused on the future of the dynasty, centred on the upbringing of Edward IV's heir, Fotheringhay in Northamptonshire was about commemorating the past. This was manifest both in Edward's re-establishment of his ancestor's plans for a college there and its use as a mausoleum for his father. Fotheringhay had been the administrative centre of Yorkist lands in the east, situated in a small town eighty-five miles north of London and the site from which duchy of York lands in Yorkshire, the midlands, East Anglia and the south-east were controlled.[343] The twelfth-century castle joined the duchy of York under Edmund of Langley, who was gifted the site by his father Edward III in May 1377 and created first duke of York in 1385.[344] Richard, duke of York inherited the castle with other duchy property, including his title, from his uncle Edward in 1415 and in managing this widespread territory he

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[340]   Edward IV was not brought up to be king, like his predecessor Henry V, who was probably brought up at Bytham, Lincolnshire and possibly also Tutbury and Kenilworth, Allmand, *Henry V*, p. 10. Henry VI was king from his infancy, as Richard II was from an early age, the latter had probably grown up at Kennington, N. Saul, *Richard II* (London, 1997), p. 13. Edward, the Black Prince, son of Edward III, also spent some of his youth at Kennington and in his mother's household, his own establishment managed by one of her ladies, D. Green, *Edward the Black Prince* (Edinburgh, 2007), p. 10; W.M. Ormrod, Edward III (London, 2011), p. 130.

[341]   Horrox and Hammond, *Harl 433*, vol 3 pp. 107-108; Ross, *Richard III,* pp. 182-84.

[342]   On the burial of Edward of Middleham, see below, pp. 80-81.

[343]   Johnson, *Duke Richard*, p. 15.

[344]   Edmund was created duke of York on 6 August 1385, C. Given-Wilson, 'Richard II: Parliament of October 1385, Text and Translation', *PROME* (accessed 9 July 2013), item 14. The grant of Fotheringhay to Edmund occurred on 25 May 1377, *CPR* 1374-77, pp. 474-75.

spent a good deal of time at Fotheringhay.[345] By the mid-fifteenth century Fotheringhay was particularly associated with Richard; his frequent use of the castle maintained a ducal presence and four of his children were born there.[346]

Fotheringhay was developed as a family mausoleum with the burial of Duke Edward there in December 1415 and Richard resurrected his uncle's plans for establishing a college alongside the castle. The college had been founded by Edward in 1411 and provided for a master, twelve chaplains, eight clerks and thirteen choristers, but had not been completed following the duke's death.[347] Richard duke of York continued this work, agreeing to pay £100 a year towards the building of the college in July 1433.[348] He may have anticipated the college as his own mausoleum; the epitaph written at his reburial stressed that he had wanted to be buried there.[349] The fraught political situation in the 1450s saw Fotheringhay taken from York, with all of his property, following his attainder at the Coventry parliament in late November-early December 1459. The duke of Exeter was the new owner of the castle, though loyalty may have remained with York even after this upheaval.[350] Certainly the duke's servants were remembered and given a prominent role at his reburial in July 1476, where twelve gentlemen carried his coffin from the entrance of the cemetery at Fotheringhay as part of the ceremony.[351] With the repeal of all acts made at the Coventry parliament in October 1460 and subsequent accession of Edward IV the castle came back into Yorkist hands, and soon after taking the throne the new king continued his father's work to complete the college there.[352] An extensive programme of improvements was undertaken throughout Edward's reign, centred on the living accommodation at the castle and therefore indicating the desire for

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[345] Johnson, *Duke Richard*, p. 15.

[346] Anne on 10 August 1439, Margaret on 3 May 1446, William, who died young, on 7 July 1447 and Richard, on 2 October 1452, *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 pp. 762, 764-65, 771. The youngest son, Richard, and his brother George were probably brought up at Fotheringhay by their mother, Ross, *Richard III*, pp. 3-4.

[347] *CPR* 1408-13, p. 358.

[348] *CCR* 1429-35, p. 260.

[349] BL, Stowe MS 1047, f. 217; *Reburial,* p. 10.

[350] Johnson, *Duke Richard*, pp. 192-93.

[351] BL, Harley MS 4632, ff. 124v-125.

[352] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1460', item 8. Edward IV's charter for re-founding the college was issued on 15 February 1462, *CChR*, p. 167.

comfort and expectation of royal use.[353] This work paralleled that on the college and creation of a site of familial remembrance, which certainly drew wider attention. Sir John Paston, for instance, noted the potential for profit in the king's commemoration of his father at Fotheringhay.[354] The castle was held by the king's mother, Cecily Neville, during the first half of Edward's reign and his chamberlain William, Lord Hastings was made steward and master of the game there in April 1469.[355] That the castle remained a favourite with the duchess is suggested not only by her desire to be buried there but in the attention it received in her will, the college amongst the largest of her bequests.[356]

Fotheringhay was important to the Yorkists as an administrative centre and as a site of family commemoration, though under Edward IV this was specifically ducal, not royal. The king's ancestor Edward duke of York, his father Richard and brother Edmund, earl of Rutland, were all interred there and his mother Cecily Neville also chose to be buried there with her husband in 1495.[357] King Edward, however, established a royal mausoleum at St George's Chapel, Windsor, for his own burial and that of his family.[358] His sister Anne, duchess of Exeter, had been buried at Windsor in January 1476, and Edward's children George and Mary would follow in 1479 and 1482.[359] Fotheringhay was thus a site of significance to the duchy of York and a focus for property in the east of England rather than a centre of political power, a satellite of ducal rather than royal administration. The royal family did visit Fotheringhay and royal business was carried out there, though, and its position close to the road north from London and at the edge of East Anglia gave it a strategic significance.[360] Edward had based the royal army

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[353] Work included new rooms, toilets and a kitchen, Brown and others, *King's Works,* vol 2 pp. 649-50.

[354] Davis, *Paston Letters,* part 1 p. 510, letter of May 1478.

[355] Grant to Cecily of 1 June 1461, *CPR* 1461-67, p. 131; Hastings' appointment was for life, made on 14 April 1469, *CPR* 1467-77, p. 154.

[356] Along with Stoke by Clare, Fotheringhay received large bequests in Cecily's will of 1 April 1495, J.G. Nichols and J. Bruce (eds.), *Wills from Doctors' Commons. A Selection from the Wills of Eminent Persons Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1495-1695* Camden Society, old series, 83 (1863), p. 2.

[357] *ibid*, p. 1.

[358] See below, pp. 90-91.

[359] N. Saul, 'The Growth of a Mausoleum: The Pre-1600 Tombs and Brasses of St George's Chapel, Windsor', *The Antiquaries Journal,* 87 (2007), pp. 242-43; *Royal Funerals*, pp. 49; 58-60.

[360] Edward's treaty with Alexander of Albany, supporting him against his brother James III of Scotland in his claim for the throne, was drawn up at Fotheringhay on 11 June 1482, for example, Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 287.

nearby at both Stamford and Grantham during his northern campaign to deal with the rebellion in Lincolnshire in 1470, for instance.[361]

Within the context of royal display, however, the importance of Fotheringhay centred on one event which was the most spectacular Yorkist celebration, the reburial of Richard, duke of York. The event took place at Fotheringhay in July 1476 and was a pinnacle of Yorkist display, lavish in grandeur and expense. The event was a celebratory outing for the majority of the nobility and a demonstration of family unity and monarchical authority centred around a royal reburial of York as a would-be king. The ceremony was the only event which brought the royal family, the majority of nobility and the clerical elite to Fotheringhay, transforming the town from one-street into a major centre filled with thousands of visitors.[362] Fotheringhay was chosen to host this event because it was a family mausoleum, said to be York's desired place of burial, and it was also suitable for the interment of a duke who never became king, contrasting with plans for the Yorkist royal tombs at Windsor. The use of a ducal site further enhanced the sense in which the monarch was operating on his own terms, within his familial space, in this performance of monarchy. Fotheringhay was a family home; Gloucester for example had been born at Fotheringhay and Edward remained there for some weeks after the reburial. [363] As a mausoleum it represented the past, not the future of the dynasty. Thus York, who died as the head of an anti-royalist faction and had never got further than placing a proprietary hand on the English throne, was buried with grandeur that suited his son, replete with references to his inheritable right to the crown, his nobility and lineage, but far away from Edward's centres of power, London and Windsor.[364] Not only was the reburial of York a statement of Edward's legitimate right to the throne, it was an assertion of his own monarchy as a new dynasty: the duke figured as the foundations, but the focus was on the future.

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[361] *ibid.,* pp. 140-41; A. Rogers, 'Stamford and the Wars of the Roses', *Nottingham Medieval Studies,* 53 (2009), pp. 95-96.

[362] One herald estimated an audience of 20,000 at Fotheringhay on the day of the reburial; the feast was equipped to feed at least 2,000, BL, Harley MS 48, f. 81; *Reburial,* p. 37. Leland, travelling through Fotheringhay in c.1538, described it as a town of one street, Toulmin Smith, *Leland's Itinerary*, p. 4.

[363] Ross, *Richard III,* p. 3; Scofield, *Edward,* vol 2 p. 170; *Whethamstede*, vol 2 p. 159, noted that Edward was still at Fotheringhay in early August following the reburial ceremony.

[364] *ibid.,* vol 1 p. 377.

The development of Fotheringhay as a dynastic mausoleum for Edward IV's ducal ancestors was both a pious act of commemoration and a strategic choice. Just as his son's council at Ludlow functioned as a demonstration of royal authority in the Welsh marches, so the college and tombs at Fotheringhay represented the king in the east of England. These were grand statements of Yorkist sovereignty, an imprint of the monarch in a region which was echoed elsewhere, for example in the stained glass at Canterbury Cathedral and Little Malvern priory.[365] The idea that a mausoleum functioned as an expression of monarchy heightened the importance of location in the choice of burials. Thus York's tomb at Fotheringhay was ideal as commemoration of the duke, his chosen site at a college established to the glory of his ducal heritage but separate from Yorkist royal burials. The reinterment of York occurred long after Edward's scheme at Windsor had started and members of the royal family had begun to be buried at St George's Chapel. Clarence, the disgraced brother of the king who was executed in 1478, was not afforded a royal interment at Windsor but was buried at Tewkesbury Abbey, in the mausoleum of his duchess and her Despenser ancestors.[366] Like Edward IV's burial of Henry VI at Chertsey Abbey in 1471, this controversial figure was entombed in an honourable but relatively remote location, an attempt to quash any political legacy from his rivalry with the Yorkist king.

Richard III had followed his brother in developing a council headed by his heir, though at his own stronghold in the north of England, and his planned college at York Minster was a further part of this demonstration of northern authority. Just as Edward had promoted his ducal heritage at Fotheringhay, the foundation at the Minster built upon Richard's own connections with the region as duke of Gloucester.[367] The college was begun in summer 1484 and was immense, providing for a hundred priests.[368] The decision to establish this college is likely to have occurred during Richard's visit to York

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[365] See below, n. 1264.

[366] The only source to reference the burial is a letter from a royal councillor, Dr Thomas Langton, to the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, printed in Sheppard, *Christ Church Letters*, pp. 36-37; Hicks, *Clarence,* pp. 128, 142.

[367] On Richard's role and affinity in the north, see for example, Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 316-41; M. Hicks, 'Richard, Duke of Gloucester and the North', in R. Horrox (ed.), *Richard III and the North* (Hull, 1986), pp. 11-26; Horrox, *Richard III*, pp. 39-72.

[368] Horrox and Hammond, *Harl 433,* vol 1 pp. 201, 242; J. Raine (ed.), *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, Surtees Society, 35 (1858), p. 87. Fotheringhay, in contrast, supported a master and twelve chaplains, as noted above, n. 347.

in May 1484, a month after the death of his son and heir.[369] Edward of Middleham died around 9 April at Middleham and while in the north the king also visited the town on 6-8 May, perhaps attending services for his son who was buried there.[370] Most probably the chantry at York Minster was established as part of plans for a more prominent and grand mausoleum for Edward at the cathedral, rather than for Richard himself; his son thus maintaining a royal presence in north even after his death.[371] The size of the college at the very least demonstrates that the Yorkist emphasis on display was again evident in this act of conspicuous piety.

Appropriating Royal Sites

The pragmatic concern to assert royal authority across the country determined the location not just of governance and defence but also of impressive display and commemoration. In the use of specific sites that had been focal points for the duchy of York, Edward IV maintained connections with his personal inheritance and areas of support, while advancing their status. There was an element of choice in this: Ludlow, for example, was strategically important but the decision to house the heir to the throne there was remarkable. Property belonging to the crown or associated with the rituals of monarchy was different; the necessity to perform as king in these spaces was critical in insisting upon legitimacy. Nowhere was this more evident than at Westminster. Both Edward and Richard III dated their reigns from the point at which they sat on the king's bench at Westminster and were proclaimed king before the audience there, rather than the day that they accepted the offer of the throne.[372] Similarly their coronations took place at Westminster Abbey; as usurping kings it was especially vital that crowning and anointing should happen at the traditional site of the ceremony. The very power of the ritual rested in its repetition of the service held specifically at this location.[373] A king or

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[369] Edward was in York 1-3 and 25-27 May 1484, Edwards, *Itinerary*, pp. 18-19.

[370] *ibid.; Crowland*, p. 171; W. Courthope (ed.), *The Rous Roll* (London, 1859), note to plate 64 from the Latin Rous Roll, College of Arms, MS Warwick Roll.

[371] For discussion of Richard III's chantry at York, see R.B. Dobson, 'Richard III and the Church of York' in R.A. Griffiths and J. Sherborne (eds.), *Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages* (Gloucester, 1986), especially pp. 145-47. Civic leaders had repeatedly made gifts to Edward and the boy had been invested as prince of Wales in the city in 1483, *York House Books,* vol 1 pp. 286-87, 299; Johnston and Rogerson, *REED York,* vol 1 pp. 132-33.

[372] See above, pp. 14-15.

[373] All kings dating back to the conquest had been crowned at Westminster, Saul, 'Richard II and Westminster Abbey', p. 196.

queen's coronation was the ultimate symbolic statement of position: the sacred anointing and the crowning ceremony were held according to long-held tradition which served as spiritual affirmation of the right to rule and publicly taking on the mantle of monarchy.[374] While the practical business of taking power had happened for both Edward IV and Richard III at Baynard's Castle, this was legitimised by the Westminster ceremony not just because it involved crowning and anointing, but because the abbey location itself imbued authenticity.

Westminster consistently functioned as the centre of political power during the Yorkist period, not least in being the site at which all parliaments were held. Although parliaments were planned at other cities, no sessions were held there.[375] The sense of Westminster as the most appropriate place for parliamentary business may have been heightened as a reaction to the Coventry parliament of 1459, which condemned the Yorkist leaders. This was treated by the Yorkists who dominated the October 1460 parliament as a renegade affair, and was annulled in its entirety.[376] Holding parliament at Westminster was not only potentially validating, but also enabled government to merge with royal display. This was a unique site for juxtaposing entertainment with politics and Edward IV exploited it at several of his parliaments, in 1467, 1472 and 1478.[377] At the celebrations for the marriage of Prince Richard in 1478, for example, not only did feasting take place in the parliament chamber, but the jousting was held in Westminster sanctuary grounds.

Edward IV's use of Westminster Abbey and Palace was a demonstration of his status through the performance of traditional rituals of kingship at the spiritual site of monarchy and the exercise of power at the heart of government.[378] Both were assertions of royal authority based on sovereignty at a specific location. Command of the Tower of London was about control. The Tower was the royal fortress in the city and thus the focus of military supremacy. When Edward reclaimed his throne in 1471 it was the

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[374] Yorkist coronations detailed above, pp. 12-17.

[375] Yorkist parliaments detailed above, pp. 45-49.

[376] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1460', item 8.

[377] See above, pp. 48-49.

[378] See also Saul, 'Richard II and Westminster Abbey', pp. 196-218.

recovery of the Tower in his name which signalled the king's triumphant return.[379] Similarly, the release of Henry VI from captivity in the Tower the previous year had proclaimed his restoration.[380] Prominent traitors and enemies were incarcerated at the royal stronghold as the site at which they could most securely be kept. For Henry VI, most likely Edward V and his brother, and certainly the duke of Clarence, it was also the site of their death. Security at the Tower was such that even information on the fate of these royal figures did not leak beyond its walls, at least as far as surviving evidence suggests. Report and rumour took its place: Henry VI was said to have died of melancholy, though his body was removed from the Tower in a suggestively martial manner; the princes simply disappeared from view in 1483.[381] Clarence, who was executed at the Tower on 18 February 1478, had been tried in parliament in a resolutely public show of justice.[382] His death was a complete contrast however, such a private event that no commentator could say how it had been carried out, *Crowland* for instance only noting its secrecy.[383] He was not hanged, drawn and quartered as public spectacle.[384] The secrecy was such that rumour proliferated; within five years the idea that Clarence had been drowned in malmsey wine was current and the tale proved persistent.[385]

The use of the Tower in this way highlights the degree to which actions could be concealed even where there was public interest; this was royal space that could be secluded. The reverse of this, the promotion of royal authority to the wider public, took place at yet another site traditionally connected with this role. St Paul's Cathedral was a civic, not royal building but was particularly important to these kings whose reigns were defined by crisis and the need for public promotion. The cathedral's significance as a

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[379] On 10 April 1471, *Arrivall,* p. 163.

[380] *Crowland*, p. 123.

[381] *Great Chronicle,* p. 220; Kingsford, *Chronicles of London,* p. 185; *Crowland,* p. 163; *Mancini,* p. 93.

[382] Hicks, *Clarence,* p. 169.

[383] *Crowland*, p. 147.

[384] The sentence was said to have been commuted at the pleading of his mother, Hicks, *Clarence,* p. 143.

[385] The first to posit this was *Mancini*, p. 63 and was followed by continental commentators such as Commynes, Blanchard, *Commynes,* vol 1 p. 49. Also, for example, in *Great Chronicle*, p. 226, Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, p. 188. The story proved so persistent that a picture supposedly of his daughter, Margaret Pole, with a barrel charm on her wrist was said to reference it, Hicks, *Clarence,* pp. 200-204 (picture on p. 203).

key site of royal communication within the city was enhanced and nurtured during the Yorkist period.[386]

Following his seizure of the throne in 1461 and regaining power in 1471, at each return to the city, Edward's priority was to give thanks at St Paul's Cathedral. This was a public act of a victorious monarch performed before an audience in the centre of London, not at the centre of political power at Westminster. Located in the heart of the city, St Paul's was huge in size and both an ecclesiastic and secular space, where preaching, legal business and entertainments all took place.[387] While not the parish church most citizens were devoted to, it held a wide significance both as a central focus of city life and as one of its largest landowners.[388] The cathedral was also a key site in the dissemination of information, including political news, exploited by Richard III when Dr Ralph Shaa publicly presented his claim to the throne at St Paul's Cross on 22 June 1483.[389] Addressing the crowds at the Cross was akin to addressing the city.[390] A political announcement at this open air site may have attracted an even more varied congregation than those expected for preaching at religious or city occasions, though the diversity of people present would typically have been wide, likely to have included civic officials and ordinary citizens as well as clergy.[391]

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[386] St Paul's was a critical site of public dialogue. Preaching against heresy took place there, for instance it was the site of the burning of Essex priest Thomas Bagley in March 1431, Griffiths, *Henry VI,* p. 139, and William Taylor preached Wyclifite views at the cross in 1406, Allmand, *Henry V,* p. 292. The London publishing business was centred around the St Paul's area and bills and seditious posters were nailed to the door of the cathedral, for instance during Cade's rebellion, *Benet,* p. 202; Griffiths, *Henry VI,* pp. 565, 647. Services of thanksgiving were also held there by royalty throughout the fifteenth century, for example Henry VI on 28 July 1450 after the death of Cade, and earlier as part of Henry V's procession in the city after Agincourt, on 23 November 1415, *Benet,* p. 202; Allmand, *Henry V,* p. 99. Crown-wearings were a repeated feature of display at the cathedral, for example Richard, duke of York personally presented Henry VI with the crown at St Paul's on 25 May 1455, after the battle of St Albans, *Benet,* p. 214; Flenley, *Six Town Chronicles,* pp. 108, 142; de Brie, *Brut,* vol 2 p. 522. Henry VI went crowned at St Paul's on 1 November 1460, after the Accord which made York his heir was agreed, Kingsford, *Chronicles of London,* p. 172; *Great Chronicle,* p. 193; *Waurin,* vol 5 pp. 317-18.

[387] C.M. Barron, 'London and St Paul's Cathedral in the Later Middle Ages' in J. Backhouse (ed.), *The Medieval English Cathedral: Papers in Honour of Pamela Tudor-Craig* (Donington 2003), pp. 134-35.

[388] *ibid.,* pp. 133, 149; *idem.,* 'The Later Middle Ages: 1270-1520' in M.D. Lobel (ed.), *The British Atlas of Historic Towns Vol III: The City of London From Prehistoric Times to c.1520* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 48-49.

[389] *Great Chronicle,* pp. 231-32.

[390] Horner, 'Preachers at Paul's Cross', p. 266.

[391] *ibid.,* p. 267.

The status of St Paul's Cross as a site for the spectacle of preaching, political sermonising or official pronouncements was enhanced throughout the mid-fifteenth century. Rebuilt in 1449 with a new canopied pulpit, the addition of a gallery for observers had taken place by 1483.[392] This attention to the needs of audience heightened the importance of the Cross as a site of display and the hub of public proclamations and it coincided with, and was enhanced during, the Yorkist period. Edward IV in particular maintained his relationship with the cathedral after taking the throne, in 1462 repairing the steeple damaged almost twenty years previously.[393] This was a visual symbol of Edward's care for and gratitude to the city as well as a statement of his developing relationship with St Paul's. Edward had framed his acceptance of the throne at Baynard's Castle with visits to St Paul's, beginning the procession to Westminster for his inauguration at the cathedral and returning there the following day to dine. After dinner he received civic officials, including the mayor and aldermen, at the bishop's palace as they petitioned for their liberties.[394] This was royal business, but with a hint of the celebration of Yorkist triumph with the citizens. Similarly the king's coronation on 28 June was followed the next day with another visit by the crowned Edward to St Paul's. Chronicle reports give a sense of the public interest in seeing the new king there, dramatically emphasising the press of people present, the volume of which threatened their safety.[395]

The visibility of the king to these citizens, his repeated returns to St Paul's, and the use of the bishop's palace as a site of celebration and official duties all grounded Edward's monarchy in the heart of the city. This close connection paid dividends in 1471 when Edward relied on the support of Londoners in regaining his crown. Again St Paul's was at the centre of his movements, returning to the cathedral after the battles of Barnet and later Tewkesbury. Edward's first arrival in the city on 11 April had also been directly to St Paul's, taking charge of Henry VI there before heading to Westminster and visiting

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[392] Barron, 'London and St Paul's', p. 140; Horner, 'Preachers at Paul's Cross', p. 264.

[393] The steeple had been set on fire in a storm in 1444, Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, pp. 155-56, 313. Barron, 'London and St Paul's', p. 127.

[394] Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, pp. 174-75.

[395] *ibid.*, p. 176; *Great Chronicle,* p. 198.

his family in sanctuary.[396] The site was of course politically important not merely to the Yorkists. The doomed attempt to enforce unity between warring parties in March 1458, for example, had seen Henry VI's 'Loveday' take place at the cathedral as a public display of amity.[397] This was one of many occasions at which St Paul's was used for royal spectacle intended for a wide audience.[398] The use of the cathedral to get a political point across was further, and more starkly, expressed by Edward IV in 1471 with the display of the bodies of Warwick and his brother Montagu after the battle of Barnet, and of Henry VI after his death on the night of 21 May.[399]

Richard III followed his brother's model of inauguration, returning to St Paul's on the night of his acceptance of the throne, 26 June 1483, after the ceremony at Westminster.[400] The significance of acceptance in the city, and visual assertion of power at St Paul's, was a staple of medieval politics but one embraced wholeheartedly by the Yorkists. Both Baynard's Castle and St Paul's Cathedral marked the hub of the city of London for the regime and power and performance went hand-in-hand at both sites, critical in establishing and maintaining royal authority. These sites counterbalanced Westminster, just outside the city and the focus of government. Westminster was a favoured site for Edward IV and the palace there was among those on which he lavished money for improvements or repairs.[401] Renovation focused on enhancing the living space with greater luxury, including a new great chamber for the queen, and was mirrored at the royal palaces of Greenwich and Eltham in Kent, which received a new

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[396] *Arrivall*, p. 163.

[397] De Brie, *Brut,* vol 2 p. 525; Davies, *English Chronicle,* p. 78; *Benet*, p. 221; Flenley, *Six Town Chronicles,* pp. 111-12, 159-60; Kingsford, *Chronicles of London,* p. 168; *Great Chronicle,* pp. 189-90; *Whethamstede,* vol 1 pp. 298-308; Griffiths, *Henry VI,* pp. 806-807; Watts, *Henry VI,* pp. 343-45; Johnson, *Duke Richard,* pp. 180-85. The 'Loveday' of 1458 saw adversaries processing in London arm-in-arm on 24 March as a ceremonial display of amity which was proclaimed by royal decree through the city. The following day the king and queen led a procession of nobles from all parties through the city to St Paul's where thanks were given to God for the accord. The event was a determined attempt to insist upon and publicly assert cooperation, Carpenter, *Wars of the Roses* p. 143; J.W. Bennett, 'The Mediaeval Loveday', *Speculum,* 33 (1958) p. 361. On the queen's role in the event, H. Maurer, 'Margaret of Anjou and the Loveday of 1458: A Reconsideration', in D. Biggs, S.D. Michalove and A. Compton Reeves (eds.), *Traditions and Transformations in Late Medieval England* (Leiden, 2002), especially pp. 119-24; Watts, *Henry VI* pp. 343-46. On the settlement before the Loveday, Johnson, *Duke Richard,* pp. 183-84.

[398] See above, n. 386.

[399] See below, p. 255.

[400] Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation,* pp. 25 n.96, 154.

[401] Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 273.

great hall.[402] Edward IV's greatest architectural enterprise, however, was at Windsor Castle.

Windsor Castle

Windsor castle was markedly a royal site, originally built by William the Conqueror in the eleventh century and used by monarchs consistently from the reign of Henry I.[403] Henry III and Edward III made dramatic changes to the physical space of the castle and, in centring the establishment of the Order of the Garter there, Edward III laid the foundations for Edward IV's particular devotion to the castle. The castle was impressive, a day's ride from London and built in grand style with space for jousting and surrounded by hunting grounds.[404] As such, it was a favoured site for receiving visitors during Edward IV's reign. The record of Louis of Bruges' visit in 1472 described sumptuous Yorkist royal hospitality: the Flemish nobleman was lavished with gifts; shown special chambers of pleasance richly decorated for his stay by the king and queen and taken hunting by the king.[405] The whole stay was designed to dazzle the visitor and all those who saw and heard of it. This example of hospitality was founded on the perception of it being an intimate royal occasion, though it was in no sense private. The invitation to stay at the castle with the royal family, followed by the staged procession through its inner chambers led by the king, accentuated the expression of intimacy on display during Louis' visit. The castle was designed to emphasise hierarchy, with those of greater rank able to access more spaces in the building and be seen in the innermost rooms.[406] Thus the account of Louis' journey through these apartments highlighted his favour with the king. That it was reported, complete with descriptions of

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[402] Renovation work at Greenwich took place during 1479-80, and the great hall at Eltham was rebuilt 1475-80, at a cost of over £1,500, Brown and others, *King's Works,* vol 2 pp. 949-50, 936-37.

[403] On the development of Windsor, see C. Wilson, 'The Royal Lodgings of Edward III at Windsor Castle: Form, Function, Representation' in L. Keen and E. Scarff (eds.), *Windsor: Medieval Archaeology, Art and Architecture of the Thames Valley* (Leeds, 2002), pp. 15-94 and A. Fehrman, 'The Chantry Chapel of King Edward IV' in *ibid.*, pp. 187-88; W. M. Ormrod, 'For Arthur and St George: Edward III, Windsor Castle and the Order of the Garter' in N. Saul (ed.), *St George's Chapel, Windsor, in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 13-34.

[404] Edward III liked to hunt at Windsor, and jousts took place in the upper ward of the Castle there, Ormrod, *Edward III,* pp. 102, 304. During Edward IV's reign the hunting grounds were well stocked, according to the Bohemian visitors who stayed there in 1466, *Rozmital*, pp. 55-56.

[405] BL, Cotton MS Julius C vi, ff. 255-60v.

[406] Wilson, 'Windsor', pp. 47-48, 50-51.

those rooms, demonstrates the importance of communicating intimacy through access.[407]

Access to a monarch's private chambers was an expression of courtly privilege and royal favour.[408] However, this intimacy was not centred on a tension between public and private spaces. Rather, all sites of royal display required audiences and perceived attainability of access was critical to the creation and nourishment of these relationships. Access to private royal space at sites such as Windsor Castle was one facet of proximity to the monarch, which also occurred in parliament, civic halls, city streets and places of worship. The expression of intimacy with royal family life, however, was distinct at Windsor and formed an important facet of the public construction of Edward IV's monarchy. This was not a public/private dichotomy, since notions of private space are untenable in a focus on the display of majesty, but a more subtle use of place in indicating closeness to the monarch and through that constructing bonds of loyalty and support around the king.[409] Windsor was special in this context as it enabled the projection of royal domesticity as well as the scope for chivalric pursuit in the entertainment of visitors, as seen at Louis of Bruges' visit, thus providing an exceptional setting for developing intimacy with those around the monarch.

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[407] See below, pp. 179-83.

[408] On the politics of access see, for example, R.G. Asch, 'The Princely Court and Political Space in Early Modern Europe' in B. Kümin (ed.), *Political Space in Pre-industrial Europe* (Farnham, 2009), pp. 43-60; D. Starkey, 'Intimacy and Innovation: the Rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485-1547' in *idem.*, D.A.L Morgan, J. Murphy, P Wright, N. Cuddy and K. Sharpe (eds.), *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London, 1987), especially pp. 71-73.

[409] The medieval understanding of private space has excited debate among scholars of urban environments in particular, challenging the public/private dichotomy and exposing the overlap between spaces, for instance in property ownership, in gendered spaces and in the tension between the need for public notice of private actions. See, for example, V. Harding, 'Space, Property, and Propriety in Urban England', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* 32 (2002), pp. 549-69; S. McSheffrey, 'Place, Space and Situation: Public and Private in the Making of Marriage in Late-Medieval London', *Speculum,* 79 (2004), pp. 960-90; P.J.P. Goldberg, 'Space and Gender in the Later Medieval English House', *Viator,* 42 (2011), pp. 205-32; S. Rees Jones and F. Riddy, 'The Bolton Hours of York: Female Domestic Piety and the Public Sphere', in A.B. Mulder-Bakker and J. Wogan-Browne (eds.), *Household, Women, and Christianities* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 215-260; K. Giles, 'Public Space in Town and Village 1100-1500' in C. Dyer and K. Giles (eds.), *Town and Country in the Middle Ages: Contrasts, Contacts and Interconnections, 1100-1500* (Leeds, 2005), pp. 293-312. Also, on family and private space, G. Duby, 'Private Power, Public Power', in *idem.* (ed.), *A History of Private Life, II: Revelations of the Medieval World* (London, 1988, 2003), pp. 3-31. Contrast, for instance, J. Weintraub, 'The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction' in *idem.* and K. Kumar (eds.), *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy* (London, 1997), pp. 1-42, which argues, in a modern cultural framework, that to be useful concepts public and private need to be understood as a paired opposition.

The idea of Windsor Castle as Edward's pleasure palace is supported not only by the report of his reception of visitors there but also by the building work he undertook. Records of his work on the lodgings are meagre, but the survival of his emblems in the fabric of the building is suggestive.[410] His work on St George's Chapel is far better documented, along with the development of a new chapter house for the canons.[411] The focus on Windsor intensified during the 1470s and was a symbol not just of Edward's promotion of a chivalric style of monarchy but of his triumph. The rebuilding of St George's Chapel marked his position at the top of Fortune's wheel following the defeat of his enemies in 1471 and was an expression of new confidence in the regime not merely following this victory, but boosted by the dynastic potential represented by his new son and heir. The rebuilding of the chapel was the architectural achievement of the reign, Edward's one significant statement in stone regarding his monarchy, serving to define this location as the embodiment of his regime.[412]

Edward began the project to rebuild St George's Chapel in February 1473 with the appointment of Richard Beauchamp, bishop of Salisbury, to oversee the works.[413] Construction began in 1475 and was undertaken concurrently with Edward's French campaign. The project clearly remained at the forefront of the king's mind even when preparing for war, a key concern of the will he made on 20 June 1475 at Sandwich.[414] The chapel was a huge financial expenditure alongside such a military venture, and Edward's determination to drive forward with both is evidence of his commitment to these twin pillars of his reign and his reputation. The work at Windsor, the spiritual home of the Order of the Garter, aimed to cast Edward as re-founding St George's,

[410] In the rose tower, Edward's *rose en soleil* badge appears on the ceiling of the king's chamber, Wilson, 'Windsor', p. 46.

[411] Brown and others, *King's Works*, vol 2 pp. 886-88. The larger building was then used by the Order of the Garter, T. Tatton-Brown, 'The Constructional Sequence and Topography of the Chapel and College Buildings at St George's' in C. Richmond and E. Scarff (eds.), *St George's Chapel, Windsor, in the Late Middle Ages* (Windsor, 2001), pp. 5-15.

[412] Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 271; Hughes, *Arthurian Myths,* p. 109.

[413] The bishop was appointed master of the works at St George's on 19 February 1473, *CPR* 1467-77*,* p. 368; Tatton-Brown, 'St George's', p. 6.

[414] Edward's will is printed in *Excerpta Historica,* pp. 366-79, on Windsor, pp. 372-76.

identifying him with Edward III as an ideal warrior king.[415] His French campaign paralleled this ambition. The work on the chapel cost over £6,500 in the last five years of his reign alone, and was one among several building projects undertaken by Edward in the later 1470s.[416] Boosted by the French pension, this period marked the flowering of Edward's reign, his building work a demonstration of confidence in the regime and its endurance.

An expression of permanence in the edifices of royalty, St George's was to be Edward's final resting place, his mausoleum, which may in part explain the urgency to begin construction as he set out for France. Until this point, no familial burial site had been chosen: the first Yorkist royal to die, Margaret, had been interred at Westminster Abbey in 1472.[417] Possibly this first family funeral of the reign prompted Edward to put plans into motion to establish his commemoration site. Edward's elaborate plans for his tomb were set down in his will of 1475. He wished to be buried 'lowe in the grownde, and upon the same a stone to be laied and wrought with the figure of Dethe'.[418] Around this figure were to be words relating the day and year of his death and an altar at which prayers could be said for his soul. Above this tomb a vault was planned to hold a second tier of the monument, a closet housing an altar and tomb with a silver-gilt effigy of the king upon it and space for thirteen poor men to hear divine service and pray. The monument, whose design was possibly influenced by both Louis of Bruges and the tomb of Henry V at Westminster, was located at the north side of the choir in the chapel, close to the high altar.[419] By the time of his death in 1483 Edward IV's chapel had been

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[415] Identifying with an earlier monarch to connect with their glory was a facet of royal identity, seen for instance in the traditional adoption of St Edward the Confessor as a prominent saint, and more personally, for instance in connections made by Henry VIII with Henry V, C.S.L. Davies, 'Henry VIII and Henry V: The Wars in France' in J.L. Watts (ed.), *The End of the Middle Ages?* (Stroud, 1998), pp. 235-62.

[416] The building work was paid for through the exchequer and the profits of the wardships of the earls of Shrewsbury and Wiltshire and Lord Morley, Hughes, *Arthurian Myths,* p. 177; Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 276, 380. By comparison, however, Edward III's expenditure on Windsor was around £51,000 over 18 years, Wilson, 'Windsor', pp. 15-16. The work undertaken by Edward IV in the same period included refurbishment at Dover, Nottingham and Fotheringhay castles, Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 272-73.

[417] Margaret had died as an infant, aged less than eight months, on 11 December 1472, Scofield, *Edward,* vol 2 p. 28.

[418] *Excerpta Historica,* p. 367.

[419] Fehrman, 'Chantry Chapel', p. 187; J. Geddes, 'John Tresilian and the Gates of Edward IV's Chantry' in Keen and Scarff, Windsor, p. 173. The tomb is also discussed in *Royal Funerals,* pp. 93-110.

established but the tomb was never fully completed, lacking both the cadaver figure and effigy the king planned.[420]

The magnetism of the Yorkist mausoleum imagined at St George's attracted not just the immediate royal family in desiring to be interred there. Edward's sister Anne chose to be buried there in January 1476, his chamberlain Hastings too in 1483, and the king's brother-in-law John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk gave money to the chapel.[421] However, this vision of dynastic commemoration was truncated with the early and secret death of Edward's heir, who never received a burial and therefore the tradition of this site as a royal memorial to the dynasty was curtailed.[422] Richard III did not share the desire to be buried at Windsor and ended Edward's dynastic vision by failing to follow in his footsteps, not allowing his nephew to be buried there, and by reinterring Henry VI at Windsor in August 1484.[423] This dramatic act of apparent royal piety both muted the notion of St George's as a Yorkist commemorative site and served as a comment on Edward IV's rule: placing the former king, ousted and murdered at Edward's will, alongside him in his spiritual sanctuary counterbalanced the grand dynastic gesture that St George's was planned to be. Although Richard III followed his brother's enhanced veneration of St George and did continue work on the chapel, his reburial of Henry VI at Windsor indicates a definite lack of interest in the site as a Yorkist mausoleum.[424] Rather Richard began his own magnificent college at York Minster, probably focused on his son, and in the year after establishing this chantry buried his wife, Anne Neville, at Westminster Abbey.[425] Most likely, during his short and troubled reign Richard had not

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[420] Tatton-Brown, 'St George's', pp. 15-28; Fehrman, 'Chantry Chapel', p. 178. Edward's plan for an effigy in his will of 1475, *Excerpta Historica,* p. 367.

[421] Hastings' wish to be buried at Windsor was expressed in his will of 1481, printed in N.H. Nicholas (ed.), *Testamenta Vetusta: Being Illustrations from Wills* (2 vols, London, 1826), vol 1 pp. 368-75; John de la Pole, M. Hicks, 'Pole, John de la, second duke of Suffolk (1442–1492)', *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/22450' (accessed 13 January 2013).

[422] The last Yorkist royal to be buried at Windsor was Elizabeth Woodville, in a subdued ceremony in June 1492, BL, Arundel MS 26, ff. 29v-30, printed in *Royal Funerals,* pp. 71-73.

[423] McKenna, 'Cult of Henry VI', p. 75.

[424] In the statutes of 1478 for his college at Middleham, for instance, Richard prescribed that the principal stall on the left hand side should be dedicated to St George, and the saint's feast day was to be one of four celebrated as the most important there, J. Raine, 'The Statutes Ordained by Richard Duke of Gloucester for the College of Middleham', *The Archaeological Journal,* 14 (1857), pp. 161, 169.

[425] *Crowland,* p. 175.

definitively settled on his desired burial place; the expectation that he would marry again following the queen's death would potentially have influenced any decision.

Edward IV's devotion to Windsor was inherently linked to its role as home of the Order of the Garter. The placing of his tomb in the chapel of the Order, for instance, highlighted his rebuilding work there, ensured that services would take place in view of his monument and that Garter knights would process by.[426] The desire to be buried at Windsor defined Edward's style of monarchy, demonstrating the determination to promote his role as a chivalric king. The performance of majesty at Windsor was an assertion of royal authority which appropriated the legacy of Edward III, founder of the Order. The connection to the Garter and St George made this castle particularly special to Edward IV, clear both in his works at Windsor and to his visitors, such as Leo von Rozmital who visited in 1466 and understood the defining characteristic of the castle to be its role as the home of the companions of the Order.[427] Edward framed his monarchy on a resurgence of interest in chivalry: in his own image as a warrior king; in the renewed interest in chivalric sport, and the new importance placed on the Order of the Garter.[428] The focus on the Order really took shape in the 1470s, after Edward's recovery of the throne in 1471 and as he prepared for campaigning in France.[429] The rebuilding of St George's Chapel by Edward IV concretised his developing attachment to the Order of the Garter and devotion to St George in the 1470s as the Yorkist regime developed new confidence.

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[426] Fehrman, 'Chantry Chapel', pp. 181-82.

[427] *Rozmital*, p. 55. The king does not seem to have been at Windsor with them.

[428] On the Order of the Garter, see below, section 3.2.1.

[429] Similarly, Henry V's foundations at Sheen and Syon were established in early 1415 before the Agincourt campaign, Allmand, *Henry V,* pp. 275-76.

2.3   Magnate to Monarch: Dealing with the Lancastrian Legacy

The Yorkist regime followed a Lancastrian dynasty that had ruled for over sixty years, but was itself founded upon usurpation. On taking the throne in 1399 Henry IV had faced similar problems to Edward IV: needing to define his kingship in the shadow of a predecessor, Richard II, and trying to develop a distinct but also legitimate monarchy.[430] Both Henry IV and Edward IV had to elevate their position from magnate to monarch and faced the contradiction of promoting a persuasive claim to legitimate rule while countering the fractured sanctity of the position that their usurpation had created. Control of territory and effective government within the realm were essential; so was embodying the role of king in managing this. Thus Edward, like Henry in 1399, publicly asserted prudent governance and fiscal economy, most prominently in the claim to 'lyve uppon my nowne, and not to charge my subgettes but in grete and urgent causes' in the parliament of 1467.[431] Both monarchs also faced competition from their predecessor and reacted similarly in their attitudes towards burial of the previous monarch, choosing relatively secluded sites for the interment of Richard II and Henry VI respectively. In each case these former monarchs were later reburied at more prominent sites by the successors of Henry IV and Edward IV, as increased stability allowed these kings to take advantage of association with their royal predecessors.[432]

The similarities should not be overstated, however: Richard II died within months of Henry IV's accession to the throne; Richard had been deposed by an assembly of lords and commons, not ousted through battle, and Henry IV presented himself as a successor to Richard rather than of greater legitimacy than him.[433] Edward IV faced a living rival

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[430] P. Strohm, *England's Empty Throne. Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation 1399-1422* (New Haven, 1998), pp. 101-27; Burden, 'Funeral of Richard II', pp. 35-53.

[431] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1467', item 7; C. Given-Wilson, 'Henry IV: Parliament of October 1399, Text and Translation', *PROME* (accessed 6 July 2013), item 2. M. Bennett, 'Henry of Bolingbroke and the Revolution of 1399' in Dodd and Biggs, *Henry IV*, p. 27.

[432] Richard II was first buried at the priory at King's Langley, Hertfordshire in 1400 by Henry IV and later reinterred in his tomb at Westminster Abbey by Henry V in 1413, Strohm, *England's Empty Throne,* p. 101. Henry VI was buried at Chertsey Abbey, Surrey in 1471 by Edward IV and moved to St George's Chapel, Windsor by Richard III in 1484, McKenna, 'Cult of Henry VI', p. 75.

[433] Henry IV took the throne on 30 September 1399 at Westminster Hall, the lords and an assembly of the estates of the realm having accepted Richard II's resignation of the crown. As this nullified the parliament called in Richard's name, the assembly was not a parliament, which did not have power over a king, Bennett, 'Henry of Bolingbroke', pp. 22-23. For a different view, Biggs, *Three Armies*, p. 257.

in Henry VI who had considerable support, making the assertion of royal authority more volatile and intensifying the need to diminish the threat of Lancastrianism. The attempt to undermine Lancastrian kingship was both territorial and symbolic, encompassing the defeat of Lancastrians and redistribution of land and developing an approach towards Lancastrian foundations which would weaken the resonance of their connection with the previous regime. The latter of these exemplifies the delicate balance confronting the Yorkists between visibly associating their rule with ideals of kingship generally, yet not with Lancastrian kingship specifically.

Territory

The Yorkists won the throne on the battlefield, not only by chasing Henry VI and his party from England in March 1461, but more pointedly by wiping out much of the Lancastrian nobility. The battle of Towton was critical in this; amongst those killed in the fighting and aftermath were the earls of Northumberland, Devon and Wiltshire and lords Clifford, Neville, Welles, Mauley and Dacre of Gisland.[434] These included the heads of a wide range of property across Yorkshire, Northumberland, Westmorland and Cumberland in the north, into east Anglia, Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, Warwickshire, Herefordshire and Staffordshire in the east and midlands, and Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Sussex and Kent in the south.[435] In contrast, the Yorkists lost only Lord Fitzwalter and Robert Horne, a captain of Kent. Before Towton the Yorkists could count on the support of only a small section of the nobility and held little influence in northern England, even those estates held by the Nevilles had been encroached on by

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[434] *Gregory*, pp. 217-18; *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 p. 778; *Hearne*, p. 287; *CSPM,* pp. 65-66, 73, 77; Davis, *Paston Letters,* part 1 pp. 165-66; Kingsford, *Chronicles of London,* p. 175; Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 37-38; Boardman, *Towton,* p. 147.

[435] Henry Percy, third earl of Northumberland, for example, held estates in Yorkshire, Northumberland and Cumberland as well as Kent, Sussex, East Anglia and Somerset, R.A. Griffiths, 'Percy, Henry, third earl of Northumberland (1421–1461)', *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/21934' (accessed 23 September 2012). In 1464 most of his estates, and his earldom, were held by John Neville, Lord Montagu. Thomas Courtenay, 14th earl of Devon, was executed at York on 3 April, *Gregory*, p. 216. He held property in southern and central Devon and neighbouring counties; after Towton his earldom was conferred on Humphrey, Lord Stafford of Southwick by Edward IV, M. Cherry, 'Courtenay, Thomas, thirteenth earl of Devon (1414–1458)', *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/50218' (accessed 23 September 2012). The Westmorland estates of John Clifford, ninth baron Clifford, who also held property in Cumberland and Northumberland, was handed to the Nevilles and Stanleys after Towton, H. Summerson, 'Clifford, John, ninth Baron Clifford (1435–1461)', *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/5654' (accessed 23 September 2012)]. For the attainders, Horrox, 'Parliament of 1461', item 27.

the Percies.[436] This battle changed the political landscape, giving Edward authority in the north. The removal of the earl of Northumberland was critical in this, making Warwick the new power in the region. Towton and Yorkist control in the north were fundamental to the establishment of the regime and served to shape the victory as one of south over north.[437]

The situation was more complex than a subduing of the north enabling Yorkist rule, however, as Lancastrian resistance persisted across the midlands and in the north west. Edward's response was to deploy generals in different areas to tackle resistance, Warwick in the north and Herbert in the Welsh marches, with the king progressing through the north and midlands, visiting Lancastrian sites to press home his royal authority.[438] Here Edward's regime differed entirely from his brother's in 1483; Richard progressed through areas of support, not enmity, following his coronation in July, and travelled to the north to celebrate, not subjugate.[439] Without overwhelming success in the north in 1461, however, the fledgling regime was significantly outweighed by its rivals. The scale of victory at Towton provided the platform from which Edward, who had already taken the throne, began to take the country; the battle was widely perceived as the end of Lancastrian rule.[440] Towton delivered such a blow to Lancastrian leadership that the potential difficulties facing Edward regarding the alienation of land were somewhat alleviated. Parliament was the instrument of territorial management and the Yorkist use of it to control opposition and reward support was a critical facet of the regime, one which mirrored and enhanced the use of the assembly in asserting legitimacy.

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[436] For example in 1460 the earl of Northumberland secured a twelve year lease of Salisbury's estates in Yorkshire, Derbyshire and Cambridgeshire, Griffiths, 'Percy, Henry, third earl of Northumberland (1421–1461)', *DNB.*

[437] Expressed, for instance, in 'The Ballad of Towton', R.H. Robbins (ed.), *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (New York, 1959)*,* p. 216, and *Whethamstede,* vol 1 p. 413, verses on Edward's defeat of northern foes.

[438] Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 45-48.

[439]   Noted above, n. 141. Richard was well received everywhere he went, according to the report of Thomas Langton, bishop of St David's, Sheppard, *Christ Church Letters*, p. 46.

[440]   The bishop of Salisbury, for instance, told his continental correspondent that the power of the Lancastrians had been destroyed and that Edward had annihilated his enemy, and the word spread through letters of 7 and 14 April, *CSPM,* pp. 63-65, 68.

Attainders at Edward's first parliament in 1461 brought forfeited estates into royal hands from the dukes of Exeter and Somerset, the earls of Devon, Northumberland, Pembroke and Wiltshire, Viscount Beaumont, and lords Roos, Clifford, Hungerford, Welles, Neville, Grey, Richmond and Dacre, as well as a number of other knights, clerks and yeomen.[441] Much of this acquired property went to Edward's supporters, particularly Warwick, both a reward for loyalty and ensuring that Yorkist men dominated the realm, as Warwick did in the north.[442] Similarly control of the Welsh marches saw estates put in the hands of William Herbert and Walter Devereaux, while the king's new chamberlain, William Hastings, received lands in the midlands.[443] These were trusted figures at the heart of the new regime and who were charged with managing the realm. Loyalty was also engendered through the later reversal of many of the attainders from Edward's first parliament, a conciliatory policy demonstrating not only the king's mercy but also his power to grant land.[444] The attainment and gift of land was further qualified by the use of resumption in 1461, 1465, 1467 and 1473, which enhanced the monarch's control of estate governance by allowing a regular reappraisal of patronage, and therefore repeated opportunity to encourage loyalty and reward support.[445] Conferring land and position, just like the charters bestowed at civic welcomes, was a performance of power, with the king demonstrating that he was in a position to give.[446] Estates were also restored to their original families, winning their support, as happened with Henry Percy following the return of the earldom of Northumberland to him in 1470.[447]

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[441] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1461', items 27, 28.

[442] Hicks, *Warwick,* p. 222, *CPR* 1461-67, pp. 186, 189.

[443] Carpenter, *Wars of the Roses,* pp. 158-60.

[444] Hicks, 'Attainder, Resumption', p. 17. More generally, with comparative tables, J.R. Lander, 'Attainder and Forfeiture, 1453 to 1509' in *idem. Crown and Nobility, 1450-1509* (London, 1976), pp. 127-58, 307-308.

[445] Edward IV issued four main acts of resumption, in 1461, 1465, 1467 and 1473 and these were concerned with offices as well as property, Hicks, 'Attainder, Resumption', pp. 16, 24-25; Wolffe, *Crown Lands,* p. 53.

[446] Three royal charters were confirmed to Bristol at and subsequent to Edward's visit in 1461, for example, Fleming, 'Bristol 1451-1471', p. 93.

[447] Percy was restored to the earldom on 25 March 1470 and John Neville was consequently made marquis of Montagu with lands in the south as recompense. The political reverberation from this act saw Montagu join his brother Warwick's rebellion against Edward IV, and Percy support the king's return from exile, *Arrivall,* p. 152; Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 144-45.

Throughout the Yorkist period, the crown continued to acquire estates through forfeiture. The defeat of Warwick in 1471 brought the Warwick, Despenser and Salisbury estates into crown hands, a huge collection of lands in the midlands and north of England, that were shared between the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester.[448] Similarly regaining Clarence's property following his attainder in 1478 provided another increase in crown lands, just as Richard III's seizure of Elizabeth Woodville's lands held as queen and those forfeited by Buckingham in 1483 provided further revenues at a critical point in his reign.[449] The evolution of Yorkist territorial power constituted a redrawing of the map to erase Lancastrian power bases. In the 1460s these moved into the hands of key supporters such as Herbert and the Nevilles; in the 1470s to the royal brothers, Clarence and Gloucester, and after 1483 closer still to the throne, with Richard III's reluctance to build up the aristocracy.[450]

Lancastrian Foundations

The early years of the Yorkist period saw a deliberate turn against sites of importance to Lancastrian kings. The treatment of Henry VI's foundation at Eton offers the most striking example of the attempt to diminish the physical impact of the previous ruling house. The last Lancastrian king had founded the Royal College of St Mary's at Eton on 11 October 1440 and developed elaborate plans for its construction.[451] Alongside its linked institution of King's College, Cambridge, these were the key visual symbols of achievement by Henry VI. Edward IV seems initially to have moved to destroy his rival's work there: his first parliament dispossessed Eton of all grants made by Henry VI, while revenues from King's were taken into the exchequer.[452] By November 1463 Edward had petitioned the pope to abolish Eton College and received a papal bull

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[448]   Hicks, 'Warwick Inheritance', pp. 116-28; R. Horrox, 'Edward IV: Parliament of October 1472, Text and Translation' *PROME* (accessed 6 July 2013), item 20; *Crowland,* p. 133.

[449]   Wolffe, 'English Royal Estates', pp. 7, 10.

[450]   Horrox, *Richard III,* pp. 202-205.

[451]   On the development of Eton by Henry VI, see J.A.A. Goodall, 'Henry VI's Court and the Construction of Eton College' in Keen and Scarff, *Windsor*, pp. 247-63. On Henry VI's foundations: R.B. Dobson, 'Henry VI and the University of Cambridge' in Stratford, *Lancastrian Court*, pp. 57-59; Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 167-71; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 242-48.

[452]   Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 269; Goodall, 'Construction of Eton', p. 254; F. Woodman, *The Architectural History of King's College Chapel and its Place in the Development of Late Gothic Architecture in England and France* (London, 1968), pp. 115-16.

allowing its suppression and absorption into St George's, Windsor.[453] However, although jewels and other property from Eton were removed to the college at St George's in 1465, it never suffered the threatened destruction, and the bull was ultimately revoked in 1470.[454] Edward's change of heart may have begun even as its abolition was in motion, as it was still referred to as the 'college Roiall of oure Lady of Eton' in the parliament rolls of 1464.[455]

Edward IV's reaction to these foundations was a response to their identification with Henry VI and this fluctuated during his reign. While the plan to abolish Eton was never fulfilled and property was returned to the college from St George's in 1470, the foundation was sustained at a much lower level than previously.[456] Consistent pressure from the college's provost, Westbury, and the bishop of Winchester may have influenced the preservation of Eton, but there was no wholesale restoration.[457] Indeed, as some possessions were returned to Eton in July 1467, at the same time property formerly belonging to King's was given to Windsor, indicating that power remained in the king's hands.[458]

Even though the decision to merge Eton into St George's was revoked, there was no sense in which the college would rival Edward's favoured site at Windsor. The king's interest in Eton did grow in the 1470s, with repeated visits in 1471 and the creation of a new seal without an image of Henry VI in 1474.[459] This was a symbolic statement of Edward's involvement with the college, erasing the image of its founder, and significantly this change of attitude towards Eton occurred after the death of Henry VI. The end of the Lancastrian threat to his throne allowed Edward IV to adapt his predecessor's foundations to his own royal identity. This approach was a contrast to the

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[453] Papal licence of 13 November 1463 given in Twemlow, *Papal Registers*, vol. 11 pp. 655-57.

[454] *ibid*. vol. 12 (1458-1471), pp. 343-44.

[455] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1463', item 39. This was the same wording as under Henry VI, *idem.*, 'Parliament of 1459', item 25.

[456] H. Maxwell Lyte, *A History of Eton College (1440-1910)* (4th edition, London, 1911), p. 65 notes a drop in income from £1,500 a year under Henry VI to £370 by 1468, leading to a decrease in the number of scholars at the college, fellowships remaining vacant and payments reduced.

[457] Goodall, 'Construction of Eton', p. 254.

[458] Maxwell Lyte, *History of Eton,* p. 66.

[459] *ibid.* pp. 69, 71.

previous reign because of Edward's own agency in his dealings with these foundations. The establishments created under Henry VI may have represented some personal preference, however it is clear that they were the impetus of those around the king.[460] Collective enterprise with the king as figurehead was fundamental to the Lancastrian regime functioning around an ineffective monarch; not least, it created an architectural and spiritual statement of the kingship being promoted. Edward IV, however, was a leader. His approach to Lancastrian foundations was not consistent but was in his control, and his ability to abolish and restore Eton was an example of this. Lancastrian foundations were a threat to Yorkist monarchy because they were symbols of a competing regime, their purpose to pray for the souls of these specific kings. The ability to manage these, either by destruction or adoption, shifted their resonance to boost Edward's status. By embracing Eton, Edward did not remove the reverence for Henry VI as founder, but he did move towards making the college a royal, rather than Lancastrian site.

Edward IV's queen took a more purposeful approach to Lancastrian institutions by appropriating her predecessor's foundation from the outset, rather than diminishing it to bring it under control. For Elizabeth Woodville, a gentry queen, there was political capital in the association with royal patronage, following Margaret of Anjou in supporting Queens' College Cambridge.[461] The college was re-founded by Elizabeth in 1465 and by 1475 she was described as its true foundress; the transfer of patronage was so successful it was emulated by the next Yorkist queen, Anne Neville, in 1484.[462] Possibly Elizabeth's example influenced Edward's change in attitude, though other Lancastrian college foundations generally fared better than Eton and King's from the start of his reign.[463] Henry V's abbey foundation at Syon near the Thames at Isleworth,

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[460] Watts, *Henry VI,* pp. 167-71.

[461] Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens,* pp. 255-57. Queens' was founded by Margaret of Anjou in 1448, the foundation charter is printed in W.G. Searle, *The History of Queens' College of St Margaret and St Bernard in the University of Cambridge* (2 vols, Cambridge, 1867), vol 1 pp. 18-26.

[462] *CPR* 1461-67, p. 495. J. Twigg, *A History of Queens' College Cambridge, 1448-1986* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 8-9, 11.

[463] Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens,* p. 257. All Souls College, Oxford, for example, had been founded by Henry VI in 1438 and received a grant in mortmain of lands held under the Lancastrian king from Edward on 26 December 1461, backdated to the start of his reign, *CPR* 1461-67, p. 148. Edward conformed the letters patent of Syon Abbey in his second parliament, Horrox, 'Parliament of 1463', item 45.

for instance, was popular with Edward IV.[464] The abbey was an Augustinian foundation partly dedicated to St Bridget, for whom the king had a particular devotion, naming his youngest daughter Bridget.[465] Early in his reign Edward granted protection to the abbey's property and both he and his queen were patrons of Syon and remembered alongside the founder in the abbey's obituaries.[466] This highlights the genuine religious impulse in the monarch's attitude towards these foundations, beyond the potential political value in muting their significance as architectural symbols of Lancastrian kingship. While the identification with the Lancastrian dynasty and particularly Henry VI was manifest in sites such as Eton college, driving the Yorkist inclination to suppress, the spiritual purpose of the institution was not negligible, as demonstrated by the desire to assimilate rather than destroy. The motivation behind establishing a religious foundation was to please God, a public statement of piety, and certainly the devotional power of such institutions was viewed as incontrovertible. One chronicler who reported Edward's proposed destruction of Eton, for example, believed it did not happen simply because the Virgin Mary would not allow it.[467]

In contrast to their Lancastrian predecessors, Yorkist kings focused on the creation of colleges rather than building educational foundations like Eton or King's. Edward IV's two major projects were the re-founding of the college at Fotheringhay and the rebuilding of St George's Chapel, Windsor.[468] Similarly, Richard III focused on chantries and planned college foundations at Barnard Castle and Middleham before he

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[464]   Henry V laid the foundation stone of Syon Abbey on 22 February 1415, Allmand, *Henry V*, pp. 274-76; J. Catto, 'Religious Change under Henry V' in G.L. Harriss (ed.), *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship*, (Oxford, 1985), pp. 110-11; *CChR 1427-1516*, p. 96. Henry V's foundation at Sheen was also popular with the Yorkists, Edward IV granted Sheen forty-eight acres of land in May 1479 and £100 a year in rents in August 1480, *CPR 1476-85*, pp. 156, 210. Elizabeth Woodville was particularly close to the foundation, the prior of Sheen, John Ingilby, was an executor of her will and attended her funeral in 1492, Nichols, *Collection of all the Wills*, pp. 150-51; BL, Arundel MS 26, f. 29v. See also N. Beckett, 'Henry VII and Sheen Charterhouse' in B. Thompson (ed.), *The Reign of Henry VII. Proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 1995), pp. 117-18.

[465] In granting Syon's letters patent in 1463, Edward stated his special devotion to St Bridget and required the inhabitants at the foundation to pray for the souls of himself and his mother after death, Horrox, 'Parliament of 1463', item 45. After his death in 1483 Edward's funeral cortège spent a night at Syon on its journey to Windsor, College of Arms, MS I 7, f. 7v. Edward's daughter Bridget was born in 1480; Edward's niece, Anne de la Pole, was a nun at Syon, Scofield, *Edward,* vol 2 p. 367; Hughes, *Religious Life*, p. 122.

[466] Hughes, *Arthurian Myths*, p. 147; *Royal Funerals,* p. 22.

[467] Davies, *English Chronicle*, p. 177.

[468] Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 273.

took the throne, and York Minster subsequently.[469] At both Barnard Castle and Middleham, like Edward's foundations at Fotheringhay and Windsor, the colleges were attached to a castle in their possession. Richard thus maintained a spiritual connection with the north of England in his foundations, without taking action to erase his brother's architectural legacy. Both kings also supported numerous existing foundations, from Richard's extensive funding of King's and Queens' colleges at Cambridge to the largesse offered to smaller sites in return for priestly prayers.[470] The most striking distinction in the choice of foundations under the Yorkists was that both of the colleges Edward IV re-founded were intended as dynastic mausoleums. At Fotheringhay, this was for his father at a site of commemoration for the duchy of York, and at Windsor it was his own spectacular mausoleum. The king funded smaller chantries to pray for his soul and those of his family after their deaths, but the sites he specifically associated with were focused on grand familial commemoration.[471] The interest in foundations which served a dynastic purpose, rather than educational as with Henry VI, was distinctly Yorkist and emphasises the way in which public display, here the magnificent tombs planned as a focal point at the heart of these colleges, infused royal actions.

The Lancastrian geographic legacy was brought under royal management through acquisition of property and the governance of estates as well as by bringing the great symbols of Lancastrian kingship under Yorkist control. These foundations presented a conundrum for Edward IV, who needed to diminish the visual impact of the previous regime but could not afford to alienate people or appear vengeful. Embracing the value of these sites proved a more fruitful policy than destruction, as seen in the prayers that Edward required to be said for the royal family at Henry V's foundations at Sheen and Syon. The significance of Lancastrian sites generally, however, was muted through association with the new regime. Embracing these establishments had the potential to

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[469] Ross, *Richard III,* pp. 129-32.

[470] Richard gave 700 marks a year to Queens' in March 1484, for example, and smaller gifts such as ten marks a year to the nunnery at Wilberfoss in Yorkshire to sustain a chantry in October 1483. In September 1484 he funded the foundation of a perpetual chantry at the chapel of Hedistaston, Shropshire with eight marks a year, to be called the chantry of King Richard III, *CPR* 1476-85, pp. 375, 423-25, 478. On King's College, see Woodman, *King's College,* pp. 117-20.

[471] Edward granted the hospital of St Julian in Southampton, where his grandfather Richard, earl of Cambridge was buried, a nearby alien priory on 16 February 1462, for example, and granted custody of the hospital of St Laurence at Bristol to the dean and chapter of the college of Westbury, Gloucestershire, on 13 May 1465, *CPR* 1461-67, pp. 116, 444.

make them royal, rather than purely Lancastrian. This allowed the Yorkist king to broaden his prominence by affiliation with a greater number of foundations, while also suppressing their status as being derived from the former regime. There was a language of appropriation here, seen in the identification claimed, through patronage of these sites, with their royal founders. Similarly, there was a deepening identification with Henry V in Edward IV's attitudes towards the former king's foundations. Syon and Sheen were dedicated to peace and founded on the eve of the Agincourt campaign, which was reflected in Edward's favour for these sites and his similar re-foundation of St George's on the eve of the 1475 French campaign.[472] This was far more subtle than the destruction of these foundations, even if it did create an awkward juxtaposition in some instances. At York Minster, for example, attempts were made to limit the veneration of Henry VI, his statue being removed from the rood screen there in 1479.[473] By not destroying his rival's foundations, Edward ensured that there would be no architectural martyrdom; no rubble symbolising the doomed regime. With the death of the Lancastrian monarch in 1471 a new attitude towards royal foundations emerged, both in the appropriation of establishments such as Eton and also in the confidence with which Edward began rebuilding St George's Chapel, Windsor. This work was a statement of the security of the regime, with Edward's reign no longer threatened by domestic rebellion in support of a rival king, as well as an assertion of his chivalric credentials as king, with the chapel as the home of the Order of the Garter.

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[472] Allmand, *Henry V,* pp. 275-76. See below, pp. 245-48.

[473] McKenna, 'Piety and Propaganda', p. 74.

Conclusion

This chapter has specifically focused on location, rather than concepts of space, in examining Yorkist ceremony. Although the idea of places such as Baynard's Castle and Westminster Abbey functioning specifically as political or sacred space can be informative, to define them conceptually in this way would be limiting. Rather it is the complexity of ways in which these locations were used, and in comparison with each other, which has been the concern. The focus has been on the sites themselves and what the use of them reveals about the regime and how it evolved, rather than to explore understandings of space.[474] Instead of analysing movement through space or gesture within it to illuminate the boundaries of that space, here the attention has been on place as indicating the ways in which the Yorkist regime was constructed geographically and architecturally, in a historical context.[475] This has maintained a focus on the implications of location to the development of Yorkist royal identity.

The advent of the Yorkist period saw a clear shift in the geography of royal power. Not only were duchy of York lands brought within the royal estates, creating a far wider power base of English territory than their Lancastrian predecessors had held, the change in ruling house also saw new sites of importance emerge, as places of significance to the duchy of York gained regal prominence. The elevation of Edward IV from noble to royal involved the embrace of traditional locations of monarchical significance, such as Westminster and Windsor Castle, but retained connections with ducal sites such as Fotheringhay and Baynard's Castle. Both the territory and architecture of Yorkist monarchy were founded on its ducal heritage, seen in the management of estates and with the symbolic importance placed on specific locations. The map of power and regime identity was further shaped by a Lancastrian legacy, both in the need to attain

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[474] 'Space' has been the subject of much scholarly debate, led by Henri Lefebvre's influential ideas on space as a social construct in *La Production de l'Espace* (Paris, 1974), with recent work focusing on how space was occupied, experienced and understood. On concepts of space, see for example B.A. Hanawalt and M. Kobialka, 'Introduction' in *idem.* (eds.), *Medieval Practices of Space* (Minneapolis, 2000), pp. ix-xxvi; also the discussion of the use of space and how it relates to ritual in F. Andrews, 'Ritual and Space: Definitions and Ways Forward' in *idem.* (ed.), *Ritual and Space in the Middle Ages. Proceedings of the 2009 Harlaxton Symposuim* (Donington, 2011), pp. 1-29; on geographical space as essential to understanding governance, C. Carpenter, 'Political and Geographical Space: The Geopolitics of Medieval England' in B. Kümin (ed.), *Political Space in Pre-industrial Europe* (Farnham, 2009), pp. 117-133.

[475] A study of royal ceremony from a spatial perspective, court performance as meaningful within spaces, rather than demonstrative of a wider political situation, is given in J. Dillon, *The Language of Space in Court Performance, 1400-1625* (Cambridge, 2010), see especially 'Introduction', pp. 1-17.

and redistribute territory as well as create a royal identity distinct from that of the previous reign.

In the appropriation of sites identified with Lancastrian kingship there was a determination both to subsume the legacy of the previous regime and absorb its regality. Yorkist monarchy was constructed on the need to assert legitimacy and suppress this rivalry. Performing majesty at sites of royal significance was a key way in which Edward IV established his rulership. The attitude towards particular locations was markedly different in the second half of Edward's reign, once his enemies had been defeated. Lancastrian foundations posed a diminished, though not extinct, threat to the regime and the end of civil war shifted the focus to domestic magnificence. Building work on royal palaces as well as important duchy of York sites gathered pace in the 1470s, all surpassed by Edward's rebuilding of St George's Chapel, Windsor. This magnificent enterprise was the material symbol of Edward's monarchy: drawing on the chivalric legacy of Edward III; emphasising the Yorkist king's attachment to the Order of the Garter and vision of himself as a warrior king, and a manifest statement of his gratitude to God for his victory. St George's was to be Edward's permanent resting place and architectural legacy, a dynastic mausoleum for the Yorkist kings he expected to be the progenitor of. The preeminence of Windsor in the creation of Edward IV's royal identity was not just focused on the importance of the physical space but also what happened there. The display of sovereignty at this royal castle and home of the Order of the Garter demonstrated his determination to embody the role of chivalric leader; it also indicates the enhanced importance of Order membership in developing relationships around the monarch. Similarly the potential for creating a sense of intimacy through hospitality at places such as Windsor Castle and the reinforcement of hierarchy these buildings promoted were the foundation for generating and displaying royal favour. Place was critical in the creation of Yorkist royal identity both through fulfilling expectations of where majesty should be performed and shaping the style of monarchy; it was also the foundation from which the king drew people around him and engendered and exhibited loyalty and support.

Chapter Three   Circles of Intimacy (1): the Yorkist Elite

Edward IV's style of monarchy was famously gregarious; he forgave enemies quickly, personally charmed money from his subjects and assiduously remembered the names of those he met.[476] Yet behind this wide embrace of his subjects was a very small elite with genuine power. The foundation of the Yorkist regime was narrow, if socially deep: a handful of key men who battled and manoeuvred to put Edward on the throne, backed by popular support in London. This dynamic was the mainstay of Yorkist monarchy. While the men around the king changed over the period and into the reign of Richard III, a core of key supporters was always fundamental. Shifts in the fortunes and position of these men constituted real political change and signalled the evolution of the regime, drawing the interest of contemporary chroniclers and commentators alike. Managing these men was critical to successful rule and involved a delicate balance of control and reward, through land, estates and offices. Individuals were identified with the regime primarily through the offices they held and honours bestowed upon them. However, the visual bearing of individuals was critical in defining and communicating status, whether through appearance at and position within a royal event or the badges they wore, such as the Yorkist collars etched on the tomb effigies of the loyal.[477] In this the reciprocity inherent in identification with the regime was apparent, a personal choice defining loyalty.

This chapter explores the ways in which royal display created, defined and demonstrated relationships between monarch and subject. The focus is on the people around the monarch and the connections cultivated through a complex blend of public roles and offices, status and hierarchy, and access to the king. Scholarship on lordship and patronage has revealed the complexity of relations between king, nobility and

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[476] Philippe de Commynes, for example, noted that Edward recognised him at Picquigny and could name the occasions on which they had previously met, Blanchard, *Commynes*, vol 1 pp. 291-92; *Crowland*, p. 153; *Mancini*, p. 65; *CSPM*, letter of 17 March 1475 pp. 193-94; Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 9, 306.

[477]   For example the collar of suns and roses on the effigy of Thomas Cokayne at All Saints church, Youlgrave, Derbyshire, see figure 7 below.

gentry, and how governance functioned from the centre and into the localities.[478] Regional status gave real power to the king's supporters: the ability to build retinues and create personal affinities; landed wealth and influence in provincial politics as well as on a national stage. This pattern was well-established long before the Yorkists came to the throne and it enabled people to act independently as well as function as the king's representatives across the realm.[479] Putting power in the hands of adherents was necessary but heightened the paramount importance of loyalty: the violent conflict of the mid-fifteenth century had only been possible because of the weight in money and manpower behind opposing magnates as the Lancastrian regime fragmented. The following discussion builds on scholarship which analyses the exercise of power in order to focus upon the reins on that power: the ties that publicly bound individuals to the Yorkist monarchy. Loyalty was central in both creating and communicating these bonds, and connection to the monarch was expressed repeatedly through royal display. Specific associations created links between clusters of individuals and the king: those at the heart of government; companions of the Order of the Garter; peers; knights and those whose ties to the king were more temporary, enjoying his hospitality or welcoming him to a city. These groups functioned as circles around the monarch, from those with the strongest personal connections at the centre, radiating outwards in decreasing degrees of intimacy.

To explore these circles, the chapter will focus on both the individuals at the heart of the Yorkist regime and the ways in which intimacy was created through royal display. Firstly, this will identify the Yorkist elite who established the regime and whose fortunes were invested in its success. This was a clear group of supporters who were instrumental in defining Yorkist monarchy, an inner circle distinct from the wider groups claiming relationships with the monarch. The second, main section of the

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[478]   See, for example, Horrox, *Richard III*, pp. 27-88; *idem.,* 'Caterpillars of the Commonwealth? Courtiers in Late Medieval England', in R.E. Archer and S. Walker (eds.), *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England: Essays Presented to Gerald Harriss* (London, 1995), pp. 1-15; *idem.,* 'Personalities and Politics' in A.J. Pollard (ed.), *The Wars of the Roses* (Basingstoke, 1995), pp. 89-109; C. Carpenter, 'Who Ruled the Midlands in the Later Middle Ages?' *Midland History* 19 (1994), pp. 1-20 and *idem. Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992); I. Rowney, 'Resources and Retaining in Yorkist England: William Lord Hastings and the honour of Tutbury' in A.J. Pollard (ed.), *Property and Politics: Essays in Later Medieval English History* (Gloucester, 1984), pp. 139-55; Richmond, 'Patronage and Polemic', pp. 67-72; C. Given-Wilson, 'Rank and Status among the English Nobility c. 1300-1500' in T. Huthwelker, J. Peltzer and M. Wemhöner (eds.), *Princely Rank in Late Medieval Europe: Trodden Paths and Promising Avenues* (Ostfildern, 2011), pp. 97-118.

[479] C. Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1996,) pp. 160-79.

chapter examines the relationships around this core, the ways in which Garter membership, peerages and knighthoods developed links between individuals and with the king. The third section builds on this to focus on the ways in which hierarchy was visually reinforced at royal events, specifically funerals, marriages and in the trial of the king's brother, Clarence.

3.1   Identifying the Yorkists

None of those who battled to secure Edward's throne described themselves as Yorkist, because the term is anachronistic.[480] Those who did support the king were not a homogenous group but a disjointed and shifting collection of individuals who were committed to regime change to varying extents, at different times, for different reasons. A complicated mix of self-interest and the protection of personal wealth and position, the desire for greater political standing, as well as a genuine belief in the promise of the new regime fuelled the level of support offered to the new king.[481] The political landscape thus encompassed divergent degrees of attachment to and involvement with the monarch and administration. Close affiliation with the house of York, however, could be clearly identified, such as the retainers whose family prosperity had long been embedded in ducal success. Moreover, the relationships at the heart of the regime shaped the reigns of both Edward IV and Richard III. Those who joined with York in the 1450s, critically the Nevilles, and to a much lesser extent Richard in 1483 made a political reality of personal ambitions, putting their public careers and lives on the line in support of would-be monarchs. The stakes were high, as the attainders of York and Salisbury at the Coventry parliament in 1459 demonstrated, but rewards potentially great.

The emergence of a distinct Yorkist party can be discerned by 1460, born from the developing conflict and defined as a group in opposition to the Lancastrian monarch. This not only determined who was a Yorkist, but engendered personal investment in establishing a successful regime. At the core of this was an inner circle of those closest to the monarch and with most to lose, or gain, with its failure or success. This nucleus dictated the construction of relationships around the king: their endowments and status in royal display was a benchmark against which social position could be marked. They were a known group, indicated in the offices with which they were entrusted and in the records which note their prominence, for instance the chroniclers who determined those

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[480] The term appears to have been first used over a century later, in 1601, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

[481]   A. J. Pollard, 'Yorkists (*act. c.*1450–1471)', *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/theme/95580' (accessed 12 January 2013).

worthy of being named.[482] Contemporaries were clear about who was of greatest importance around the king and the advantage of acquaintance. John Paston, for instance, insisted he was moving in these exalted circles when reporting home from the sieges at Alnwick and Bamburgh in December 1462.[483] Public roles tied individuals to the monarch and demonstrated position, which established a hierarchy of intimacy.

The key Yorkists held real power because they had direct access to, and influence on, the king as well as the means to prosecute their own initiative.[484] Predominantly, this group of men were nobility or upper gentry and not members of the immediate royal family; many were cousins and in-laws.[485] Direct family members, the royal brothers Clarence and Gloucester, held a different position because as heirs to Edward their association with the regime was distinct: titles and offices for these men theoretically bolstered royal influence rather than devolving it. Linked to this was the status of female Yorkists, hugely important to the success of the regime yet almost without notice in the records. Again these were royal family members whose position depended on Edward's success, the most prominent being the king's mother Cecily duchess of York and his sister Margaret of York. These women were instrumental in shoring up the fragmented Yorkists in 1471 and enabling Edward to regain his throne, a role which was publicly commended in the *Arrivall*.[486] Certainly, their political significance ran far deeper than the evidence illuminates.[487] However women were not entrusted with offices of state or position in the localities, as the men at the centre of the regime were,

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[482] *Annales*, for example, gives the names of those at Baynard's in March 1461, adding '*et multi alii*' at the end of the list, vol 2 part 2 p. 777; *Gregory* lists the noteworthy killed at Towton, pp. 216-17.

[483] Paston claimed to be well acquainted with lords Hastings and Dacres, Davis, *Paston Letters,* vol 1 pp. 522-24.

[484] The importance of access to the monarch, and more specifically the dangers of exploitation of proximity to a weak king, is discussed in Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 216-21.

[485] On the consciousness of rank and relations in the wider royal family, see R.A. Griffiths, 'The Crown and the Royal Family in Later Medieval England' in *idem.* and J. Sherborne (eds.), *Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages* (Gloucester, 1986), pp. 15-26. On the complications arising from convoluted family connections, J.R. Lander, 'Family, 'Friends' and Politics in Fifteenth-century England' in *ibid.,* pp. 27-40.

[486] *Arrivall*, p. 156.

[487] Cecily was described in April 1461 as being able to rule Edward IV as she pleased by the Bishop of Elphin, *CSPM*, p. 67; Margaret undertook a diplomatic mission to England in 1480 to negotiate with Edward on behalf of Burgundy, Weightman, *Margaret,* pp. 134-38; similarly Elizabeth Woodville was considered important enough to be the first named executor of Edward's will, *Excerpta Historica,* pp. 378-79.

and neither did they receive honours. Although bonds needed to be created to tie individuals to the regime, strong links already existed between family members.[488]

The significant figures within the Yorkist regime were readily apparent, as were the shifts in prominence over the period, not least because of the importance of support during civil conflict.[489] The attainder of the rebels in 1459, for instance, clearly defined a Yorkist group.[490] At a parliamentary session of 1461, participants wrote down a list of Yorkist lords alongside those who were considered neutral in an attempt to visualise support during intense crisis.[491] Broadly, the key men in the early part of Edward IV's reign were those inherited from his father; just as the geography of his monarchy was mapped onto his ducal patrimony, so was his key personnel. These included York's retainers, the Nevilles and their associates, and those who joined them during the 1450s, men such as John Mowbray duke of Norfolk, Henry Bourchier and Walter Blount.[492] During the civil war identification with a party was both clear, standing alongside each other on the battlefield, and profound, binding political futures together. Declaring for one side, and changing allegiance, was a public matter, just as avoiding doing so involved shying away from public life, as John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester did by leaving the country in 1459.[493]

The Yorkist core was identified in a number of ways, most significantly through the offices held and their visible involvement at the head of the regime. The council that gathered at Baynard's Castle on 3 March 1461 to effect Edward, earl of March's formal acceptance of the throne amounted to a handful of men who formed the Yorkist elite at

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[488] Marriage was a critical facet involving women in creating connections, see, for example, on the elevation of the queen's siblings, Hicks, 'Role of the Wydevilles', pp. 209-28.

[489] Pollard, 'Yorkists' *DNB*; Carpenter, *Wars of the Roses,* pp. 159-60.

[490] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1459', items 20, 21.

[491] C. Richmond, 'The Nobility and the Wars of the Roses: The Parliamentary Session of January 1461', *Parliamentary History,* 18 (1999), pp. 261-69

[492] Mowbray, Bourchier and Blount escaped attainder in 1459 and the first two both swore oaths of allegiance to Henry at the parliament, Horrox, 'Parliament of 1459', item 26. By July 1460 Bourchier had openly joined the Yorkists, he was made treasurer as George Neville became chancellor after the capture of Henry VI at the battle of Northampton. Both Mowbray and Blount fought for Edward at Towton in March 1461, Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 27, 36.

[493] Tiptoft had served the earldom of March under York and on councils during the protectorate, but never committed to the cause until after Edward IV was on the throne, Johnson, *Duke Richard,* pp. 16, 127-28.

that point. Just eight people were recorded as present: three leading clerics, two peers and three of gentry or baronial status.[494] While many others were said to have also been there, those considered noteworthy were Thomas Bourchier archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Beauchamp bishop of Salisbury, George Neville bishop of Exeter, John Mowbray duke of Norfolk, Richard Neville earl of Warwick, John Radcliffe Lord Fitzwalter, William Herbert and Walter Devereaux. Others identified as being at the core of the regime included those with Edward at Mortimer's Cross and who came into London with him, specifically John Wenlock and William Hastings, and those who swelled the ranks as the battle went north in later March 1461: William Neville Lord Fauconberg, John Neville Lord Montagu, John Lord Scrope of Bolton.[495] What identified these men as central to the Yorkist regime was the attention that they received in contemporary accounts: they were literally the men of note.

More definitive evidence of these individuals' position was expressed through the elevation to peerages, knighthoods, membership of the Order of the Garter and public offices which were given out rapidly after the battle of Towton. This began on the battlefield with the knighting of Hastings, Devereaux, Humphrey Stafford and others on 29 March 1461.[496] Titles quickly followed, the first creations being the king's brother, George, as duke of Clarence at the coronation and Henry Bourchier as earl of Essex on 30 June.[497] Edward IV's first parliament in November 1461 saw his younger brother Richard created duke of Gloucester, Fauconberg earl of Kent and baronages awarded to Hastings, Herbert, Devereaux, Wenlock and Humphrey Stafford.[498] Clarence, Herbert and Hastings were also made companions of the Order of the Garter in the first year of

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[494] *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 p. 777.

[495] *ibid.*; *Gregory,* p. 261; Davis, *Paston Letters,* part 1 pp. 165-66; *CSPM*, p. 61; Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 34-36

[496] Davis, *Paston Letters,* part 1 p. 165; also Thomas Montgomery, John Howard sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk and Thomas Walgrave, on 29 March 1461, BL, Additional MS 46354, f. 2v.

[497] Scofield, *Edward*, vol 1 p. 184.

[498] Edward's peerage creations are listed as an appendix in T.B. Pugh, 'The Magnates, Knights and Gentry', in S.B. Chrimes, C.D. Ross and R.A. Griffiths (eds.), *Fifteenth Century England 1399-1509, Studies in Politics and Society* second edition, (Stroud, 1995), pp. 116-17.

Edward's reign, as were Montagu and Scrope.[499] Warwick and Norfolk had been members before Edward's accession.[500]

A distinct inner circle of prominent Yorkists was thus defined through status, the foundation of this being both service to the duke of York and military comradeship. The core of Edward's support was something of a Yorkist old guard: those elevated furthest, Hastings, Herbert and Devereaux, were all former retainers of York; both Devereaux and Hastings had followed their fathers into York's service.[501] Wenlock, similarly, had served in Ireland with York and Bourchier was married to York's sister Isobel and had held a prominent position in York's protectorate council in 1454.[502] Besides Bourchier, these were the men who fought with Edward at Mortimer's Cross, as did Fitzwalter, who died at Towton, and Humphrey Stafford, a more recent Yorkist convert.[503] These men brought a range of age and experience around the eighteen-year-old king, with most being in their thirties and practiced in politics and conflict; Wenlock was a veteran of the French wars.[504] Other key Yorkists in 1461, such as Scrope of Bolton, Sir John Conyers, Montagu and Fauconberg, were allied to the Nevilles.[505]

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[499] Also Sir John Astley, Sir William Chamberlain (who may have died before taking up post) and John Tiptoft earl of Worcester, B. Daw, 'Elections to the Order of the Garter in the Reign of Edward IV, 1461-83', *Medieval Prosopography,* 19 (1998), pp. 195-96.

[500] Warwick had joined the Order in 1460, *ibid.*, pp. 194-95. John Mowbray, third duke of Norfolk, became a companion of the Order in 1451 and was replaced by Tiptoft when he died in November 1461, Shaw, *Knights of England,* vol 1 p. 12.

[501] Carpenter, *Wars of the Roses,* p. 159.

[502] Wenlock had been Margaret of Anjou's chamberlain but was one of those attainted at Coventry in 1459. He had served as parliamentary speaker during York's second protectorate and had been rewarded by York with £20 for 'good service and counsel', a foreshadow of Edward IV's introduction of payments to speakers. He also travelled to Ireland with York following the rout at Ludford, 1459, Johnson, *Duke Richard,* pp. 164 n. 57, 172 n. 108, 199 n. 19; L. Clark, 'Bourchier, Henry, first earl of Essex (*c.*1408–1483)', *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/2987' (accessed 6 November 2012).

[503] Those who fought at Mortimer's Cross are listed in Harvey, *Worcestre Itineraries*, pp. 202-205. C. Starr, 'Fitzwalter family (*per. c.*1200–*c.*1500)', *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/54522' (accessed 31 October 2012); *Gregory,* p. 216; *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 p. 777; *Hearne,* p. 9; Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 31.

[504] In March 1461, Devereaux was aged c.29, Herbert c. 38, Hastings c. 32, Henry Bourchier c. 53, Wenlock c. 60, John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, 46 and Warwick 32. Humphrey Stafford was nearer in age to the new king, at c. 22, see their respective entries in *DNB*.

[505] John Neville, Lord Montagu, was Warwick's brother, William Neville, Lord Fauconberg, his uncle. John, Lord Scrope of Bolton, and Conyers were retainers of the earl's, Pollard, *Warwick*, p. 113, and on Warwick's affinity, pp. 93-125. Conyers had been attainted in the Coventry parliament, and was made a Garter knight by Richard III, Horrox, *Richard III,* pp. 49; Anstis, *Register,* p. 221.

The key Yorkists who placed Edward IV on the throne also formed the core of his government and received the greatest rewards of lands. The council created in 1461 included Henry Bourchier as treasurer, Warwick as chamberlain, George Neville as chancellor, Hastings as chamberlain of the household, Fauconberg as steward of the household and Wenlock as chief butler.[506] Walter Blount retained the treasurership of Calais; Tiptoft was made constable of the Tower and soon after constable of England.[507] Estates were granted to these men alongside their new responsibilities. In 1461 this was closely linked to the need to shore the fledgeling regime against Lancastrian opposition. Thus Devereaux and Herbert received land in Wales which bolstered their influence there, as Warwick and then his brother Montagu were strengthened in their position in the north.[508] Further land grants enhanced the standing of the new Yorkist elite. Hastings received property in Hastings and Leicestershire as well as duchy of Lancaster offices; Bourchier the forfeited estates of the earls of Wiltshire and Oxford.[509] This was the development of an ennobled, landed, new regime whose titles afforded status and offices authority; this Yorkist core were, in essence, the regime.

The granting of property amongst these key figures acted as reward for loyalty but more importantly enabled those who had proven their fidelity to continue to build the regime around the king. Land and status sustained the political position of which offices of state were both a mark of recognition and a responsibility. Property, status and office together constituted real political power in the new reign, offering the ability to act in the interests of the regime as well as individually; more than just a gift, it also burdened these men with ensuring the survival and stability of Yorkist monarchy. This was especially true in 1461 with Edward holding a tentative grip on the throne and facing significant Lancastrian opposition.[510] For Richard III in 1483 the threat of opposition was far less potent and consequently while new men were brought in as officers, such as

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[506]   A.R. Myers (ed.), *The Household of Edward IV: The Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478* (Manchester, 1959), pp. 286-87; E. B. Pryde and D. E. Greenway (eds.), *Handbook of British Chronology*, (3rd ed., London, 1996), pp. 87, 107.

[507] Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 43, 80-81.

[508]   R. A. Griffiths, 'Devereux, Walter, first Baron Ferrers of Chartley (*c.*1432–1485)', *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/50222' (accessed 29 July 2013); Carpenter, *Wars of the Roses,* pp. 158-60.

[509] Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 74-75.

[510] On Edward IV's early reign, see for example *ibid.*, pp. 42-63.

his close supporter Francis, Viscount Lovell as household chamberlain, many existing councillors kept their positions.[511] The largest beneficiary of Richard's seizure of power was Buckingham, who had been promoted as the orchestrator of the coup, just as Warwick had been the driving force behind Edward's accession and likewise the greatest beneficiary.[512]

The make-up of the Yorkist elite at the beginning of Edward's reign was founded both on the loyalty of retainers and political alliances forged in the 1450s and still drawing in support in the years after accession. These included old Yorkists, those long in the duke's service, and new men such as Norfolk, Bourchier, Wenlock and Humphrey Stafford who only made their allegiance clear around the time of York's ascendancy in 1460. Similarly, the Neville clique within the regime brought long-serving as well as new adherents. There was, then, a balance of the security of proven loyalty and new political partnerships in the embryonic Yorkist regime. These different strands of support - old, new, York and Neville - were bonded through fighting together, the most important feature of the foundation of Edward's rule. A martial element ran through both the presentation of the new king, as seen for example in the warrior monarch depicted in genealogies and in the rhetoric of Edward's parliamentary speeches, and the ways in which bonds were cemented with those at the centre of power.[513] This was also manifest in the knighthoods bestowed on individuals on the battlefield, such as at Towton and Tewkesbury, and in the use of the Order of the Garter. The resurgence of this military order of chivalry during the Yorkist period was a useful way of rewarding followers and bringing people into the fold, as perhaps with Tiptoft in 1462, but more importantly both reflected and responded to the way in which the regime emerged from conflict.[514] That is, the Order, like battlefield knighthoods, was specifically about Yorkist military service, in contrast to its origins as a fraternity of those who fought for England in France. While offices of state and rewards of land made the elite Yorkists politically and

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[511] Horrox, *Richard III*, pp. 147-48, 249; on Lovell, M.E. Simon, 'The Lovells of Titchmarsh: An English Baronial Family, 1297-148?' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of York 1999), pp. 69-77.

[512] On 25 June 1483 Buckingham headed a council which drew up the petition to offer Richard the throne, presenting it to him at Baynard's Castle the following day; he was rewarded with offices in the Welsh marches in particular, Ross, *Richard III*, pp. 93, 164.

[513] Edward as a warrior monarch, see below, section 5.3.

[514] See below, section 3.2.1.

regionally powerful, these honours functioned to create unity: making a 'circle' of the powerful.

Title, public office and landed wealth made the core Yorkists the most powerful men in the country, with responsibility for ensuring the regime's success. Power was not enhanced or defined by display at royal ceremony, but was rather demonstrated by action. This is illustrated by the fact that Warwick, Herbert and Devereaux were not at Edward IV's coronation in June 1461, despite being instrumental in establishing the regime.[515] Instead they were making good the security of that regime, defending the north and Welsh marches against Lancastrian attack. This is not to suggest that genuine power did not need to be exhibited. The balance was more subtle: Yorkists needed to demonstrate their position, that they were functioning appropriately, in order to breed confidence in the regime. Hence the performance of the coronation as a traditional ritual embedded and validated Edward's seizure of the throne. The leadership needed to be seen as such, hence the significance of chroniclers' ability to list the important men of the regime. Military success was vital in winning the crown, but triumph also fed into the visual iconography, with Edward promoted as a warrior king. Powerful men were primarily responsible for ensuring the survival of the regime, but this was also the most profound demonstration of loyalty; their ties to the king were expressed physically as well as symbolically, for example through Garter membership.

Those with power and influence were not isolated individuals but belonged to a committed Yorkist core, most of whom had fought for the regime and were deeply invested in its survival. They formed a genuine inner circle around the king, a powerful elite who were not sealed off but part of a web of relationships. Men could fall out of this power circle, as Warwick and his associates did by rebellion in 1469-71, just as Clarence did in 1478 when he was executed for treason and Hastings in 1483. But for most of the period the basic core remained robust.[516] Men who had been at the heart of the regime from the 1450s remained even after Richard III's usurpation: survivors like

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[515] Hicks, *Warwick,* p. 234; Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 48.

[516] Also George Neville, archbishop of York, who was fundamental to the establishment of the regime in 1461 and its first chancellor, but expelled from the country in 1472 in the aftermath of his brother's rebellion and imprisoned at Hammes Castle near Calais, Scofield, *Edward,* vol 2 pp. 28-29.

Devereaux, Sir John Astley and Scrope of Bolton were present at his coronation.[517] New men were also elevated into this power circle, as seen in the rise in prominence of queen's family, especially her father Earl Rivers and brother Lord Scales, following Edward's marriage in 1464.[518] The scale of their advancement shocked the political community, not just because of their relatively low status but the rapidity with which they were promoted to title and position. This was a contrast to the years of loyal, brave service demonstrated by the established Yorkist elite.[519] Indeed their Lancastrian associations, demonstrated by Anthony Woodville's fighting for Henry VI at Towton, for instance, were antipathetic to the foundation of this core, forged in defence of Edward's throne.[520] Fracturing the bonds at the heart of the regime by elevating the Woodvilles to the centre damaged the unity that had been engendered in the early 1460s. Their promotion was not the only cause of the breakdown between Edward IV and Warwick, but it marked an evolution in the political landscape, the widening of the Yorkist elite.

The division between Edward and Warwick at the top of the regime was a fissure powerful enough to re-ignite civil war.[521] Broadly, Neville supporters backed Warwick against the king, though it was not a clean divide, as Clarence sided against his brother.[522] Bringing the duke back into the fold in 1471 served to significantly reestablish the Yorkist core, diminished by division and death but replenished by men with newly enhanced influence: Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, William Fitzalan

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[517] Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation*, pp. 270-71.

[518] In 1466 Rivers became treasurer on 4 March and was made an earl on 24 May; the following year he was made constable of England on 24 August, *CPR* 1461-67, p. 516, 1467-77, p. 19l; *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 p. 785. Anthony Woodville was made a Garter knight in 1466-67 and received minor offices, including chief butler and lieutenant of Calais in 1470 and was a governor of the prince of Wales in 1473, *CPR* 1467-77, pp. 393, 417, 450; Anstis, *Register,* vol 1 p. 183. More dramatic than the offices given to the queen's father and brother were the profitable marriages of seven of her siblings, Lander, 'Marriage and Politics', pp. 104-26; Hicks, 'Role of the Wydevilles', pp. 209-28.

[519] *Mancini*, for instance, stated that the Woodvilles were hated because they were ignoble and advanced too far, p. 69; *Waurin*, vol 5 p. 455; the author of *Annales* was horrified at the marriage of John Woodville to Katherine Neville, dowager duchess of Norfolk, over forty-five years his senior, vol 2 part 2 p. 783; Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 93.

[520] *Gregory*, p. 216.

[521] See below, pp. 224-26.

[522] Scrope of Bolton, for instance, was with Warwick and Clarence when they fled abroad in 1470, *CSPM,* p. 137; Conyers was probably the instigator of Robin of Redesdale's rebellion in 1469, Horrox, *Richard III*, p. 31.

earl of Arundel and, increasingly, Richard, duke of Gloucester.[523] This was a new core group, men who were Yorkists in the sense of serving a king of the house of York, rather than members of a faction.[524] The fundamental difference was the balance of power within the regime, weighted much more in the king's favour than the presence of Warwick and his affinity had allowed before 1470. The ways in which loyalty was nurtured and displayed between the king and key figures was consistent, however. The creation of bonds through offices and honours was central, the focus being as much on duty and responsibility as it was on display of status. This not only sustained a circle of the powerful but established a pattern which underpinned the wider web of relationships from the monarch outwards.

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[523] Following Edward's restoration in 1471 Gloucester was given a powerful role in the north of England, and Percy was restored to the traditional family role of warden of the east March, with other grants, Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp. 310, 316-19; *CPR* 1467-77, pp. 258, 260, 266, 341, 467. Arundel was made lieutenant of the Cinque Ports, and was one of those who ran the country in the king's absence during the French campaign in 1475, *ibid.,* p. 260; Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 221. Percy, Arundel and his son Lord Maltravers were all made companions of the Garter between 1471 and 1474, Daw, 'Elections', pp. 203-208.

[524] Pollard, for instance, dates the Yorkists from 1450 to 1471, 'Yorkists', *DNB*.

3.2   Creating Intimacy: the Order of the Garter, Peerages and Knighthoods

The Yorkist elite were a core group of men who exercised real political power and influence; intimacy with the monarch and between members was forged in defiance of one regime and in defence of another. Investment in the regime made this a distinct group within the circles around the king, but the involvement of these individuals in political and chivalric society meant that the circles overlapped, serving to build a wider web of relationships from this core. Belonging to distinct but overlying groups such as knights, Garter members and the peerage developed links between people and with the king, crosscutting layers through which the culture of Yorkist monarchy developed. The following sections examine three key ways in which intimacy was established and how it functioned to create bonds with the monarch. The Order of the Garter (section 3.2.1) was at the pinnacle of developing Yorkist chivalric culture, a knightly core just as the regime-makers formed a political core. Edward IV's use of the Garter set the tone for his style of monarchy and influenced the mode of establishing and demonstrating relationships with wider groups. Status and hierarchy formed another facet of this, through the creations of peers and bestowal of knighthoods (section 3.2.2). These were key ways in which circles of intimacy were framed through expression of the king's favour. This was echoed through placement within royal ceremony, hierarchy embedded through the display of rank at royal events (section 3.3).

3.2.1 The Order of the Garter and Chivalric Culture

This section analyses Edward IV's use of the Order of the Garter in the creation of a chivalric leadership within Yorkist England. This approach was born of the political factionalism of the 1450s and gained increasing significance in shaping his style of monarchy from the mid-1460s. Edward IV did not reinvent the Order, but rather elevated the Garter to a renewed level of importance as a touchstone of monarchy. This was a deliberate royal initiative to build on the foundation of Edward's monarchy in civil war, capitalising on the bonds forged between those fighting for the same cause and behind a leader promoted as a warrior king. Garter membership created a defined group within the Yorkist elite which mirrored and overlapped with the key figures of political importance, a parallel circle of intimacy. Wearing the Garter and participating in Order festivities identified a brotherhood at the heart of the regime, one which characterised the chivalric nature of Edward's kingship. The use of the Order enabled Edward to bind supporters to him; it also sanctified the military role played by those who secured his throne. Bloody violence was validated as royal service and honoured through identification with the Order. This created a core group of chivalric leaders which moved the regime away from civil conflict. The importance of this circle was heightened by the promotion of chivalric ideals more widely to connect people with the regime, broadening the influence of this sphere.

Scholarship on the Order of the Garter during Edward's reign is limited. Hugh Collins' important study, highlighting the significant political use of the Garter in the century after its inception, ends at the start of the Yorkist era.[525] Other scholars have recognised the importance of chivalry during this period, most recently Nigel Saul's overview which summarises the scholarly discussion in debating the revival of chivalry under Edward IV.[526] This work is influenced in particular by Jonathan Hughes' book on Edward IV, an Arthurian study on the reign, and an article by Richard Barber which focuses in detail on chivalric influence at the Yorkist court.[527] Two further articles

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[525] Collins, *Garter*.

[526] N. Saul, 'The Wars of the Roses and Yorkist Chivalry' in *idem., For Honour and Fame: Chivalry in Medieval England* (London, 2011), pp. 325-46, especially pp. 334-46.

[527] Hughes, *Arthurian Myths*; Barber, 'Morte', pp. 133-55.

address this subject. Anne Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs' wide-ranging article draws on the influence of chivalric treatises and literature, crusading ideals and the membership of the Garter to assess attitudes towards chivalry in the reigns of Edward IV and Richard III.[528] An article by Ben Daw focuses more specifically on the individuals elected to Edward IV's Garter, noting a shift in membership between his first and second reign.[529] All of these works observe the renewed interest in chivalry during the Yorkist period, particularly in the reign of Edward IV. The section here expands on that to analyse the ways in which the revived Order functioned as the apex of intimacy between monarch and subject and created an interest in knightly culture that permeated outwards. Elevation of this core heightened wider enthusiasm for chivalric pursuits, such as jousting, and involvement in these events encouraged wider groups to engage with the regime. This intensified in the 1470s, particularly with the rebuilding of St George's Chapel, Windsor, but also in a magnified devotion to St George and the commitment to knightly enterprise in the French campaign of 1475. Throughout, loyalty remained the paramount principle underlying the use of the Garter, but the Yorkists brought added weight to the significance of peace as a key value, as well as enhancing the role of display.

Established by Edward III in 1348 to reward martial prowess and create a military community around the king, the Order of the Garter had served as a useful political and diplomatic tool for over a hundred years before the Yorkists came to power. Founded following Edward III's claim to the French title and in the glow of English military victory in France as a fraternity built around conquest, the rationale behind the Order would seem to have been dealt a serious blow by the loss of Normandy and Aquitaine by 1453.[530] Military achievement became less important as qualification for admission

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[528] A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, "'Chevalerie… in som partie is worthi forto be comendid, and in som part to ben amendid": Chivalry and the Yorkist Kings' in Richmond and Scarff, *St George's Chapel, Windsor*, pp. 107-33.

[529] Daw, 'Elections', pp. 187-213.

[530] J. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context, 1270-1350* (Woodbridge, 1982), p. 83; Ormrod, 'For Arthur and St George', p. 20; H. Collins, 'The Order of the Garter, 1348-1461: Chivalry and Politics in Later Medieval England' in D.E.S. Dunn (ed.), *Courts, Counties and the Capital in the Later Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1996), p. 157.

to the Order during the period of English losses in France under Henry VI.[531] Yet as England disintegrated into civil war bonds between men became increasingly critical and in this context the Garter, designed as a fraternity, functioned as both an expression of where loyalty lay and a battleground of loyalties. Throughout the 1450s new members were elected because of their Lancastrian partisanship, while Yorkist attendance at chapter meetings was poor: the duke of York, for instance, was not present throughout the 1450s.[532] Counteracting this, Henry VI's last Garter chapter, held late in 1460, was dominated by the Yorkists who elected four of their supporters as companions.[533] The election of Richard earl of Warwick, Sir John Wenlock, William Lord Bonville and Sir Thomas Kyriell at this moment of governmental upheaval highlights the Order's continued significance as a political and symbolic body.[534]

These Yorkist appointments represented a demonstration of control. Warwick and Bonville were nominated by every one of the eight members present at the bishop's palace in London, with only the earl of Kendal declining the use of his vote, claiming that he did not know lords of the kingdom without reproach, a characteristic regarded as essential for companions.[535] The meeting offered a neat snapshot of the power balance leading up to Edward's accession in March 1461: Warwick was in London at the heart of government and in possession of Henry VI; both Warwick and Edward as earl of

[531]   D. Dunn, 'Margaret of Anjou, Chivalry and the Order of the Garter' in Richmond and Scarff, *St George's Chapel, Windsor*, p. 53. Military credentials retained some relevance, however, Collins, 'Chivalry and Politics', pp. 161-63, 179.

[532]   York did not attend Garter meetings from 1447 onwards, Richard earl of Salisbury similarly made excuses and did not attend in 1454-55, 1457-59, Dunn, 'Margaret of Anjou and Chivalry', pp. 49-51, 54; Collins, 'Chivalry and Politics', p. 174.

[533]   The date of this Garter meeting is unclear. The source, the Black Book (St George's Chapel archives, SGC G.1 (1534)) printed in Anstis, *Register*, gives a date of 8 February 1461, vol 1 pp. 166-68. However, it also lists the earl of Salisbury as present, though he died at the battle of Wakefield on 30 December 1460, and refers to Edward as earl of March, not duke of York, his title in February 1461. Collins, *Garter*, pp. 200-201 and 201 n. 65 dates the meeting to September 1460, following N.H. Nicholas, *History of the Orders of Knighthood of the British Empire* (4 vols, London, 1484), vol 1 p. 87-88, who proposed that the meeting took place after the battle of Northampton on 10 July 1460, when the king fell into Yorkist hands; also Daw, 'Elections', p. 195.

[534]   Bonville was a Yorkist from the mid-1450s when his grandson married Warwick's sister Katherine, M. Cherry, 'Bonville, William, first Baron Bonville (1392–1461)', *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/50217', (accessed 20 November 2012); Kyriell supported York from June 1460, A. Curry, 'Kyriell, Sir Thomas (1396–1461)', *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/50135', (accessed 20 November 2012).

[535]   Anstis, *Register,* vol 1 pp. 166-67; Jean le Foix, earl of Kendal had been deprived of his stall by 1463 when his ensigns were taken down at the Garter meeting of 22 April, *ibid.* pp. 176-77. The reference is to article three of the statutes, L. Jefferson, 'MS Arundel 48 and the Earliest Statutes of the Order of the Garter', *English Historical Review,* 109 (1994), p. 377.

March were nominated by every member present, but only Warwick was chosen.[536] Holding Henry VI gave the faction political agency in operating in the king's name, but it was a platform which guaranteed vulnerability to circumstance, as the loss of the king at the battle of St Albans in February 1461 demonstrated. The desire to redress imbalance within Garter membership was a clear attempt to ensure Yorkist representation amongst an elite group, evidence of the determination to infiltrate and potentially dominate different political arenas in strengthening position. The implication is that the Order held an importance beyond the simple honour of membership: it was politically useful as a statement of where power lay, as companionship served to define and exhibit those who were significant within the Yorkist faction. The move to boost Yorkist membership in 1460 was no empty gesture; rather it was considered a significant part of establishing a regime, acting simultaneously to further bind supporters and signal those bonds within the political elite. A consequence of this may have been to draw in more support, as the faction gained credibility through acting as a regime able to govern and demonstrated its ability to offer people positions of prominence.[537]

The use of the Order of the Garter in the Yorkist period emerged from the politically fraught context of the regime's establishment. There was no 'revolution' in its use under Edward IV, as has been argued; rather revival evolved progressively from the factionalism of the 1450s into the court culture of the 1460s and as a pillar of dynastic reputation in the 1470s.[538] Indeed the compelling and consistent need to promote the legitimacy of the Yorkist regime inevitably counteracted extreme change in its institutions: continuity was far more important, as seen in the wider context of the assimilation of established aspects of kingship. The Yorkists were not innovators in the use of the Garter as a form of patronage, to secure loyalty within the nobility or to

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[536] Henry VI had been captured by the Yorkists at the battle of Northampton in July 1460, who then lost possession of the former king at the battle of St Albans on 17 February 1461, Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 27, 32-33.

[537] Loyalties were not absolute and gaining support still important, for example Garter members Wenlock and Kyriell were among those who had only joined the Yorkists in 1459-60, similarly Humphrey Stafford of Southwick, Edmund Lord Grey of Ruthin and Sir Thomas Vaughan, D.A.L. Morgan, 'The King's Affinity in the Polity of Yorkist England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* fifth series, 23 (1973), p. 5; Pollard, 'Yorkists' *DNB*.

[538] Barber, 'Morte', p. 153.

embody the chivalric culture around the monarch.[539] Even the interest in chivalric sport was not unique, but rather echoed a trend that had swept across the continent in earlier decades.[540]

What did develop over the reign of Edward IV was the intensity with which the ideals of the Order were embraced as part of a style of monarchy. There was a growth in interest in chivalric pursuits, an increasing attachment to St George, greater royal ownership and leadership of the Order through amendments to its articles, and above all the visible statement in stone about his kingship, the rebuilding of St George's Chapel, Windsor. Richard III inherited a Yorkist regime whose reputation was defined in relation to these ideals, but in such a short, fraught reign could neither capitalise on this nor develop his own brand of chivalric monarchy. Edward IV had been presented as a warrior monarch from the beginning of his reign, and the development of this into a chivalric culture with the Garter and St George's Chapel at the centre is at the heart of how this king created relationships with and between his subjects.[541] The Garter represented a core from which radiated circles of intimacy nurtured by the monarch through the bestowal of honours, reinforcement of rank and physical proximity to the king. As with the political elite, the foundation of Edward's reign was critical in shaping the clear group which emerged as knightly leaders.

Beginnings (1461-62)

Regime change born of conflict cleared the way not just for new members of the Order of Garter but also for the bestowal of titles, offices and estates.[542] Henry IV had enjoyed this opportunity in 1399, as did Edward IV in 1461 and 1471 and Richard III in 1483.[543] Deaths and degradation of members created the opportunity for Edward IV to elect thirteen new companions in the first two years of his reign and hence to create a distinct group within the Yorkist elite. This patronage was offered as a reward for loyalty,

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[539] Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Chevalerie', p. 125.

[540] Barber, 'Morte', p. 153.

[541] See below, pp. 220-21.

[542] Discussed in section 3.1, above.

[543]   Henry IV filled ten vacancies between 1399-1400, Collins, *Garter,* p. 109; Edward elected thirteen new members in 1461-63 and seven in 1471, Anstis, *Register,* vol 1 pp. 176 n. 185; Richard III seven new members to nine spaces in 1484-85, Ross, *Richard III,* pp. 57-58.

echoing the Lancastrian practice, but also as recognition for military achievement, as under Edward III.[544]

Edward IV's first elections comprised a group of men loyal to the king, to the house of York, and to each other.[545] Many had served Richard duke of York either in France or as retainers; most had faced Lancastrian forces on the battlefields of England. Before becoming companions these men had proven their loyalty and willingness to fight not for country but specifically for this king. Pre-eminent among these friends of the king were William Hastings and Walter Herbert, both of whom had fought with Edward at Mortimer's Cross and Towton.[546] They were at the core of the new regime, Hastings in the household as chamberlain and Herbert securing the Welsh marches. Both had served York, as had Sir William Chamberlain as part of the duke's retinue in France. Sir Robert Harcourt also had early connections with the duke.[547] Military reputation underpinned the majority of these elections. Sir John Astley was renowned for his service in France and enjoyed a great chivalric reputation thanks to his deeds of arms in jousts in the 1440s.[548] John Neville Lord Montagu, Lord Scrope of Bolton and Harcourt had also fought at Towton.[549] The actions of Scottish rebel James Earl Douglas to incite uprisings in Scotland had been critical in dividing a country which both supported the Lancastrian cause and threatened invasion.[550] Gascon exile Galliard Durefort, Lord Duras, had held a pivotal role in keeping Calais Yorkist.[551] John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, was not in

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[544] The dukes of York and Norfolk, earls of Salisbury and Wiltshire, lords Bonville, Kyriell, Welles, Fastolf, Fauconberg and the king of Denmark died, the earl of Pembroke was degraded and earl of Kendal resigned. Further stalls were made available by the reallocation of the emperor's stall and the deaths of Sir William Chamberlain soon after election and the duke of Viseu, son to the king of Portugal and great-uncle to Henry VI, Anstis, *Register,* vol 1 p. 171, vol 2 p. 179.

[545] The thirteen elections were: the duke of Clarence, Sir William Chamberlain, lords William Hastings, Walter Herbert and John Neville Lord Montagu, John Tiptoft earl of Worcester, Sir John Astley, John Lord Scrope of Bolton, Sir Robert Harcourt, James Earl Douglas, Galliard Durefort Lord Duras, Ferrante I king of Naples and Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan. Daw, 'Elections', pp. 195-96; Anstis, *Register,* vol 1 p. 171.

[546] Harvey, *Worcestre Itineraries*, p. 203; *Annales*, vol 2 part 2 p. 777.

[547] Johnson, *Duke Richard*, pp. 55, 105; Daw, 'Elections', p. 195.

[548] Barber, 'Morte', pp. 139-41; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Chevalerie', pp. 130-32.

[549] Davis, *Paston Letters,* part 1 p. 165; Boardman, *Towton*, p. 47.

[550] A.R. Borthwick, 'Douglas, James, ninth earl of Douglas and third earl of Avondale (*c.*1425–1491)', *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/7892' (accessed 26 November 2012); Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 46.

[551] Duras joined the Yorkist earls at Calais in 1460 and was subsequently made marshal of Calais, Scofield, *Edward*, vol 1 pp. 61, 205.

England during the battles of 1460 and 1461, but his support was valued by the Yorkists and bought in part through his election to the Garter.[552] This was more than mere reward: it was a recognition and expectation of loyalty, and brought the earl together with more committed Yorkists. Further appointments, of the duke of Milan and king of Naples, amounted to diplomatic moves using the Garter in the development of continental alliances.

The duke of Clarence was Edward's first election to the Order. This was an obvious dynastic move, ensuring that his brother and heir held an appropriate status.[553] Not only did this demonstrate Clarence's position as heir to the crown, it placed the eleven-year-old duke in the company of the key figures of the regime who offered the military and political experience upon which the boy should model himself. Clarence was not at this point a military figurehead within the regime: he had for instance been sent to Utrecht for safety after the battle of St Albans in February 1461.[554] His election to the Garter was not a reward for achievement but demonstrative of the expectation held for his future position as a leader, a royal duke even when supplanted by the son Edward was anticipated to father. The Garter stall assigned to Clarence was next to the one left vacant for the prince of Wales, opposite the sovereign.[555]

The first elections to the Garter under a Yorkist king were thus a close group of loyal supporters. For several members this commitment stretched back into the early 1450s at least, and for many these bonds were forged on the battlefield. Alongside the loyal adherents of the Yorkists, Neville associates were prominent in these first elections, particularly Montagu and Scrope: Warwick, William Neville Lord Fauconberg and

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[552] Tiptoft was made constable of England early in 1462, before his election to the Garter, and treasurer in April the same year, B.G. Kohl, 'Tiptoft , John, first earl of Worcester (1427–1470)', *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/27471' (accessed 12 January 2013).

[553] Daw, 'Elections', p. 195.

[554] *Hearne*, p. 6; Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, p. 174.

[555] The prince's stall was first on the left; Edward, prince of Wales was elected to the Garter on 15 May 1475, aged four, alongside his brother Richard, duke of York, Anstis, *Register,* pp. 193-94.

Wenlock were already members.[556] Garter membership was, in 1461-63, a recognition of loyalties that had already been proven, rather than serving to create bonds through the exclusivity of companionship. Loyalty was a founding value of the Order, its very symbol of a knot emphasised the ties binding members. The political divisions which had elevated the new sovereign into position deepened its significance for Edward IV's Garter.[557] Henry IV had created a similar dynamic following his accession in 1399, with companionship serving as recognition for those who had demonstrated long service to the house of Lancaster and who offered political support following the usurpation.[558] The birth of the Yorkist regime, however, had been bloodier, and loyalty had been proven not just through service but in arms.

In this context, betrayal took on added significance. Thus when Sir John Astley was double crossed by Sir Ralph Grey in May 1463 and given into French hands, disloyalty towards a 'brother of the gartier' was prominent in the charges made against Grey at his trial.[559] Before his execution, Grey's spurs were struck off as a symbol of his loss of the honour of knighthood.[560] In the same way, the treachery of Lord Scrope of Masham against Henry V in 1415 had been amplified by his Garter membership, the severity of his punishment being greater because of his betrayal of the fraternity.[561] Scrope was not among those pardoned for this treason at Edward IV's first parliament in November 1461, unlike his co-conspirator Richard earl of Cambridge, the Yorkist king's grandfather.[562] This action was concerned with Yorkist reputation rather than the preservation of Garter ideals, but it was consistent with the notion of a special responsibility for members to demonstrate loyalty.

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[556] Warwick and Montagu were brothers, Fauconberg their uncle; Scrope served Richard Neville earl of Salisbury and then Warwick. Wenlock served on embassies with Salisbury and Warwick from 1458 into the 1460s, Carpenter, *Wars of the Roses*, pp. 157-59; Pollard, *North-Eastern England,* pp. 253, 257, 289, 308-309; M.L. Kekewich, 'Wenlock, John, first Baron Wenlock (*d.* 1471)', *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/29043' (accessed 12 January 2013).

[557] Collins, *Garter*, p. 12.

[558] *ibid.,* pp. 49, 109, 152.

[559] *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, p. 157; *Gregory,* p. 220. The trial of Grey appears in Halliwell's notes to his edition of the Warkworth Chronicle, *Warkworth*, pp. 58-61. Pilbrow, 'Dubbing to Knighthood', p. 195 and n. 1.

[560] *Warkworth*, p. 61.

[561] C. Given-Wilson, 'Henry V: Parliament of November 1415, Text and Translation', *PROME* (accessed 6 July 2013), item 6.

[562] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1461', 'Introduction', item 32; Scofield, *Edward*, vol 1 p. 221.

Early in Edward IV's reign, then, the use of the Order served to continue and reinforce existing patterns, recognising both support and military prowess, echoing the regime's foundation in civil war. There was here some notion of a return to the military ideals of the Garter as it had been founded, but the emphasis was different.[563] Defensiveness, rather than enterprise, was the tone; military success was necessary but not glorious. Towton, for instance, was such a comprehensive victory that it effectively won Edward the crown he had already taken. Yet while honours were shared on the battlefield amongst those who had fought, the battle did not become a focus of Yorkist commemoration during his reign.[564] Yorkist rule did not witness a wholesale emulation of Edward III's Garter precisely because there was no replication of the conditions of the original foundation: circumstances dictated that the membership and therefore the perception of the Garter's binding ideals would be different under Edward IV. Although military achievement was certainly of the greatest significance in the choice of new companions, this was victory as a means to peace. The rhetoric of fighting to gain a crown already held by right was familiar but it had been prosecuted entirely differently, on home soil and between countrymen. The centrality of peace as a Yorkist motif germinated from the bloody beginnings of Yorkist rule and the desperate need for the new monarch to be successful in ending the civil war. Peace was the ultimate aim of making war.[565] The theme was a commonplace in military thought, expressed for example in texts such as *Knyghthode and Bataille*, a verse translation of Vegetius' *Epitoma Rei Militaris* produced at the height of Lancastrian-Yorkist conflict in 1460; this circulated amongst those around Edward IV and a copy was owned by Richard III.[566] The importance of peace within Yorkist ideology was consistent throughout Edward IV's reign, reaching its apogee following the undramatic conclusion to the

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[563] Daw, 'Elections', p. 193; Barber, 'Morte', p. 138.

[564] Richard III began construction of a chapel at Towton which was never completed, Scofield, *Edward*, vol 1 p. 166, n. 2. The chapel was planned by Edward IV, as he secured indulgences for those who helped to pay for rebuilding of chapel on 6 November 1467, Twemlow, *Papal Registers,* vol 12 p. 623.

[565] Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Chevalerie', p. 114.

[566] C.T. Allmand, 'The Fifteenth-Century English Versions of Vegetius' *De Re Militari*', in M. Strickland (ed.), *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France: Proceedings of the 1995 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 1998), pp. 30-45; D. Wakelin, 'The Occasion, Author, and Readers of Knyghthode and Bataile', *Medium Aevum,* 73 (2004), p. 260- 72; A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books: Ideals and Reality in the Life and Library of a Medieval Prince* (Stroud, 1997), p. 91; Lester, *Grete Boke*, pp. 48-58. Richard III's copy of Vegetius is BL, Royal MS 18 A xii.

French campaign of 1475. Commemoration of Richard, duke of York in 1476, for instance, centred on peace just as Edward's own heraldic motto, *comfort et liesse*, served to emphasise peace over military aspiration.[567]

While the number of members of the Order at any one time remained limited to twenty-six, including the sovereign and his eldest son, the idea that exclusivity was the heart of the appeal and success of Edward III's Order had evolved by the Yorkist period.[568] Public expression of companionship, demonstrating this special status and setting these men apart as a group within political society, was enhanced. Members, issued with Garter robes for their attendance at ceremonies, held the canopy above the king at his coronation during anointing, a public demonstration introduced in 1429 for Henry VI and certainly repeated at the coronation of Richard III, and presumably also for Edward IV.[569] Membership was further displayed in the requirement of companions to wear Garter robes on the five feast days of St Mary, introduced by Edward IV.[570] Tomb effigies show that members wished to be commemorated wearing Garter badges, identifying themselves with this special honour, and in one surviving case, the monument to Sir Robert Harcourt and his wife, the lady was also adorned with the badge.[571] The issue of robes to female members of the royal family and the prominence of women at the Garter ceremony of 1476 highlight the fact that membership created a distinct group but one that was broadened by social display.[572]

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[567] York's epitaph lauds him as a peacemaker, College of Arms, MS M 3, f. i(v); Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Chevalerie', pp. 117-18.

[568] R. Barber, 'The Military Role of the Order of the Garter', *Journal of Medieval Military History,* 7 (2009), p. 5. Vale, 'Image and Identity', p. 50; Ormrod, 'For Arthur and St George', p. 33.

[569] Collins, 'Chivalry and Politics', p. 160. Richard III's coronation: BL, Additional MS 18669 f. 6v, printed in Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation*, p. 211; see also Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Chevalerie', p. 127 and n. 98.

[570] Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Chevalerie', p. 128.

[571] Tomb at St Michael's church, Stanton Harcourt, near Oxford, J.L. Gillespie, 'Ladies of the Fraternity of Saint George and of the Society of the Garter', *Albion,* 17 (1985), p. 263. Despite only being a companion for a few months before he died, the tomb of Sir William Chamberlain at the church of St Peter and St Paul, East Harling, Norfolk, includes Garter imagery, Saul, 'Chivalry', p. 340.

[572] As well as women of the royal family, lady Anne Hastings, wife of Richard Hastings, was noted as being present. Account of the 1476 festivities in BL, Stowe MS 1047, ff. 225v-226, printed in Anstis, *Register*, vol 1 pp. 196-98 and in Gillespie, 'Ladies', p. 274. Liveries for the queen, princes Edward and Richard, princesses Elizabeth, Cecily and Mary noted in the great wardrobe account of 1480 and privy seal writ of 6 June 1482, Anstis, *Register*, vol 1 p. 210 n. i.

The symbolism of the Order was also clearly associated with the visual culture of monarchy. For example, the Garter was displayed in genealogical assertions of Edward IV's lineage.[573] Likewise, several of Edward IV's books included Garter imagery in identifying royal ownership.[574] At their coronation, Richard III and his wife Anne Neville exchanged gowns of purple cloth of gold wrought with Garters.[575] Finally, the rebuilding of St George's Chapel was Edward IV's greatest effort to display his connection to the Garter, a new spiritual home for the Order which would also house his mausoleum.[576] This was display aimed first and foremost at the elite group who attended royal ceremonies and visited Windsor, but it had a broader impact than the Garter fellowship itself.

Figure 2: Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 201: bottom of the roll, Edward IV and Garters

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[573]   Such as the genealogical roll, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 201, viewable at 'http://libwww.library.phila.gov/medievalman/Detail.cfm?imagetoZoom=mca2010001'; Hughes, *Arthurian Myths,* p. 102.

[574] Including, for example, Edward's copies of *La Grand Histoire Cesar*, BL, Royal MS 17 F ii, f. 9r; *Romuléon*, BL, Royal MS 19 E v, f. 32r; French translation of *Ruralia Commoda*, BL, Royal MS 14 E vi, ff. 10, 110; Christine de Pisan, *Le Chemin de Vaillance* and other texts, BL, Royal MS 14 E ii, f. 1, and *Le Miroir Historial*, BL, Royal MS 14 E i vol 1, f. 3r. See also, J. Backhouse, 'Memorials and Manuscripts of a Yorkist Elite' in Richmond and Scarff, *St George's Chapel, Windsor*, p. 152.

[575]   Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation,* p. 164, also noted p. 78.

[576]   See above, pp. 89-92.

Figures 3, 4: Garter images in Edward IV's copies of (left) Christine de Pizan, *Epistre Othea*; Jean de Courcy, *Le Chemin de Vaillance* and related texts, BL Royal MS 14 E ii, f. 1, and (right) Jean de Vignay's French translation of Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*, *Le Miroir Historial*, BL Royal MS 14 E i vol 1, f. 3r.

Although the Arthurian context of Yorkist chivalry has been emphasised in recent scholarship, the Yorkist use of the Order of the Garter was not overtly Arthurian and emphasised devotion over chivalric romance.[577] There had been strong Arthurian overtones at the foundation of Edward III's Garter, which fed legends surrounding the Order that took hold in the mid-fifteenth century.[578] This also influenced how courts were assessed and described by observers, such as John Paston's description of Charles the Bold's court as unlike any other save King Arthur's.[579] Arthur was presented as an ideal king and provided a comparison for Edward in contemporary literature, along with other towering figures such as Alexander.[580] However there is only one surviving reference that connects Arthur to Edward IV's Order, in John Russel's speech in Ghent welcoming Charles the Bold into the Order on 4 February 1470, reprinted by Caxton in 1476.[581] Russel linked the Garter and Philip duke of Burgundy's Order of the Golden Fleece to Arthur's Round Table as comparable examples of knightly fraternities. The speech was printed in Latin and served to support English relations with Burgundy by praising Philip the Good and also Edward III, no friend to the French.[582] Yet the

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[577] Hughes, *Arthurian Myths,* pp. 176-78.

[578] On the Round Table enterprise of 1344 which preceded the foundation of the Order of the Garter, Ormrod, *Edward III* pp. 300-301. On the legends of the Garter, S. Trigg, *Shame and Honor: A Vulgar History of the Order of the Garter* (Philadelphia, 2012), pp. 40-92.

[579] Letter of 8 July 1468, Davis, *Paston Letters*, part 1 p. 539.

[580] A poem written following the battle of Barnet, for example, describes Edward as the most famous knight since Arthur's days, Robbins, *Historical Poems,* p. 227; similarly a poem on the recovery of the throne by Edward IV in 1471 lauds the king as being better accompanied by noblemen than Arthur, Alexander or any other conqueror, Wright, *Political Poems*, vol 2 p. 279. On Arthur as an ideal king, Lydgate, *Fall of Princes,* BL, Harley MS 1776 f. 217r (c. 1450-60).

[581] A facsimile of the text is reprinted in H. Guppy, *Propositio Johannis Russell printed by William Caxton circa A.D. 1476* (Manchester, 1909). The reference to Arthur is on p. 3 of the facsimile.

[582] Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Chevalerie', p. 129, who date the printing to 1475.

reference to Arthur was no more than restatement of a general understanding of the connection between the mythical king's knights as inspiration for those of the Garter, also noted in contemporary chronicles.[583] As such, and standing alone, it is scant evidence for anything more than the recognition of an Arthurian legacy to the Garter generally, rather than evidence of an influence on Edward IV's Garter specifically.[584] Arthur, for instance, did not feature in the rebuilding of St George's Chapel at Windsor, nor in the rhetoric of the French campaign. Rather the focus during Edward's reign was principally on St George and secondarily on the Virgin Mary, to both of whom the chapel at Windsor was dedicated.[585] Some symbolic reference to Arthur may be seen in the Yorkist king's imposition of the rule that Garter knights should wear the image of the Virgin on their mantles on her five feast days, echoing the story that Arthur's shield had been engraved with the image of the mother of God.[586] This focused on veneration of the Virgin, though, and was not an innovation directly aimed at enhancing the Arthurian character of the Yorkist Garter.

Evolution (1463-1485)

Interest in Arthurian legends did run parallel with and reinforce an increased engagement in chivalric pursuits, however. A renewed focus on jousting was deliberately encouraged by Edward IV and linked to the evolution of his use of the Order of the Garter. Events such as tournaments sparked gentry interest and engaged people with the regime.[587] These encounters were not merely sport but were also an arena in which royal authority could be exhibited. From this development, Edward's focus on the Order underwent a dramatic shift following his recovery of the throne in 1471. An intensified dedication to the Garter was marked by three key features: a renewed emphasis on martial leadership within the context of the Garter, particularly through the chivalric adventure of the French campaign; the rebuilding of St George's Chapel at Windsor, and an enhanced devotion to St George.

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[583] *Gregory* for example associated the founding of the Garter with the Round Table planned at Windsor, p. 81. On the date of this chronicle to mid-fifteenth century, Gransden, *Historical Writing ii*, pp. 229-32.

[584] For a counter view, Hughes, *Arthurian Myths,* pp. 177-78.

[585] Collins, *Garter*, pp. 20-21.

[586] Anstis, *Register,* vol 1 pp. 27-28; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Chevalerie', p. 128.

[587] See below, pp. 134-35.

The beginning of Yorkist rule in 1461 had established the ways in which the Garter was used and reflected key themes that were consistent throughout Edward's reign and into Richard III's, most particularly the promotion of loyalty in the choice of members. In the early 1460s the Garter served to define the group around the king, highlighting recipients of particular favour.[588] While there was potential merely through shared membership to create a relationship between companions, given the limitation of numbers in the Order, the Garter was not instrumental in developing these bonds. There is little evidence, for instance, that members all attended the feast together, or chapter meetings.[589] Moreover Neville and York supporters tended to retain their primary allegiances, dividing along those lines in the conflict between Edward IV and Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, in 1470-71.[590] It was the widening out of knightly culture from the Garter to a greater interest in chivalric pursuits which set the tone for Edward IV's monarchy, encompassing the enhanced display around the Garter itself, its robes, insignia, festivities and architecture, as well as more socially inclusive events such as tournaments. There is evidence for an increase in jousting in the Yorkist period, led by the magnificent feats of arms at Smithfield in 1467, the first large scale royal tournament held in England for twenty years.[591] There are also brief references to jousting at Westminster in 1463 and Eltham in 1467, along with tournaments held at the coronation of Elizabeth Woodville in 1465, the creation of Richard, duke of York in 1474, and his marriage in 1478.[592]

Nobles and gentry took part in these events, as demonstrated by the involvement of John Paston in the 1467 Eltham tournament alongside the king, Anthony Woodville

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[588] Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 274.

[589] The lists of those excused from chapter meetings demonstrate this, Anstis, *Register,* vol 1 pp. 173-77 for 1461-63.

[590] Wenlock and Montagu were killed at Tewkesbury and Barnet respectively fighting against Edward IV after Warwick's rebellion against the king, *Arrivall*, pp. 166, 176. Scrope sided with Warwick but was soon rehabilitated after Edward IV's victory, P. W. Hammond, 'Scrope, John, fifth Baron Scrope of Bolton (1437/8–1498)', *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/24961', (accessed 13 January, 2013).

[591] Anglo, 'Smithfield', pp. 271-83; Barber, 'Morte', p. 141. The previous royal jousts had been held for Margaret of Anjou's coronation in May 1445, three days of festivities held in the sanctuary grounds at Westminster, *Gregory*, p. 186; Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, p. 156; *Great Chronicle*, p. 178.

[592] See above, pp. 34-37.

Lord Scales and Lord Hastings.[593] The jousting at Westminster in 1463 is an interesting example of the way in which such events were politicised, or perhaps therefore became of more interest to chroniclers. Edward IV was said to have courted the support of the arch-Lancastrian Henry Beaufort, duke of Somerset, through both these jousts and a hunting party where the king put himself at personal risk when demonstrating his trust in the duke.[594] The jousts were reported as a display of unity and of the king's faith in Beaufort, a false traitor who had planned treachery as he spoke fair words, making Edward a lamb amongst the duke's wolves.[595] The event has been viewed principally as evidence of Edward's flawed determination to reconcile with Somerset.[596] Certainly Edward's defence of the duke against a vengeful mob received contemporary criticism; Beaufort was pardoned in March 1463 and his attainder reversed a few months later, but he rejoined the Lancastrians in November of the same year.[597] However there is more here than mere foolish aspirations for friendship on Edward's part. *Gregory* repeatedly emphasised the degree to which Beaufort was kept close to the king, riding with him to London and even frequently lodging with him in the same bed.[598] Other evidence confirms this proximity.[599] Beaufort was unwilling to take part in the jousts, but the king made him do so. *Gregory* reported that the duke drew attention not for his performance in the lists, even though he did participate appropriately, but rather for his battered helm, 'a sory hatte of strawe'.[600] In short, Edward's treatment of Beaufort demonstrated his power and control. The duke was a prominent Lancastrian, and perhaps something of a prize either as a captive or as a turncoat. The tournament was a specific context in which to express, in front of a particular group of people, the king's dominance.

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[593] Davis, *Paston Letters,* part 1 p. 396; Richmond, 'Pastons and London', pp. 211-12.

[594] *Gregory*, p. 219.

[595] *ibid.,* p. 221.

[596] Barber, 'Morte', pp. 142-43; Morgan, 'Affinity', p. 8. For a contrasting view, Edward as having little choice but to pursue a policy of gaining wider support, see M. Hicks, 'Edward IV, the duke of Somerset and Lancastrian loyalism in the north', *Northern History,* 20 (1984), pp. 30-31.

[597] *Gregory*, p. 221; M.K. Jones, 'Beaufort, Henry, second duke of Somerset (1436–1464)', *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/1860', (accessed 13 January 2013). On the background to Beaufort's relationship with the Yorkists, see the discussion of the enmity between the duke of York and Henry Beaufort's father, Edmund duke of Somerset, in Jones, 'Somerset, York', pp. 285-307.

[598] *Gregory,* p. 219.

[599] Jones notes a letter to Louis XI of 1 July 1463 stating that Somerset was in close attendance on the king, 'Beaufort, Henry,' *DNB*.

[600] *Gregory,* p. 219, who adds: 'And then every man markyd hym welle'.

Beaufort's helm, whether really shabby or not, was symbolic of his humiliation at having to perform at Edward's command.[601] Although Edward's dominance or influence over the duke ultimately proved ineffective, the tournament arena was clearly a venue for political display as much as chivalric exercise.

By the later fifteenth century tournament was sport, not practice for war, serving to celebrate the military prowess of knights who were less able to distinguish themselves on the battlefield.[602] Fresh interest in chivalric pursuits developed in the 1460s as the battles against Lancastrians ceased and Yorkist court culture was established, with the Garter at the elite end. This focus on jousting and display was reinforced by a parallel increase in literary, and in particular heraldic interest in tournaments. A number of manuscripts on tournament culture produced in the 1460s survive, such as John Paston's *Grete Boke*, and the rules and ordinances set down by Sir John Astley and John Tiptoft; the earl's work was specifically commissioned by Edward IV for the Smithfield tournament of 1467.[603] Diplomatic relations, especially relations with Burgundy, inspired this pinnacle of chivalric spectacle. The 1467 tournament welcomed the bastard of Burgundy, Antoine de La Roche, to joust with Anthony Woodville, an event which was a prelude to Edward IV's decision to ally with Burgundy in continental politics. The success of the Smithfield jousting was measured, in large part, in the conclusion of alliances between Edward and the new duke, Charles the Bold, the following November and in March 1468.[604]

Many of those who took part in the Smithfield events reprised their roles on the continent at the wedding of Margaret of York to Duke Charles on 3 July 1468 at Damme, followed by festivities in Bruges.[605] Woodville and his brother, Sir John, both

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[601] Barber, suggests that this was a protest by the duke, 'Morte', p. 143.

[602] M. Vale, *War and Chivalry. Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages* (Athens, Georgia, 1981), pp. 67-78.

[603] Barber, 'Morte', pp. 147-48; Paston's *Grete Boke*, BL, Lansdowne MS 285, catalogued in Lester, *Grete Boke* dating it from 1468, p. 7; Astley's 'Ordonances of Chivalry', New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS M 775; Tiptoft, rules made at Windsor, 29 May 1466, copies in BL, Stowe MS 1047, f. 209 and Harley MS 69, f. 19.

[604] Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 107-12.

[605] The volume of surviving manuscript accounts of this marriage attest to its contemporary fascination, Moffat, 'Tournament', p. 97.

accompanied the princess across the channel and performed at the tournament to celebrate the occasion, as did the bastard of Burgundy, and they were joined by Jean and Jacques de Luxembourg, the queen's relatives.[606] Up to 1,800 people were said to have travelled with Margaret to witness one of the century's greatest spectacles.[607] The wedding festivities included six sumptuous feasts, nine days of the most resplendent pageantry and ten of jousting.[608] All those returning to England with stories of splendour carried a sense of the increased standing of the Yorkist court in Europe.[609] The dozens and perhaps hundreds who had travelled to Bruges were themselves part of the story, and thus invested in the alliance. The richness of Margaret's train may have given the impression of unending wealth, or perhaps of uninhibited borrowing, but the spectacle was etched on the memories of those who saw and heard about it, and it shaped their image of the international and chivalric standing of the Yorkist monarchy.[610] The message was underlined by the heralds and the chroniclers who reported on the event. The relationship with Burgundy was a critical influence on Yorkist royal display, not least as a partner in knightly spectacle at these grand events.[611] In the same way, Edward IV and Charles the Bold were each members of the other's chivalric fraternity, the Garter and the Golden Fleece.[612]

Edward IV's Order of the Garter began as a hybrid fraternity of those closest to the king and at the heart of the new regime alongside long-serving companions who maintained their position as they embraced the change in dynasty. A longstanding Yorkist inner circle transformed into the chivalric elite, and the development of this culture evolved into a distinct pillar of Edward's monarchy. Sponsored and influenced by the Yorkists,

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[606] Weightman, *Margaret*, pp. 47-54; Davis, *Paston Letters*, part 1 pp. 538-40.

[607] Scofield, *Edward,* vol 1 p. 455 n. 2; fourteen ships sailed as her entourage, Moffat, 'Tournament', p. 204.

[608] Brown and Small, *Court and Civic Society*, p. 54; Weightman, *Margaret,* p. 58.

[609] Sir John Paston, for instance, promised to relate tales of the spectacle to his mother on his return home, Davis, *Paston Letters,* part 1 p. 539.

[610] Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 259-60.

[611] Barber, 'Morte', pp. 141-45.

[612] Commynes, for example, referred to Edward and Charles the Bold as brothers in each others order, stating that the duke wore the Garter all his life, Blanchard, *Commynes*, vol 1 pp. 41, 200; A. Payne and L. Jefferson, 'Edward IV: The Garter and the Golden Fleece' in C. Van den Bergen-Pantens (ed.), *L'ordre de la Toison d'or, de Philippe le Bon à Philippe le Beau (1430-1505): idéal ou reflet d'une société?* (Turnhout, 1996), pp. 194-96.

there was a widening interest in chivalric pursuits, both in a diplomatic context and as a spectacle that engaged people from broader social groups. In the 1470s, the dedication to the Garter, its ideals and St George intensified, at the same time as the use of chivalric display became more sophisticated. Loyalty remained the key motivation for election of members, particularly following the crisis period of 1469-71.[613]

Following Edward's recovery of the throne in 1471, elections to the Garter were based upon reward for and expectation of loyalty, though military considerations were also significant, especially in the wake of fighting to restore Edward's crown. The sense that there was a distinct change in Garter personnel between the first and second decades of Edward's reign has perhaps led to an overstatement of the political use of the Order over military ideals in the 1470s.[614] While the nobility was well-represented in the later elections, this was also recognition of those who had fought with Edward during the crisis in 1471, including the dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, John Howard, as well as long-serving household men such as Walter Devereaux, Lord Ferrers and Walter Blount, Lord Mountjoy.[615] In this there was repetition of the approach in 1461, though the notion of Garter membership as creating a chivalric bond, rather than primarily as a response to circumstances required by the foundation of a new regime, was more refined. Thus Garter members were prominent as leaders in Edward's French campaign in 1475: new companions Suffolk, Norfolk, Howard, Henry Percy earl of Northumberland and Sir William Parr took part alongside Clarence, Gloucester,

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[613] Anstis believed that the earl of Warwick had been degraded from the Garter, *Register,* vol 1 p. 184 n. z, as Charles the Bold was given Warwick's stall, the third on the sovereign's side. A further possibility, for which there is no evidence, is that he had been demoted to a lower stall, rather than degraded. Both seem unlikely, however, since Warwick signed the confirmation of Charles the Bold's election to the Garter, sent to the duke on 13 May 1469, Payne and Jefferson, 'Golden Fleece', p. 196. Warwick's relationship with the king up to May 1469 had been strained and the earl had possibly been contemplating rebellion during 1467-68, but no open conflict which would warrant degrading was recorded.

[614] Daw, 'Elections', pp. 202-211.

[615]   Elected in 1472 were: John de la Pole duke of Suffolk, John Mowbray fourth duke of Norfolk, John Lord Howard, Walter Devereaux Lord Ferrers, Walter Blount Lord Mountjoy, Sir William Parr and John Stafford, earl of Wiltshire, Anstis, *Register,* vol 1 pp. 185-89. These men were among those who joined Edward on his arrival in London in April 1471, who fought at Barnet and Tewkesbury, and who accompanied Edward to Canterbury in May 1471 as an armed group to quell trouble in the south east, H. Kleineke, 'Gerhard von Wesel's Newsletter from England, 17 April 1471', *Ricardian,* 16 (2006), pp. 78-80; *Arrivall,* p. 177; W.G. Searle (ed.), *The Chronicle of John Stone* (Cambridge, 1902), p. 116.

Hastings, Rivers, Douglas and Scrope.[616] This counters the idea that the military tradition was in decline in the 1470s.[617] Rather it suggests a new direction for that martial element, beyond bloody domestic conflict. The shift from martial necessity to aspiration was a significant evolution in Edward's Garter, and with the new men of the 1470s the Order served to develop a military leadership. This was both outward looking and demonstrative of the martial requirements of companionship: elections may have been influenced by reward and status, but the military expectations were still critically important.

The French campaign may not have enabled participants to come home with tales of their own Agincourt, but there is evidence that this chivalric enterprise did serve to bind men around the king. For instance the year after the French campaign, 1476, was a significant year for royal display, witnessing not only lavish Garter festivities but the pinnacle of Yorkist dynastic ceremony, the reburial of Richard, duke of York at Fotheringhay.[618] Each of these events saw the king in splendour with his family around him. The Garter feast was a focus for knightly display honouring the sovereign and celebrating the fraternity, while the reburial brought almost the entire nobility of England together in a lavish, hierarchical display. York's reinterment was imbued with chivalric style, from the banners of St George held aloft to the offering of York's achievements at the ceremony. Additionally the use of French for the duke's epitaph, likely to have been composed at the time of the reburial, emphasised the renown of a warrior who had defended the English and exhibited the greatest virtues, including his courtliness as '*la fleur de gentillesse*'.[619] This was a public statement of Yorkist monarchy as splendid and noble, performed not merely for the participants but also the hundreds who witnessed the procession to Fotheringhay and those who heard of the

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[616] The 1475 muster roll is contained in College of Arms, MS M 16*bis*, ff. 16v-19. This is transcribed with detail on the participants in F.P. Barnard (ed.), *Edward IV's French Expedition of 1475, the Leaders and their Badges* (Oxford, 1925) (referencing College of Arms, MS 2 M 16, now catalogued as M 16*bis*). Of the Garter members in 1475, fifteen of the twenty-six were on the campaign, including Lord Duras who went to Brittany with 2,000 archers, plus the duke of Burgundy, Scofield, *Edward*, vol 2 p. 124. Of the remainder, there were three foreign princes, two children (the king's sons), three elder statesmen who took care of the country in the king's absence. Only Lord Maltravers and the duke of Buckingham do not seem to have been involved at all, Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 221.

[617] Daw, 'Elections', p. 203.

[618] See above, pp. 20-21.

[619] Garter knight Lord Ferrers led the chivalric display, riding into the ceremony on horseback, BL, Harley MS 48, f. 80v; epitaph, College of Arms, MS M 3, f. i(v).

event from the heraldic accounts.[620] Throughout the year work continued at St George's Chapel, set to be a temple to Yorkist triumph, with the Picquigny peace treaty celebrated in its decoration.[621] The reburial also publicly showcased the outcome of the French campaign, with the ambassadors in England to pay Louis XI's pension to Edward given a prominent position in the ceremony.[622]

The use of chivalric pursuits to establish, define and demonstrate relationships around the king was well-established by the later 1470s. For example, the way in which tournament was used to indicate the king's favour for former enemies was delivered with far greater panache in 1478 at the festivities for the marriage of Edward's son, Richard duke of York, than had occurred in 1463 with Beaufort. This time there was no report of a humiliating helm or reluctance to participate as Sir Thomas de Vere took to the lists in the king's colours.[623] De Vere had been pardoned but attainted for his share in the treachery by his brother, the earl of Oxford, in 1474, and the 1478 parliament held concurrently with the prince's marriage approved his petition to reverse the attainder.[624] During the jousting he was the first to tourney with Anthony Woodville and appeared well-horsed and trapped in Yorkist colours of murrey and blue adorned with symbols of suns and roses. De Vere's appearance in the joust was both a celebration of his successful restoration to his status and to the royal court, and also a public demonstration of the king's capacity for forgiveness.[625] The earl of Oxford had been a prominent Lancastrian who had plagued Edward IV and therefore the rehabilitation of his brother was significant. Not only did it suggest the king's ability to control unruly

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[620]   Three kings of arms, five heralds and four pursuivants were listed as present; the procession took eight days and stopped at seven towns as well as Fotheringhay, BL, Harley MS 48, ff. 78, 81.

[621]   A misericord carving on the sovereign's stall at St George's depicts the meeting of the two kings on the bridge, an overt demonstration of pride in the event, Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Chevalerie', p. 128.

[622]   Two French ambassadors were at the ceremony and directly followed the royal family in paying respect to the coffin, BL, MS Harley, 48, f. 81. The pension was paid to the king at Fotheringhay on 31 July, the day after York's funeral, Scofield, *Edward*, vol 2 p. 170.

[623]   Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmole MS 856, f. 100.

[624]   On the siege of the earl of Oxford at St Michael's Mount, Cornwall, subsequent attainder and pardon, see J. Ross, *John de Vere, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford (1442-1513): 'The Foremost Man of the Kingdom'* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 71-78.

[625]   The return of MP Sir John Say to parliament in 1478 was a further example of Edward's forgiveness, his son was involved in the matrimonial jousts, fighting with spears against the marquis of Dorset, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmole MS 856, f. 102. Say had fallen out of favour after the Readeption during which he may have served in the 1470 parliament, but had recovered former offices by 1478, J.S. Roskell, *Parliament and Politics in Late Medieval England* (2 vols, London, 1981), vol 2 pp. 167-70.

subjects, strengthened by the earl's continued imprisonment in Hammes Castle near Calais, but it also indicated a merciful approach to justice.[626] The presence of de Vere was a subtle parallel to the trial of the king's brother, Clarence, the main business of the 1478 parliament. The public treatment of de Vere served as a reminder of the king's power to condemn and forgive, establishing his authority and justness precisely as he required some of those witnessing and participating in the marriage celebrations to deliver the required verdict on Clarence. The marriage of chivalry and politics at the tournament highlighted the way in which royal display was always suffused, and intended to be so, with the potency of a monarch's authority.

The bonding inherent in the Order grew throughout Edward's reign, but it really came to fruition as a defining element of his monarchy in the 1470s. Just as the Garter fellowship, through military adventure in France, began to take shape as a collective of brothers-in-arms acting as warrior leaders, so the ideals of the Order became the bedrock of Edward's dynastic reputation. The Yorkist king's interest in the Garter deepened following his return to the throne in 1471, with increasing attendance at Windsor for the Garter feast, changes made to the Order's articles in 1471 which promoted the veneration of the Virgin Mary, additions to the oath in February 1480 that members should protect St George's Chapel, and the incorporation of the college at the chapel by act of parliament in 1481.[627] Edward also created the Order's first chancellor in 1475, a role which went to Richard Beauchamp bishop of Salisbury, the overseer of his construction works on the chapel.[628]

The decision to rebuild the chapel was a magnificent statement of Edward IV's commitment to the ecclesiastical home of the Garter and his own legacy. The veneration of St George was a key facet of Edward's monarchy and his new chapel at Windsor housed important relics that included the saint's heart, which had been presented to Henry V in 1416 by Emperor Sigismund, a piece of his skull presented by Edward IV

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[626] Ross, *John de Vere*, p. 74.

[627] Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Chevalerie', pp. 127-28; Anstis, *Register*, vol 1 pp. 186-212.

[628] Beauchamp became dean of the Order and its first chancellor on 10 October 1475, *CPR* 1467-77, p. 554.

himself, as well as a fragment of the True Cross.[629] The chapel was the spiritual centre of Yorkist monarchy, the only building work that Edward undertook at an ecclesiastic site. As one of three chapels royal, alongside St Stephen's, Westminster and the chapel of the royal household, St George's was also a key spiritual site of English monarchy and Edward's devotion there signalled his regal status.[630] Alongside the gift of relics, the building was further identified as a Yorkist monument by dynastic symbols, including commemorations of the peace with France of 1475. This was married with its martial heritage, for instance in decoration citing a psalm on victory as the Lord's work.[631]

Garter celebration had always focused on the feast day of St George, 23 April, and this continued in the Yorkist period, becoming increasingly important in the 1470s.[632] Edward's recovery of the realm in 1471 may have ignited the drive to enhance royal veneration of the saint. At the height of the campaign to restore Edward to the throne, following the battle of Barnet but before he had faced Margaret of Anjou's army, the king paused to celebrate the feast of St George at Windsor, resuming his pursuit of battle the following day. The Yorkist official account reported that the king marked the feast at Windsor, and emphasised that the site was a magnet where forces were drawn together around Edward ready to face their enemy.[633] The keeping of the feast of St George was therefore an investment in Edward's success, as the saint's grace and help was promoted as having ensured victory at the battle of Tewkesbury on 4 May.[634] The connection between military success and the benevolence of St George was well-established; as with the Garter the Yorkists were not innovators in their use of St George, but rather built upon the saint's strong association with English monarchy,

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[629] Allmand, *Henry V*, p. 106; Hughes, *Arthurian Myths,* p. 232; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Chevalerie', p. 128. That the relics were important in the Yorkist period is demonstrated by the depiction of Sigismund's presentation of his gift at St George's in the Beauchamp Pageant, a celebration of the deeds of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, produced during the reign of Richard III probably for his son, BL, Cotton MS Julius E iv, f. 18; A. Sinclair (ed.), *The Beauchamp Pageant* (Donington, 2003), pp. 22-23.

[630] Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 275; on the royal chapel see for example F. Kisby, 'Officers and Office Holding at the English Court: A Study of the Chapel Royal, 1485-1547' *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 32 (1999), pp. 1-61.

[631] Psalm 20, prayer for victory over enemies, on St George's Chapel stall ends, Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Chevalerie', p. 128; P.J. Begent, 'The Heraldic Decoration of St George's Chapel, Windsor' in Keen and Scarff, *Windsor,* pp. 208-213.

[632] Collins, *Garter,* pp. 22-24.

[633] *Arrivall,* p. 170.

[634] *ibid.,* pp. 176-77.

again a facet which bolstered legitimacy.[635] As patron of the Garter and a warrior saint, George suited Edward IV's monarchy: his help had been invoked by Edward before battle and in times of trouble such as on the sea and preparing for the recovery of the realm in 1471; his arms and insignia were presented alongside Edward's in contemporary imagery and his legend was carved in the woodwork of the new chapel.[636] The Garter itself was described as the brotherhood of St George in official documents.[637] Civic pageants also engaged in the rhetoric. For instance, at the welcome for Prince Edward at Coventry in 1474, the emphasis on St George's God-given role as a champion and defender mirrored Edward's role as protector of the realm and guardian against enemies. The devotion was perhaps also expressed more intimately, in the naming of Edward's third son George, born in March 1477 when relations with his brother, another possible namesake, were already strained.[638]

The personal connection to St George demonstrated by the rebuilding of St George's Chapel and the increase in focus on the saint in the 1470s indicates that Edward IV's spiritual inclination was expressed and perhaps understood by the monarch in chivalric terms, that is, militarily: on two occasions, victory had given him the crown, proving that he was God's chosen. Whatever his private devotions, the public expression of this centred on the Garter chapel at Windsor. Not only was St George's to be his dynastic mausoleum, it was also, even early in the reign, a site for display to visitors. Bohemian traveller Leo von Rozmital, for instance, spent a night at Windsor castle in 1466 and the account of his stay described it almost entirely with reference to the Order.[639] Sumptuous Garter feasts were recorded as taking place at Windsor in 1476 and 1482, the later occasion included a ceremony at which Edward IV received a sword and cap of

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[635] S. Riches, 'Seynt George, on Whom Alle Englond Hath Byleve', *History Today,* 50 (2000), p. 48. An anecdote in Commynes also expresses St George's military connection as prominent in the minds of Englishmen. The description of Louis XI's payments to Edward IV after the French campaign as a pension provoked one soldier's to threaten military action, should the mockery continue, Blanchard, *Commynes,* vol 1 p. 302.

[636] *Arrivall,* p. 159; the cross of St George and his arms appear alongside the York fetterlock, for example on Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 201; the cycle of St George carved on the choir at St George's Chapel, S.J.E. Riches, 'The Imagery of the Virgin Mary and St George in the stalls of St George's Chapel' in Keen and Scarff, Windsor, pp. 146-54.

[637] For example in a privy seal document signed by the king of 6 June 1482, Anstis, *Register,* vol 1 p. 210 n. i.

[638] *Royal Funerals,* p. 48.

[639] *Rozmital,* p. 55.

maintenance from Pope Sixtus.[640] The records of these events indicate a new prominence given to the Garter and its impact upon a wider audience. The feast of 1476, for example, was the first to record the involvement of the ladies of the Garter in Order festivities.[641] The queen arrived at high mass on horseback and wearing a gown of murrey adorned with garters, followed by her daughter Elizabeth of York and the king's sister Elizabeth, duchess of Suffolk, in the same livery. They were joined by Isabel, Lady Montagu and Cicely, wife of the queen's son Thomas marquis of Dorset.[642] The ladies sat in the rood loft during mass and attended evensong with the Garter knights, holding a restrained but visible role in the festivities. They included not only members of the royal family or relatives of Order companions; with the presence of Anne Hastings, sister-in-law to the king's chamberlain, a wider courtly involvement is suggested.[643]

The feast of St George continued to be celebrated in the reign of Richard III, but few sources survive detailing events and the king does not appear to have been at Windsor for them.[644] In such a short and unsettled reign, little can be established about Richard's attitude towards the Order of the Garter itself. Certainly he filled the gaps in membership with his closest supporters, overwhelmingly northerners.[645] Beyond this, however, there is little evidence of the ways in which he used the Garter, though at least ten companions were at Richard's coronation, demonstrating the continuance of their

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[640] Accounts of both the 1476 and 1482 festivities are in BL, Stowe MS 1047, ff. 225v-226v, 210v respectively, and printed in Anstis, *Register,* vol 1 pp. 196-97, 211-12. Stowe, *Annales*, vol 2 part 2 pp. 429-30 gives the 1476 account.

[641] Gillespie, 'Ladies', p. 274.

[642] BL, Stowe MS 1047, ff. 225v-226, printed in Anstis, *Register*, vol 1 pp. 196-98 and in Gillespie, 'Ladies', p. 274.

[643] Anne Hastings was the wife of Richard Hastings, Lord Willoughby and Welles, brother to William Hastings, Ross, *Richard III,* p. 161.

[644] Garter robes were ordered for the 1484 feast, though there is no evidence of Richard III being at Windsor for the celebrations, he was in Nottingham at the time and in London for the 1485 feast, although he had been at Windsor on 20 April, Edwards, *Itinerary*, pp. 18, 35. The 1485 feast was kept by Lord Maltravers in the king's absence, G.F. Beltz, *Memorials of the Most Noble Order of the Garter from its Foundation to the Present Time* (London, 1841), p. lxxv.

[645] Six out of seven elections were northerners, Ross, *Richard III,* pp. 57-58.

role in ritual.[646] However the chivalric leadership Richard may have offered through the Garter never came to fruition. The crucial issue was not that members were absent from the fighting at Bosworth in August 1485, where at least nine were said to have been present; rather the king himself was killed.[647]

The Yorkist Order of the Garter ended on the battlefield at Bosworth, stunting the legacy Edward IV had aimed at through the focus on St George's Chapel.[648] This should not detract from his achievements, though. The period saw a revival of the Order and renewed interest in chivalric ideals, permeating beyond the inner circle of Garter fellowship. Royal display was an important factor in this, heightening the status of membership, defining the Yorkist court as chivalric and serving to embrace wider groups of nobles and gentry through involvement in this knightly culture. Membership of the Order evolved from an elite group founded on loyalties forged in the 1450s under the king's father to a genuine military leadership, shifting the focus from domestic conflict to continental ambition. The Garter became the defining element of Edward's monarchy, a means of binding men in a fractured nation and turning civil war into splendid order, the cornerstone of his legacy. The Order functioned as the core circle from which radiated a network of relationships defined by degrees of intimacy with the monarch and fuelled by visual display.

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[646] These were Henry Stafford duke of Buckingham, John Howard duke of Norfolk, John de la Pole duke of Suffolk, Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, William Fitzalan earl of Arundel, Thomas Howard earl of Surrey, Francis Viscount Lovell, John Lord Scrope of Bolton, Walter Devereaux Lord Ferrers of Chartley and Sir John Coniers, BL, Additional MS 6113, ff. 19-19v, printed in Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation,* pp. 270-74.

[647] Norfolk and Ferrers of Chartley were both killed at Bosworth and Surrey was captured, *Crowland,* pp. 181-83. The 'Ballad of Bosworth Field' listed many others on Richard's side, including Garter knights Sir Richard Ratcliffe, who was killed, Arundel, Lord Maltravers, Scrope of Bolton and Sir Thomas Montgomery, printed in J. Hales and F.J. Furnivall (eds.), *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript. Ballads and Romances* (4 vols, London, 1867-688), vol 3 pp. 244-48. Also the earl of Northumberland, who lined up with Richard's forces but does not seem to have engaged in the fighting, *Crowland,* p. 181.

[648] On the Order of the Garter after the Yorkist period see, for example, S.J. Gunn, 'Chivalry and the Politics of the Early Tudor Court' in S. Anglo (ed.), *Chivalry in the Renaissance* (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 107-28.

3.2.2   Peerages and Knighthoods

Edward IV's royal identity was constructed on chivalric ideals with the Order of the Garter at the centre. Companions formed a knightly elite which included the king's most intimate supporters who were leaders in society, influencing a resurgent interest in chivalric culture. This proved a successful approach, drawing men around the king and cultivating a wider appeal which served to bolster the image of Edward as a chivalric monarch and engender support. While Garter members formed an inner circle of those closest to the king, honours such as peerages and knighthoods created further distinct groups linked to the monarch. This was a much wider circle of individuals, membership not limited by number, generating associations both with the king and between peers.

The bestowal of peerages was a traditional feature of royal patronage but its use alongside knighthoods to promote loyalty and define status in relation to the king was more subtle and comprehensive than simply reward and expectation of fealty. Creation of a peer was a political event, reorganising the social order, the occasion marked by ceremony and visually embedded through strict hierarchy within royal display. The most significant were the investitures of princes of Wales, events which embraced wider groups through the knighthoods bestowed in celebration of the occasion. Not only did this expand the numbers of those owing their status to the monarch, it specifically linked these people to the future of the regime embodied in the heir to the throne. Hence knights of the Bath made at the creation or knighthood of a young prince were often youths themselves, the sons of statesmen and peers.[649] Similarly knighthoods made at particular royal ceremonies, including coronations and marriages, tied recipients to the regime by specifically linking their status to a monarchical milestone and involving them in the event.[650] This gave individuals a prominent position in the festivities, highlighted their involvement in the regime and made a fellowship of the newly created

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[649] The sons of lords Hastings, Ferrers, Berkeley, Stanley and Audley as well as the son and heir of the duke of Suffolk were knighted alongside the prince of Wales and Richard duke of York in 1475, BL, Additional MS 6113, f. 107v; BL, Additional MS 46354, ff. 7-7v.

[650] At the coronation of Elizabeth Woodville, for example, new knights included the duke of Buckingham, who married the queen's sister Katherine, John de Vere, earl of Oxford, who also served water at the coronation ceremony, Lord Maltravers, son of the earl of Arundel who was constable and butler for the feast, alongside the queen's brothers Richard and John, the latter of whom had recently married the dowager duchess of Norfolk who was also at the event, Smith, *Coronation*, pp. 14, 18, 21; *Annales*, vol 2 part 2 pp. 783-84.

knights who held a shared, elevated position within the wider circles of monarchy. To explore the ways in which these instruments of royal performance created intimacy between the monarch and his subjects this section will first analyse the creation of peers, in particular the ceremony for the princes of Wales, and secondly examine the role of knighthoods within the chivalric culture of Yorkist monarchy.

Creation of Peers

Ceremonies of creation as a peer elevated the status of an individual and functioned to bind those present in welcoming and accepting the newly titled through their involvement in the ritual. Edward IV created almost forty peers during his reign, including five dukes, two marquises, fourteen earls, two viscounts and sixteen barons, plus his son as prince of Wales.[651] Richard III's reign saw just four creations, none to the baronage.[652] Accounts of only a few of these ceremonies in the Yorkist period survive, including those of an earl, viscount, marquis and two princes of Wales, along with the enthronement of George Nevill as archbishop of York in 1465.[653] The greatest consequence was attached to the investiture ceremonies for the princes of Wales: Edward, son of Edward IV, on 26 June 1471 and Edward of Middleham, son of Richard III, on 8 September 1483.[654] The birth of neither of these princes was marked with celebration in welcoming an heir: the elder born in sanctuary at Westminster on 2 November 1470 while his father was ousted from the throne and in exile; the younger because he was not in line to inherit the crown when he was born in the mid-1470s.[655] Their investitures as princes of Wales were thus all the more significant in highlighting their special status and demanding loyalty. Edward IV's loss of the throne added a further pressure on the ceremony to demonstrate his return to power in 1471; the dynastic security represented by the birth of a male heir was an important opportunity to reassert Yorkist monarchy and bind people to its future. Commemoration of Edward's

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[651] Pugh, 'Magnates, Knights and Gentry', pp. 116-17.

[652] These were John Howard as duke of Norfolk, Thomas Howard as earl of Surrey and William Berkeley as earl of Nottingham, Edward Lisle as a viscount, plus his son as prince of Wales, Ross, *Richard III*, p. 154.

[653] See above, n. 174.

[654] See above, n. 175.

[655] Edward of Middleham's birth date is not recorded, but was 1474 or 1476, A. J. Pollard, 'Edward , prince of Wales (1474x6–1484)', *DNB* '<u>http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/38659</u>' (accessed 7 December 2012).

new heir centred around the titles given to the boy, as he was created earl of Chester and prince of Wales on 26 June 1471.[656] These were traditional titles held by a monarch's eldest son, as the parliamentary ratification the following year clearly stated, citing the examples of Edward III's son, the Black Prince, and Henry V.[657]

The infant's investiture as prince was a ceremony which was specifically and officially described as occurring according to custom.[658] The boy, aged seven months, was girded with a sword and a cap of estate was placed on his head, a gold ring on his finger and a gold rod in his hand. The ceremony was witnessed by leading clerics, including the archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Bourchier, alongside the royal dukes, Clarence and Gloucester and other loyal Yorkists close to the monarch. These men represented the closest male family and Yorkist household members: Robert Stillington bishop of Bath and Wells as chancellor of England, Thomas Rotherham bishop of Rochester keeper of the privy seal, Henry Bourchier earl of Essex treasurer, John Stafford earl of Wiltshire chief butler, William Lord Hastings chamberlain, John Lord Howard treasurer of the household.[659] Thus effort was made to ensure that the position of the prince was customarily and legally sound, as well as supported by the key figures in the administration, those who could offer effective support. The bishop of Rochester, for instance, became the prince's tutor in 1473.[660] The investiture was a political rather than public event, though the ceremony was grand and report was important: heralds received £20 largesse for their work.[661]

One week after the investiture ceremony, on 3 July, leading clerical and secular lords publicly swore an oath recognising Edward as undoubted heir to the throne.[662] Like

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[656] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1472', items 12 and 13.

[657] *ibid.,* item 13.

[658] Similarly with Edward of Middleham, Horrox and Hammond, *Harl 433,* vol 1 pp. 82-83.

[659] As noted in the description of the investiture on the parliament rolls, Horrox, 'Parliament of 1472', item 12. Four of this list were singled out for further description: Clarence and Gloucester as '*precarissimis fratribus nostris*' (our very dearest brothers), Essex '*carissimis consanguineis nostris*' (our dearest kinsman) and Hastings '*dilectisque et fidelibus nostris, Willelmo Hastynge*' (our dear and faithful William Hastings).

[660] *CPR* 1467-77, p. 401.

[661] Scofield, *Edward,* vol 2 p. 5.

[662] Rymer, *Foedera,* vol 11 pp. 714-15; *CCR* 1468-76, pp. 229-30.

Edward IV's coronation oath, this promise of fidelity to his son served to both establish the heir's position within the regime and bind key figures to preserving it. Those making the oath were specifically required to accept Edward as their king when his father died, behaving as true and faithful subjects to him, emphasising that fidelity to Edward IV required the same commitment to his son. All were bound by their oath both because it was given publicly and, more permanently and officially, by being named in the parliament rolls and close rolls.[663] The event took place in the parliament chamber at Westminster, a site which emphasised the legality behind the verbal contract. The archbishop of Canterbury led those giving oaths and those present included many who had witnessed the investiture, augmented by George Neville archbishop of York, Richard Beauchamp bishop of Salisbury, the dukes of Norfolk, Suffolk and Buckingham as well as several earls and barons.[664] This expanded the circle of close family and household who had been part of the investiture to include more of the wider nobility, all five dukes, five earls and over a dozen lords, several of these being related by marriage to the queen's family.[665] Many more must have attended the event without being named in the record, for instance the abbot of St Albans who arranged for his fellow abbot of Westminster to take on duties during his absence, having been summoned to attend the creation ceremony.[666] Similar oaths were required of civic elites in towns, such as that made by Coventry's mayor and citizens directly to the prince on 3 May 1474.[667]

The creation of the prince of Wales was a vital opportunity to gather Yorkist supporters in ceremony following Edward IV's restoration, and critically it pointed to the future of the regime with a new heir. The event was a dynastic show of strength both in the range of nobility present promising to safeguard the future of the prince and in the

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[663]   Witnesses to the investiture ceremony on 26 June were listed on the parliament roll, Horrox, 'Parliament of 1472', item 12.

[664]   Including the earls of Arundel, Kent and Rivers and lords Maltravers, Arundel, Audley, Dudley, Dacre, Ferrers.

[665]   The prince's maternal uncle, Earl Rivers and those who had married the queen's sisters: the duke of Buckingham (Katherine Woodville), William Lord Bourchier (Anne), Lord Strange (Jacquetta) and Maltravers (Margaret) and Anthony Grey, son of the earl of Kent (Eleanor), Hicks, 'Role of the Wydevilles', p. 61.

[666]   *Whethamstede*, wol 2 p. 99-100.

[667]   *Leet Book,* vol 1 pp. 393-94.

demonstration of a secure line of inheritance. Not least, prince Edward definitively superseded Clarence as the king's male heir and the bestowal of titles on the boy confirmed his position while limiting the duke's. Dealing with his eldest brother was a precarious task for Edward: he owed the return of his throne to Clarence's support, yet the duke's treachery had been at least partly responsible for the loss of the crown. The change in status was inevitable with the birth of an heir, but all the more pointed when considered in contrast to Clarence's own elevation to the ducal title in June 1461.[668] As a public statement, the creation of Clarence was almost as significant in grounding Edward's monarchy as his coronation, and they were deliberately linked by temporal proximity, the investiture taking place the following day.[669] Not only was this an elevation of the king's brother to a royal title, it singled him out for distinction as the heir to the throne. Most importantly, however, the creation of Clarence highlighted the title through which Edward's claim was based. By 1471, however, the duke was among those leading the promises of fidelity to a new heir. The Clarence title had lost its significance to the regime, which was no longer battling to assert legitimacy. Stability was paramount, and proclaimed through ceremony, establishing the prince's rank in society and publicly drawing the political elite around him.

The investiture of Edward of Middleham at York in September 1483 drew a similar audience; nobles including the earls of Northumberland, Surrey, Lincoln and lords Lovell, Fitzhugh and Stanley travelled north with Richard.[670] The location of the event was unusual, though, taking place in a region where the king was secure of support, which he wished to embed around his son. York was an important city within Richard's power base in the north which had developed good relations with him as duke of Gloucester in the decade before he took power.[671] The investiture of the prince there was the culmination of his post-coronation tour, notably through areas of support.[672]

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[668] On the Clarence title, see below pp. 298-99.

[669] Scofield, *Edward,* vol 1 p. 183.

[670] Johnston and Rogerson, *REED York,* vol 1 p. 132, which also lists five bishops and lords Strange, Lisle and Greystoke.

[671] On Richard III and the north, see for example, Pollard, *North Eastern England,* especially pp. 316-366; Horrox, *Richard III and the North,* pp. 1-9; K. Dockray, 'Richard III and the Yorkshire Gentry' in P.W. Hammond (ed.), *Richard III: Loyalty, Lordship and Law* (London, 1986), pp. 38-57; Hicks, 'Gloucester', pp. 11-26.

[672] See above, n. 141.

The decision to hold the ceremony at this point in the progress seems to have been taken hastily, as Edward was created prince of Wales on 24 August 1483 at Nottingham, with the investiture taking place just two weeks later.[673] A good degree of planning went into ensuring that the event would be a grand spectacle, however. The day before the creation the king's secretary had 'scribled in hast' to the city to urge their production of impressive pageants, fine speeches and display of tapestries from houses to welcome the king and queen there six days later. Participation was cajoled from citizens by the reminder of their previous good standing with Richard and his ability to give more as king.[674] For the investiture itself clothing of velvet, satin and cloth of gold, banners of saints including Cuthbert, a northern saint favoured by Richard, and coats of arms and badges, including 13,000 badges bearing Richard's boar motif, were ordered from the keeper of the Wardrobe on 31 August.[675] The badges, presumably for crowd members to wear, enhanced the display of loyalty while embedding the new regime in its northern support.

Richard arrived in York on 29 August to a pageant welcoming his entry, and the investiture ten days later was such a spectacle that one chronicler wrote of it as a second coronation.[676] Although there is no evidence for any such ceremony having taken place, the king and queen were crowned for procession in the city, to the Minster for mass and at the archbishop's palace where the prince's investiture took place.[677] Instead of presenting the royal couple as the centre of the celebration, as at their coronation in London, this event was focused on their son. The choice of York for the prince's investiture not only emphasised Richard's northern connections for contemporaries, it also established Edward's status as a royal heir and indicated the secure future of the regime, as well as highlighting his position as the king's representative in the north.[678]

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[673] Horrox and Hammond, *Harl 433,* vol 2 pp. 82-83.

[674] *York House Books,* vol 1 pp. 287-88, vol 2 p. 713.

[675] Horrox and Hammond, *Harl 433,* vol 2, p. 49. A stall at Richard's college foundation at Middleham was dedicated to St Cuthbert, and the saint's banner was prominent among those chosen for his coronation, W. Atthill, *Documents Relating to the Foundation and Antiquities of the Collegiate Church of Middleham* (London, 1847) p. 8; Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation*, pp. 133, 142, 146, 174, 182.

[676] *Crowland*, p. 161.

[677] Johnston and Rogerson, *REED York,* vol. 1 pp. 132-33.

[678] *Crowland,* for instance, noted that the king wished 'to display in the North, where he had spent most of his time previously', p. 161; Horrox, *Richard III,* pp. 147, 206.

Not least, Edward was based at Middleham and not with his parents, travelling to meet them and entering York together for the festivities.[679] The prince's investiture followed the traditional custom of girding with sword, garland set upon his head, golden ring on his finger and staff in his hand, just as for Edward IV's son.[680] As with coronation, the close repetition of ritual served to validate the status being conferred on the individual. Similarly the creation of Edward as prince of Wales echoed Yorkist tradition in retaining the symbolism of the sun, one of Edward IV's favoured motifs, its light elevating and divine.[681] Further family connections were emphasised at the investiture of the prince through knighthood conferred at the ceremony on the king's nephew, Edward, earl of Warwick and possibly his bastard son, John of Pontefract, alongside the Spanish ambassador Geoffrey de Saisola.[682]

Edward of Middleham's investiture as prince of Wales demonstrates the reliance on tradition and expression of the new which was at the heart of much Yorkist royal display: the use of customary ritual and title to invest the prince, yet the distinct location; the use of royal and Yorkist symbols such as the sun and the banners of Saints George, Mary and Edward, with the addition of St Cuthbert. The tight focus on the royal family and limited number of those named as being given a knighthood at the event, however, suggests the difficulty with which this event was used to create a close group around the king and prince. Although Richard III brought nobles with him to York, these were already supporters and York was a favoured city of the king.[683] Local loyalty to the prince was critical for the stability of the regime and the event was designed to

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[679] Johnston and Rogerson, *REED York,* vol. 1 p. 132; Tudor-Craig, 'Richard III's Entry', p. 109.

[680] Horrox and Hammond, *Harl 433,* vol 1 pp. 2, 82-83.

[681] *ibid.,* vol 1 p. 82; Hughes, *Religious Life,* p. 94; below p. 303.

[682] Horrox and Hammond, *Harl 433,* vol 1 pp. 1-2; Rymer, *Foedera,* vol 12 p. 200, for the knighthood conferred on Saisola. Edward of Warwick's knighthood is noted in the English Rous Roll, BL, Additional MS 48976, printed in W. Pickering (ed.), *Thys rol was laburd and finishid by Master John Rows of Warrewyk* (London, 1845), item 60. Ross, *Richard III,* pp. 150-51 and Shaw, *Knights of England,* vol 2 p. 21, include John of Pontefract. There is no direct evidence for this, however, the earliest reference is Buck's seventeenth century history of Richard III, see P.W. Hammond, 'The Illegitimate Children of Richard III', in J. Petre (ed.), *Richard III: Crown and People* (Gloucester, 1985), pp. 18, 22 n. 4.

[683] Richard's affection for the city, and their kindness to him, was expressed in a letter on 24 August 1483 to the civic leaders promising his grace in future. His pledge was honoured within a month, the king reducing the city's fee farm in reward for the loyalty demonstrated by citizens, *York House Books,* vol 2 pp. 713, 729; *CPR* 1476-1485, p. 409, Horrox and Hammond, *Harl 433,* vol 1 p. 120, vol 2 p. 18. On the fee farm, see L.C. Attreed, 'The King's Interest: York's Fee Farm and the Central Government, 1482-92', *Northern History,* 17 (1981), pp. 24-43.

celebrate with partisans, not sway those undecided. In tandem with Richard's coronation at Westminster, the investiture in York was a demonstration of rule more than it was persuasion: there is no record of oaths of fidelity to the prince taken in the city as there had been for Edward IV's son at Coventry, for instance.[684] Richard was not reestablishing authority as his brother had done in 1471, but creating a veneer of legitimacy and stable succession through the promotion of his son as heir, erasing the past by simply replacing the king and prince.

While the investiture of the princes of Wales served to bind the political elite directly to the regime by establishing the status of the king's heir, creations of peers acted as both a link between individuals and the monarch and created connections amongst those afforded such honours. Thus the bestowal of an earldom or viscountcy denoted the king's special favour, while the new peer's confreres ushered him into their society. At the ceremony marking Louis of Bruges' elevation to the earldom of Winchester in 1472, for example, the duke of Clarence held his train while the earl of Wiltshire bore the sword before him and the earls of Arundel and Essex were at each side of him.[685] The ceremony took place in the parliament chamber, where the king, crowned, girded Louis with his sword. The patent was read aloud before the lords, who then moved into Whitehall where they were joined by the queen and infant prince of Wales in his robes of estate, all processing to the shrine of St Edward the Confessor.[686] Mass and feasting followed.[687] This was a shared celebration in which the nobility were a vital part of embracing the new peer, a collective event rather than private between king and earl, emphasising its significance in defining the circles of authority and influence around the monarch. These men belonged to a group apart, holding in common the elevation to the peerage, their understanding and cooperation in maintaining this hierarchy and making it function. They also had ownership of the ritual; having experienced investiture themselves these men were authorities on the ceremony. Uncertainty over whether Lord

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[684] An oath to Prince Edward as heir was made at Westminster in February 1484, *Crowland*, p. 171. See below, p. 251.

[685] BL, Cotton MS Julius C vi, f. 257v.

[686] Those present included Clarence, the dukes of Buckingham and Suffolk, the earls of Wiltshire, Essex, Arundel, Northumberland, Shrewsbury, lords Grey of Codnor, Audley, Dacres, Stourton, Grey of Wilton, Mountjoy, Sir John Dynham and the bishops of Lincoln, Winchester, Ely, Durham, Chester and Exeter, *ibid.,* ff. 257v-258.

[687] The new earl was granted £200 a year to sustain his title, Scofield, *Edward*, vol 2 p. 39.

Berkeley should wear robes of parliament or estate at his elevation as a viscount on Whitsunday 1481 was, for example, resolved by the earl of Essex, formerly Viscount Bourchier, who recalled having worn robes of parliament to his own investiture as viscount.[688]

Belonging to the peerage constituted a defined position in society, standing in the governance of the realm and in relation to the king. The circle created by this web of links was one of heightened intimacy with the monarch, allowing access to royalty and offering status but not necessarily political power. Louis of Bruges, for instance, as a foreigner was effectively an absent earl. Similarly Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, was given no significant political offices during Edward's reign.[689] Ceremonial position, such as John Mowbray duke of Norfolk's as marshal at Elizabeth Woodville's coronation, reinforced social position but did not necessarily equate to political influence; the duke for instance was never made a councillor by Edward IV.[690] However status brought both financial reward and regional authority, as well as the potential for enriching both through advancement.

Knighthoods

The sense of fraternity nurtured through ceremonies of peer creation was echoed in the bestowal of knighthoods. The dubbing ceremony was likewise critical in demonstrating status, indicating the special favour of the king and establishing position within social and political relationships. Two distinct types of knighthood were prominent in the Yorkist period, knights of the Bath and knights bachelor.[691] The difference between the two was ceremonial, rather than hierarchical. Dubbing a knight of the Bath involved a precise ritual, including ceremonial bathing and a night-long vigil, which took place as part of a royal event, including all the Yorkist coronations as well as the knighting of the prince of Wales in 1475 and the marriage of the king's second son in 1478.[692] In

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[688] BL, Harley MS 169, ff. 43v-44, BL, Additional MS 6113, ff. 18-18v.

[689] Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 335.

[690] Smith, *Coronation,* p. 20; C. Richmond, 'Mowbray, John (VII), fourth duke of Norfolk (1444–1476),' *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/19455' (accessed 25 July 2013).

[691] See above, p. 40.

[692] The rituals of the ceremony are detailed in Stowe's Memoranda, *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles,* pp. 106-13; Pilbrow, 'Dubbing to Knighthood', pp. 201-207.

contrast, knights bachelor were dubbed directly by the king or a fellow knight, often on the battlefield, as happened at Towton in 1461, Tewkesbury in 1471 and Berwick in 1482.[693] The distinction between military and ceremonial creation emphasised the reward for which the honour was bestowed, whether courage on the battlefield, royal service or the expectation of future loyalty.[694]

In contrast to the Order of the Garter these knights were not limited in number; instead of exclusivity creating a special bond between members, the act of knighting people together at a royal event served to distinguish these men as a distinct group. This was personal elevation yet shared ceremony, in which collective display formed part of the role. For instance new knights of the Bath processed together through the city at coronations.[695] In a further similarity to the creation of peers, the experience of long-serving knights strengthened the sense of fellowship by standing as authority within the structure of the honour. The leadership of experienced knights and the offering of advice was an important part of dubbing ceremony for knights of the Bath, the king himself giving counsel to those knights created alongside his sons in 1475.[696]

During the Yorkist period the vast majority of knighthoods were bestowed by the king, though dubbing was also performed by other knights, establishing an important link between the two men.[697] The most notable were those knighthoods and bannerets bestowed by Richard duke of Gloucester on campaign in Scotland in 1481 and 1482, just before the surrender of Berwick to the English. They included individuals who would emerge as close supporters of the duke when he took the throne, such as Francis

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[693] Shaw, *Knights of England,* vol 2 pp. 13-22.

[694] Pilbrow, 'Dubbing to Knighthood', pp. 214-15.

[695] As, for example, at the coronation of Elizabeth Woodville and Richard III, *Annales*, vol 2 part 2 p. 784; Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation,* p. 214.

[696] BL, Additional MS 6113, f. 107v.

[697] Shaw, *Knights of England,* vol 1 p. li. At the battle of St Albans in 1461 Henry VI knighted his son, prince Edward, who then knighted nine others. The duke of Somerset, earls of Northumberland and Devonshire and lords Clifford and Roos also knighted people at the battle of Wakefield in 1460, *ibid.,* vol 2 pp. 12-13.

Lovell.[698] Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, also bestowed knighthoods alongside Gloucester on these occasions, a demonstration of his status and his position close to the duke.[699] There was a visual impact to the change in status offered by knighthood, including changes in heraldic display such as the right of bannerets to display square banners rather than triangular pennons, as well as the physical statement of rank reinforced by the hierarchy displayed at royal events.[700]

Knighthoods underpinned the chivalric class and created a distinct body within society, from the elite companions of the Order of the Garter through to the knights of the Bath and knights bachelor, who were not part of an institution but were expected to adhere to chivalric norms of behaviour.[701] Thus a knighthood, like membership of the Garter, was significant even to titled peers, a separate honour and role establishing an individual as belonging to this specific group of men. Edward IV's sons, Edward and Richard, were both knighted after receiving their titles, as was their cousin the earl of Lincoln and the duke of Buckingham, for instance.[702] The title of knight was not therefore merely a descriptor of status, as ranks within the peerage denoted hierarchical position, but offered another honour altogether. The fact that this honour was coveted by men of all status groups enhanced its prestige while also creating bonds across ranks, something of a mirror to the Garter's stalls for knights as well as nobility.[703] This allowed knighthood

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[698]   Lovell was knighted on 22 August at Hoton field near Berwick, probably in 1482 just before the surrender of Berwick, although BL, Additional MS 46354, f. 8v and BL, Harley MS 293, f. 208 date this to 1480, and Ross to 1481, *Richard III*, p. 45 n. 4. On the Scottish campaign, see Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 278-90.

[699]   Percy knighted three men on 24 July 1482, and 18 on the field of Selford on 22 August 1482, Shaw, *Knights of England,* vol 2 pp. 17-18.

[700]   Banners were a signal of the highest knightly status, only used by knights banneret and higher rank. Below that, knights bachelor could display a standard, a triangular flag with a divided end; all knights could use a guidon, similar to the standard but not divided at the end and smaller overall, and the pennon was half the size again of the same shape. Size mattered: the higher the rank, the more yardage the flag had. For those knights elevated to banneret on the battlefield, the thin end of the triangle on their pennon or guidon was symbolically cut off to make it into a banner, T. Woodcock and J.M. Robinson (eds.), *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 109-10. See A. Ailes 'The Knight, Heraldry and Armour: The Role of Recognition and the Origins of Heraldry' in C. Harper Bill and R. Harvey (eds.), *Medieval Knighthood IV. Papers from the Fifth Strawberry Hill Conference 1990* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 1-21.

[701]   Pilbrow, 'Dubbing to Knighthood', p. 199.

[702]   John de Vere, earl of Oxford and Henry Stafford duke of Buckingham were knighted at the coronation of Elizabeth Woodville, for example, *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 p. 783; Lincoln was made an earl on 13 March 1467 and knighted on 18 April 1475 alongside the princes, *CChR* 1427-1516, p. 217, BL, Additional MS 6113, f. 107v; BL, Stowe MS 1047 ff. 110v-111.

[703]   Collins, *Garter,* p. 37.

to serve as a unifying force within the regime, shared chivalric values of loyalty and service impressed upon men at the heart of government and into the localities, as Edward's knighting of local officials demonstrated.[704] Belonging to the knighthood, Garter or peerage was a social distinction which identified individuals as being part of specific circles around the monarch. The overlap of membership between these honours indicates their permeability; it was also their strength. Structure kept the circles robust. The desire for belonging and investment in promoting the ideals of the chivalric orders sustained the position these honours created; the elite exclusiveness of the Garter leading the way and followed by, but contrasting with, the web of relationships developed between fellow knights.

The role of knighthood in the Yorkist period has excited a limited scholarship, with only one relatively recent study published.[705] This work emphasises the use of knighthoods as reward for service rather than the more traditional view of aiming to engender loyalty.[706] Indeed bestowals of knighthoods were both these things, but also much more. Thus as rewards for their loyalty, those close to the king such as lords Hastings and Ferrers were knighted at the battle of Towton; the knighthood of John de Vere, earl of Oxford, in 1465 was an attempt to encourage loyalty from a potential enemy.[707] There is no question that the king's creation of knights was a direct reward from the monarch and one that aimed to foster loyalty; the chivalric values knights promised to uphold when receiving the honour highlight this.[708] Significantly, however, accepting a knighthood also placed a responsibility on the recipient to conform to and be part of this chivalric order, to set an example within society: it was an obligation as well as a gift. Participation in the ceremony of the Bath was an investment not only in an individual's

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[704] Pilbrow, 'Dubbing to Knighthood', p. 213.

[705] *ibid.*, pp. 195-218. For a detailed and wide-ranging discussion of the origins of the ceremony of knighthood, see Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 64-82.

[706] Pilbrow, 'Dubbing to Knighthood', pp. 209-10.

[707] De Vere's father and elder brother had been beheaded in February 1462 on charges of treason as Lancastrian loyalists, however Edward IV pursued a policy of conciliation with the new earl. He succeeded to his father's estates in 1464 and married Margaret Neville, Warwick's sister, probably around this time, Ross, *John de Vere,* pp. 50-57.

[708] The elaborate ritual of creating a new knight of the Bath was designed to highlight the exclusive group to which the individual now belonged and the responsibilities of the position; in being girded by the king he was told to 'Be ye a good knyght', before repeating devotions at the altar, *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, p. 111.

status but also financially, as recipients bore substantial costs, no small demonstration of their commitment to membership and the monarch's ability to induce this level of participation.[709] This was a compulsion the king could also request of peers, such as Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, who held no position of authority under Edward IV yet was the peer chosen for the unpalatable task of passing sentence on the duke of Clarence in February 1478.[710] Expectation of loyalty and service was a critical aspect of the admittance to knighthood as it was of the nobility. For this reason, and not just because knighthood was used as a reward, dubbing was not used to embrace former enemies unless loyalty had been demonstrated, as de Vere had in the early years of Edward's reign; to attempt to engender loyalty where it was unlikely would have diminished the honour of knighthood. Rather knights were expected to be loyal to the Yorkist regime, even if their service began under Henry VI.[711]

The multifaceted way in which knighthoods functioned to create relationships around the monarch is further demonstrated in the dubbing of royal heirs. The knighting of Clarence and Gloucester in June 1461 was, as Pilbrow argues, not about creating loyalty but due to their familial status.[712] However this was more than simply a recognition of the virtue that came with royalty. Not only was this an exhibition of Edward's power as a new monarch, it elevated the position of the Yorkist brothers as leaders in chivalric society. Moreover, the prestige of the order was enhanced through the membership of royals; it was also an affirmation of the king's attachment to chivalric orders and conferred Yorkist ownership on its hierarchy. Clarence is a useful example here, Edward's brother bearing the title through which the Yorkists claimed the throne and quickly placed in the peerage as a duke, in the Garter and knighted.[713] The urgency to

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[709] Pilbrow, 'Dubbing to Knighthood', p. 207.

[710] Buckingham was created steward of England on 7 February specifically for this task, *CPR* 1476-85, p. 63; *Crowland* p. 147.

[711] Ralph Grey, for instance, was beheaded in 1464 for his treachery against the king and admonished during his trial for acting against his knighthood, though he had been knighted under Henry VI, probably between 1448 and 1451, *Warkworth*, p. 60; Pilbrow, 'Dubbing to Knighthood', p. 216 n. 132. See above, p. 126.

[712] Pilbrow, 'Dubbing to Knighthood', p. 210

[713] He was knighted and created duke in June 1461 and was a Garter companion by 1473, though probably much earlier, Hicks, *Clarence*, p. 18; Anstis, *Register*, p. 176.

elevate the eleven-year-old within each arena was a reflection of both his position as heir and the need to establish Yorkist domination across these areas.

The knighthoods bestowed on children similarly operated a more sophisticated dynamic than mere recognition of high birth or reward for parental loyalty. While these were significant factors, more important was the potential for these knighthoods to form the basis of ties to the royal heir. The creation of Edward IV's sons as knights of the Bath aged four and eighteen months in 1475 was accompanied by the dubbing of twenty-six others, many of them children and the sons of peers, including thirteen-year-old John de la Pole earl of Lincoln, son of the duke of Suffolk, James Tuchet son of Lord Audley, John Devereaux son of Lord Ferrers, Edward Hastings son of Lord Hastings.[714] This framed the next generation of peers, contemporaries of the future king, and their shared dubbing to knighthood was an expression of the loyalty expected, as well as being an obligation to serve the regime with which these youngsters were burdened. This was not simply knighthood earned by the service of these boys' fathers, but an effort to create a genuine circle of intimacy around the heir, loyal supporters who would grow up with their role in chivalric society already determined. The sons of former Yorkist enemies featured in these knighthoods only where they had an upbringing influenced by the current regime, Richard Latimer as a ward of Thomas Bourchier for example, and Clarence's son Edward earl of Warwick, brought up in Gloucester's household following the duke's fall in 1477-78.[715]

Conferring a knighthood was not just a reward, then, but endeavoured to set in place expectations for the future. The knighthood of the princes took place as Edward IV was preparing for the French campaign, on 18 April 1475, with the prince of Wales named keeper of the realm on 20 June, the date Edward wrote his will before departing.[716] As well as emphasising the importance to the monarch and his heirs of these chivalric roles, the bestowal of a knighthood immediately before the campaign began suggests that it

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[714] Also the sons and heirs of lords Stanley, Berkeley and Stourton, BL, Additional MS 6113, f. 107v.

[715] Pilbrow, 'Dubbing to Knighthood', p. 212; on Edward as in Anne Neville's care, and as part of the council of the north, *Mancini*, pp. 88-89; *York House Books,* vol 1 p. 361; C. Carpenter, 'Edward, styled earl of Warwick (1475–1499)', *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/8525' (accessed 1 August 2013).

[716] BL, Additional MS 6113, f. 107v; *CPR* 1467-77, pp. 534-535; *Excerpta Historica*, p. 366.

gave the prince authority, even if this was not power that could be exercised by a four-year-old. Furthermore the wider creations at the ceremony tied loyal servants and nobles specifically to the prince, besides the king, through their sons: it was an investment in the continuance of the regime.

The heavily ritualised ceremony of the Bath was a contrast to the more public creation of knights on the battlefield. Dubbing knights of the Bath took place at the king's instruction, at a royal palace, usually the Tower of London, and involved only the recipient and fellow knights, with the king typically dubbing knights himself.[717] In tandem with the personal ritual of bathing, dressing and vigil, new knights of the Bath also had a public role at the royal celebration with which their dubbing was associated. This balance of conforming to tradition and visual communication of status mirrored the royal events, the coronation a mixture of semi-private anointing and public procession for example, the marriage of the king's son similarly a service for a select audience followed by more open festivity in the jousting. For Edward IV's coronation thirty-two men were dubbed the day before the anointing ceremony on 28 June 1461.[718] Among the new knights riding with the king and displaying their status in blue robes with white silk tassels on their left shoulders were the king's brothers, George and Richard.[719]

At Elizabeth Woodville's coronation on 26 May 1465, the knights of the Bath were even more prominent, around forty created on 23 May, again at the Tower.[720] This was an even greater widening of the knighthood than the king had afforded himself, linking this group of men to the new queen through their elevation in society. Relatives of the queen were knighted in this group, her brothers John and Richard Woodville and a cousin, William Haute, serving both to establish a broader knightly status within the Woodville

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[717] All the Yorkist coronations, including that planned for Edward V, included the creation of knights of the Bath at the Tower who were to receive the honour by the king, *Great Chronicle*, p. 197; *Annales*, vol 2 part 2 pp. 783-84; Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation,* pp. 273-74; Horrox and Hammond, *Harl 433,* vol 3 pp. 11-12. The creation of knights of the Bath alongside Edward, prince of Wales in 1475 took place in St Edward's Chamber at Westminster Palace, as did those dubbed at the marriage of Richard, duke of York in 1478, BL, Additional MS 46354, f. 7; BL, Stowe MS 1047 f. 111.

[718] *Hearne*, p. 10.

[719] *Great Chronicle,* p. 197; BL, Additional MS 46354, f. 3; Ross, *Richard III,* p. 6.

[720] Chroniclers differ in their estimates, ranging from the thirty-eight listed in *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 pp. 783-84 to forty-seven stated in *Short English Chronicle*, p. 80.

family and include these men within the knightly elite.[721] The coronation was an opportunity to promote the queen's gentry family and enable a wider infiltration of her relatives within political society beyond the gift of titles and offices. With the knights of the Bath created at Richard III's coronation the emphasis was on continuity, the same men called to take the honour at Edward V's aborted coronation receiving knighthoods at his.[722] These brief examples demonstrate the ways in which the monarch used creations for political emphasis, while the ceremony was designed to create a chivalric bond between recipients. The public role undertaken by new knights at the royal ceremony also reflected their ongoing public role as chivalric leaders.

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[721] *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 p. 784; Smith, *Coronation,* p. 63.

[722] Of the eighteen names listed as knighted at the coronation of Richard III, at least fourteen had been included in the summons for Edward V, Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation,* pp. 273-74; Horrox and Hammond, *Harl 433,* vol 3 pp. 11-12.

3.3   Visible Hierarchy: Funerals, Marriages and the Trial of Clarence

Display was critical in defining position and was ceremony on the monarch's terms: honours given at his behest or by his deputies; bestowed at royal events such as coronations, and taking place at royal sites such as the Tower of London or on the battlefield fighting for the king. Ceremony and display created and sustained intimacy with the monarch, which was not centred on political power or landed wealth but on service, duty and honour. Loyalty to the monarch was at the core of this, heightened by the sense of exclusivity in elevation and the potential benefit of an annuity.[723] Hierarchy at royal events functioned as a visual declaration of position, both in relation to the monarch and between those present. Indeed, display was the dynamic which gave credence to the honours, titles and ceremonial offices which denoted status. This section focuses on the visual hierarchy exhibited at royal events to explore the ways in which it served to assert royal authority and define social structure.

The visual role taken by knights of the Bath at royal celebration was a demonstration of status, the final part of the knighting ritual at which their position was made public. While this was a unique occurrence for knights of the Bath, royal events more generally were the pinnacle of the reinforcement of status through visual display, not least because position was ordered around the king and his family. Just as the sovereign led Garter knights, themselves arranged by rank, at Order feasts, so royal ceremonial emphasised social position by the hierarchy on display. Hierarchy provided structure for royal spectacle, noted meticulously by heralds recording protocol for future occasions, as with the order of those listed as attending the christening of Princess Bridget in 1480.[724] Thus the order in which dukes, earls and barons made offerings at a funeral mass was dictated by rank, clearly and visibly defining those of highest status, that is closest to the monarch, and their position in relation to each other. All royal events involved hierarchical display, though high ceremonial such as funerals, coronations and marriages were most driven by procedure and heralds' accounts often give detailed description of this.

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[723] On the cost to a monarch of maintaining the nobility, through annuities, grants and retaining fees, see for example Given-Wilson, *English Nobility,* pp. 37-40, 154-56.

[724] G.A. Lester, 'The Literary Activity of the Medieval English Heralds', *English Studies,* 71 (1990), pp. 223-25; Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 134; Vale, *War and Chivalry,* pp. 92-93; BL, Additional MS 6113, f. 74.

Position and place was of critical importance to individuals, emphasised by the primary focus of heraldic records on the order in which people processed and the roles they undertook at royal events dependent on their rank.[725] The attention to protocol within such display in these accounts is testimony to its importance and suggests the rigidity with which it functioned, heralds being responsible for the order of royal events. Place mattered to those taking part, too, both as a statement of an individual's position and because title and hierarchy reflected the relationship with the monarch. Reports of Edward IV's funeral in April 1483, for example, note an argument between Lord Maltravers and Viscount Berkeley over who held precedence and should walk on the right hand side, a viscount outranking a baron.[726] The honour, however, went to Maltravers as the eldest son of an earl; hierarchy thus conceived as familial rather than merely individual.[727] Although this incident was a relatively small part of the eleven day event it is prominent in the texts, emphasising the importance of rank within royal display and the purpose of heralds' records as ensuring proper procedure was followed. The squabble over place within the ceremony also highlights that status was a subject for debate, and was complex; rank was not just designated by title, but other considerations such as kinship or potential inheritance could have a bearing.

The reburial of Richard, duke of York, in July 1476 is a good example of the rigid hierarchy underpinning royal display. The event was an exhibition of ideal Yorkist spectacle, having been months in the planning and involving the majority of the English nobility and clerical leaders. A showcase of the Yorkist elite centred around the king, the event served to demonstrate the investment in the regime of all those involved in collectively commemorating his father.[728] The seven day procession of the duke's hearse from Pontefract to Fotheringhay was led by the king's brother, Gloucester, with the earl of Northumberland and lords Stanley, Greystoke, Welles and Mountjoy alongside

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[725] Such as the order in which individuals kneeled within the hearse at York's reburial in 1476, Gloucester at the head with the earl of Northumberland and then lords, BL, Additional MS 45131, f. 24.

[726] The squabble is noted in the English and French accounts of the funeral, College of Arms, MSS I 7, f. 8 and Arundel 51, ff. 15v-16.

[727]   College of Arms, MS Arundel 51, f. 16. Thomas Fitzalan, Lord Maltravers was son of the earl of Arundel, he was also married to Margaret Woodville, the queen's sister.

[728] See above, pp. 20-21.

him.[729] The cortège was met by the king, Clarence, duke of Suffolk, marquis of Dorset and earls of Lincoln, Essex, Kent and Rivers, amongst other nobles and ten bishops.[730] Sixteen nobles were named as being present, showing Edward IV's tight command of the nobility, with hundreds more people witnessing the event and sharing in the feasting.[731] The magnificence of the display and neatly ordered hierarchy were a demonstration of control, those involved being a tightly knit group of loyalists, both family members and those who had been vital to Edward in regaining his throne and who had campaigned with him in France. Nobles who had played critical roles in the king's restoration included Hastings, Earl Rivers and Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, whose neutrality proved vital to Edward's progression through the north on his return from Burgundy.[732] Also present were many of those who had joined Edward on his French campaign in 1475, and a number who swore the oath of allegiance to the prince of Wales on 3 July 1471.[733]

By taking part in the reburial of Edward's father as a rightful king, those present physically signalled support for and confidence in the regime: the visibility of being involved in a royal event verified the dynamic between king and nobility. At the ceremony each person had a specific role to play and order in which to perform it, strengthening the sense of rank among the nobility. Individuals were positioned either within or outside the hearse railings during the funeral service; presented cloth of gold to the coffin and offered the mass penny in a specific order; certain nobles presented the knightly achievements; some travelled with the hearse from Pontefract and fifteen chosen nobles escorted the cortège into Fotheringhay church with the king. All those present formed part of the ceremony, from dressing in mourning habits to presenting

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[729] BL, Harley MS 48, f. 78.

[730] *ibid.,* ff. 79v-80.

[731] On wider engagement with the spectacle, see below, pp. 187-88.

[732] *Arrivall*, p. 152-53. Similarly Lord Hastings and Earl Rivers, for instance, had fought alongside Edward and the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester at the battle of Barnet, Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 167.

[733] Nine of the sixteen nobles named were involved in the French campaign and nine had sworn oaths to Prince Edward in 1471, alongside sons and other relatives, College of Arms, MS M 16*bis,* ff. 16v-17; *CCR* 1468-76, pp. 229-30.

gifts dictated by status: the earls offering three pieces of cloth of gold five yards long, dukes five pieces, the king seven pieces.[734]

The rhythmic display of status orbited around the king, his brothers, the queen and his daughters who took pre-eminence at the funeral ceremony, followed by the wider family. As well as the king's relatives, including Clarence and Gloucester, his nephew John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, his brother-in-law John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk and York's brother-in-law, Henry Bourchier earl of Essex, a substantial body of the queen's connections were present. These included her brother Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, her son Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset and her brother-in-law Anthony, Lord Grey of Ruthin.[735] All of these men accompanied the king as he met the cortège on its arrival at Fotheringhay, singled out in the display and the record for their centrality in the event. The reburial of the duke of York was not only family commemoration, but a collective enterprise for the nobility.

To rebury a nobleman was not unprecedented, as seen with the reinterment of Richard Neville earl of Salisbury in 1463, for example.[736] However, the lavishness of the reburial of the duke of York and its function as spectacle over ritual was exceptional. Royal funerals had a tone entirely distinct from this dynastic celebration; the show of mourning was more profound and as a consequence the tension between the public and more private aspects of the ceremony is clearer. Accounts of the funeral of Edward IV in April 1483 neatly demonstrate the progress from intimate to open in the display of the king at death, the vigils around his coffin, funeral ceremony and procession to Windsor. The corpse was first laid naked though modestly covered so the key men in the realm could view the king in death.[737] This noble and civic elite, together with household staff, observed Edward as a dead man in the twelve hours before he was arrayed for more public display as a dead king. From Westminster the corpse was embalmed, wrapped in cerecloth and lead, placed in a coffin and moved to St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster.

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[734] BL, Harley MS 48, ff. 80-80v.

[735] BL, Harley MS 4632, f. 125.

[736] *Collection of Ordinances,* pp. 131-33; A. Payne, 'The Salisbury Roll of Arms, 1463,' in D. Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 187-93.

[737] See above, pp. 21-22.

Masses, dirges and commendations were sung on the first day, and one mass a day for the rest of the eight days the coffin rested in the chapel, watched constantly by nobles and servants. During this time preparations were made for the more lavish ceremony at Westminster Abbey on 16 April, by which time cloth of gold had been procured, along with a rich canopy and banners to be held at every corner of the coffin for the journey from chapel to abbey, escorted by fifteen named knights.[738] Once there, the service was held by the archbishop of York, chancellor Thomas Rotherham, the coffin resting in a hearse and surmounted by an effigy.[739]

At Westminster Abbey lords and household servants were joined by numerous mourners. The names of those with specific roles at the ceremony, such as carrying banners, were noted in the heralds' texts as well as their position in the hierarchy of making offerings and procession. From the abbey the coffin was carried in a chariot draped in black velvet and black cloth of gold, drawn by six horses trapped in black, with mourners surrounding the body as it processed over twenty miles to Windsor.[740] On 18 April the procession and cortège arrived at Windsor and the king was buried on Friday, 19 April in the tomb he had built at St George's Chapel. Chief among the mourners at Edward's funeral were his nephew, the earl of Lincoln, and the queen's eldest son, the marquis of Dorset, but household staff also featured prominently. After the king's body was put into his grave the steward, chamberlain, treasurer and controller of his household threw their staves in after him, demonstrating the end of their service.[741]

The ceremony was thus structured around proximity to the king, from the intimate group who saw the king dead with their own eyes, to the wider group of household servants and nobles who attended masses at St Stephen's Chapel, the greater number who attended the funeral at the abbey and the hundreds of ordinary people who could have seen the procession from London to Windsor. In a demonstration of the importance

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[738] BL, Additional MS 45131, ff. 27v-29.

[739] See below, n. 1361.

[740] BL, Additional MS 45131, f. 28v.

[741] College of Arms, MS Arundel 51, f. 17v. Heralds likewise threw their coats of arms into the grave, before receiving new ones.

of closeness to the monarch, mourners were said to have come to lay their hands on the coffin as it processed.[742] The final acts of the event, the burial services and feasting at Windsor, drew the circle of participants tighter again to those of status and position within the Yorkist elite and royal family. The expression of these degrees of privacy at Edward IV's funeral was echoed, though with less grandeur, in the funerals of his children. Princess Mary, Edward's second eldest daughter, died aged fifteen at Greenwich on 20 or 23 May 1482.[743] As with her father the following year, her body lay in state for around a week, though at Greenwich parish church, before beginning its procession to Windsor for burial on 27-28 May. While only financial accounts detail anything of Prince George's funeral on 22 March 1479, he was evidently buried in full chivalric style, given the expenditure on painting coats of arms, escutcheons and pennons, and a man at arms to bear the helm at the ceremony.[744] Over 150 people were named or counted as servants in the accounts, including officers of both the king's and queen's household, nevertheless the funeral for the toddler was relatively small in scale. The unexpected need for the funeral, and its speed, indicate that the six members of the nobility present were among those closest to the royal family, physically nearby as well as of appropriate status to fulfil this role.[745]

Royal funerals thus reinforced status and served to visually define the circles of influence around the monarch, in the case of the death of the king at a critical time for governmental stability. Intimacy brought title and ceremonial roles, demonstrated by position and embedded through repetition of this hierarchy and performance of offices across royal events. The recurrence of such display was a facet of the ritual nature of events such as funerals, coronations and marriages, but in exhibiting the elite by status these ceremonies also visually reinforced regime security. The visibility of people in specific roles, functioning around the king and in relation to each other, demonstrated a working leadership. Certain events give a clearer insight into royal spectacle as an exercise of political control as well as a demonstration of the hierarchy of power. The

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[742] College of Arms, MS I 7, f. 8.

[743] The two copies of the text give different days, Monday and Thursday, of the same week, *Royal Funerals,* p. 58.

[744] See above, pp. 22-23.

[745] The six named are the marquis of Dorset, Earl Rivers and lords Strange, Mountjoy, Welles and Ferrers, *Royal Funerals,* pp. 51, 56-57. The king and queen may have been there, see above p. 22.

marriage of Edward IV's second son, Richard duke of York, in January 1478 was a royal celebration but occurred concurrently with the trial and execution of the king's brother Clarence. The entwining of these two events highlights the profound political significance of participation in royal spectacle and the ways in which display demonstrated order and authority.

Negotiations to unite the four-year-old duke to the heiress of the duke of Norfolk, six-year-old Anne Mowbray, had been under discussion since Norfolk's death in January 1476 and were probably concluded around the time of the boy's creation as duke of Norfolk on 7 February 1477.[746] Parallel to the familial bonds being created with this marriage, however, was the complete destruction of another. Clarence was finally called to account for his lack of loyalty to Edward, being arrested and imprisoned in the Tower of London in June 1477.[747] By the time parliament was summoned on 20 November 1477 the decision to attaint Clarence for treason must have been taken, it being the key item focused upon within the session. The papal dispensation for the marriage must have arrived at almost the same time, as articles for the celebratory joust were published early the following month.[748] The marriage celebrations were thus planned to run concurrently with, and involve the same people as, the parliament which would condemn Clarence in early 1478. This was not an accident of timing but a deliberate decision to unite the two events: the duke had been imprisoned since June and there had clearly been no urgency to deal with him; likewise the necessary paperwork for the marriage had been attained steadily rather than speedily. While the desire to resolve both matters may have been pressing, it was not so urgent as to make necessary the overlap. Generally historians have explained this either by noting that it was a useful convergence, so those in London for parliament could also join the wedding celebrations, or by viewing it as a deliberate effort to demonstrate family unity as a counterbalance to fratricide.[749] Neither of these conclusions are wholly wrong, but the

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[746] Davis, *Paston Letters,* part 1 pp. 489-92, letters of 17 and 27 of January 1476; *CPR*, 1476-85, p. 15. Richard had also been created earl of Nottingham on 12 June the previous year, another former Mowbray title, *CCR* 1476-85, p. 4.

[747] Hicks, *Clarence*, p. 140.

[748] The articles of joust were published in London before 10 December 1477, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmole MS 856, f. 94.

[749] For example Scofield, *Edward,* vol 2 p. 204; Hicks, *Clarence,* p. 144; H. Kleineke, *Edward IV* (Abingdon, 2009)*,* p. 191.

situation was much more complex, an intricate interplay of family and politics in which the monarch's authority was asserted through his control of the nobility, exercise of justice and mercy and through use of specific royal spaces.

More than any other Yorkist display, the combining of the marriage of the king's son and the execution of his brother highlights the ways in which people and spaces were used in the exercise of monarchy. Here was the expression of authority in visual and political terms, the king as head of a family, as dispenser of justice, as one who was planning for the future and laying to rest the ghosts of the past. By holding these two events simultaneously the audience was invited to celebrate with the royal family and carry that involvement into the parliamentary arena, in both places witnessing and supporting moves orchestrated by the king. This does not necessarily indicate royal insecurity about the outcome of the duke's trial, as the composition of parliament was tailored to ensure support, but more interestingly is suggestive about the need to secure endorsement.[750] That is, aiming to allow Edward to destroy his brother despite his rank without sparking outrage, even out of royal earshot.[751]

Just how intertwined the two events were is clear from the chronology of activities during mid-January and early February 1478. The wedding was held on Thursday, 15 January in St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, with feasting taking place in the parliament chamber, and was followed the next day by the opening of parliament in the same chamber.[752] Saturday, 17 January saw more parliamentary business with the election of William Allyngton as speaker. He was presented to the king the following Monday, an event preceded by Edward's creation of twenty-four knights of the Bath on Sunday 18th in celebration of the marriage, both taking place in the painted chamber at Westminster.[753] Among them was William Stonor, who also sat in the parliament as an

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[750] Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 343-44; Hicks, *Clarence*, pp. 147-58.

[751] *Crowland* highlighted that the deed did unsettle people, stating that it Edward IV governed as he pleased once he had removed powerful rivals, including Warwick, p. 147.

[752] Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmole MS 842, f. 97; see above, n. 100.

[753] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1478', item 9; Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmole MS 842, f. 97; BL, Stowe MS 1047, f. 111. William Allyngton was also one of the commissioners sent to enquire into the value of Clarence's property, in Cambridge with fellow MP John Cheyne, in March 1478, *CPR* 1476-85, p. 109.

MP for Oxfordshire.[754] Parliamentary business must have adjourned the following Thursday, 22 January, for members to watch the royal jousts held in the sanctuary grounds of the abbey; at least two members took an active part in the spectacle, Sir John Cheyne and Sir James Tyrell.[755] Feasting was held at the conclusion of the jousts, making a grand festival in the middle of gritty parliamentary business.

The trial of Clarence probably took place at least a week after these festivities. There is no indication of when it began but he had certainly been convicted by 7 February, when Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, was created steward of England to pass sentence on the former holder of that post.[756] Only *Crowland* gives any insight into what happened in the parliament chamber, indicating that the trial was brief, only the king speaking against the duke and Clarence responding, with the evidence of some witnesses.[757] The outcome was unlikely to have been in doubt and proceedings therefore were probably not protracted. Some time lapsed between the sentencing of Clarence and his execution, possibly a sign of the king's prevarication over finally condemning his brother to death, but the duke was executed at the Tower of London on 18 February.[758] This final act of these concurrent events was the only one to take place at a different site, the Tower being as far from Westminster as possible within the London area. Parliament ended soon after the execution and was certainly over by 26 February, the day after Clarence's burial at Tewkesbury.[759]

The weaving between these events was therefore very evident during the beginning of the parliamentary session. Similarly, many of those involved in the wedding celebrations were equally embroiled in parliament's dealing with Clarence. The duke of

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[754]   BL, Stowe MS 1047, f. 111; Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmole MS 842, f. 95; Carpenter, *Stonor Letters,* p. 58.

[755]   Sir John Cheyne, MP for Wiltshire and Sir James Tyrell, representing Cornwall, Horrox, 'Parliament of 1478, Introduction'. Tyrell ran in the osting harness and Cheyne, esquire for the king's body and also master of the horse, in the tourney, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmole MS 856, f. 99.

[756]   *CPR* 1476-85, p. 63.

[757]   *Crowland,* pp. 145-47. The trial was not recorded on the parliament roll, but a version of the attainder is given as an appendix in editions of the rolls, see above, n. 229.

[758]   *ibid.,* p. 147. Hicks suggests Edward's hesitation in making decisions indicates the prominence of other factors pushing him to bring Clarence to trial and execution, such as Woodville pressure, *Clarence,* p. 169.

[759]   See above, n. 366.

Buckingham, who pronounced sentence, had also led the bride from her marriage at St Stephen's Chapel to the wedding feast and carried the marquis of Dorset's helm into the jousts.[760] The gap which may have been perceived by the absence of a royal brother from the wedding was filled by Gloucester, already stepping in as second brother at the ceremony. Although there had not been a public Yorkist marriage in England until 1478 and it is therefore difficult to compare the roles undertaken by different people, Clarence had acted as steward at both Edward and Elizabeth Woodville's coronations.[761] Although Buckingham would be made steward within a few weeks, Gloucester took the prominent ceremonial role of carrying basins of gold and silver to be cast among the common people, also leading the princess from the chapel after the service.[762] The duke was also beside the king when articles of joust were presented at Westminster in December 1477.[763] While Gloucester is not noted for any participation in the parliament, he cannot have opposed the trial of Clarence and he certainly benefitted from his brother's attainder.[764] Three days before the execution, on 15 February, Gloucester was a witness to the charter which created his son earl of Salisbury, one of Clarence's former titles.[765] For himself there was also the return of the office of great chamberlain that he had surrendered to his brother in 1472, which took place three days after the execution, on 21 January.[766]

The efforts to demonstrate dynastic power, and potential, thus came together at the marriage of Richard, duke of York, as huge a showcase of Yorkist pageantry as Clarence's death and funeral were muted. As noted, the wedding celebrations were deliberately concurrent with the parliament called to try Clarence, in both timing and use of space, not as a distraction but as an assertion of authority. All the royal family were at the event, including Prince Edward, representing the future of the dynasty, who

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[760] Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmole MS 856, ff. 96, 98.

[761] Sharpe, *Letter Book L,* p. 5; Smith, *Coronation*, p. 14.

[762] Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmole MS 856, f. 96.

[763] *ibid.,* f. 94.

[764] Ross, *Richard III*, p. 33.

[765] *CPR* 1476-85, pp. 67-68.

[766] *CPR* 1476-85, p. 67.

by then usually resided at Ludlow.[767] He was alongside the duke of Gloucester and the king when his tutor and governor, Anthony, Earl Rivers, and his half brother the marquis of Dorset presented articles for the joust in December 1477.[768] Similarly at the wedding, the king, queen, prince of Wales, Cecily duchess of York and princesses Elizabeth, Mary and Cecily stood together within the chapel, distinguished as the royal family beneath a canopy of cloth of gold.[769]

The wedding was the culmination of Edward's negotiations to provide a living for his second son, property which would remain the duke's for life even if the heiress died, a solution which was approved during the parliamentary session.[770] The choice of St Stephen's Chapel for the wedding not only kept the event at Westminster, alongside parliament, it was royal space, the king's personal chapel.[771] This was not private space, but more familial than Westminster Abbey or city churches, and physically placed the wedding in the king's sphere. To emphasise this authority, Edward gave the bride away himself.[772] Throughout the ceremony a distinct hierarchy held which placed the king's relatives parallel with but above the queen's connections. For example, the bride was led to the service by the king's nephew, the earl of Lincoln, on her right hand side and Earl Rivers, the queen's brother, on her left. Similarly the duke of Gloucester led her from the ceremony on her right and the duke of Buckingham, married to the queen's sister Katherine, on the left.[773] The wedding service was dominated by the king's family, however the tournament was to a much greater extent the arena of the queen's family. In comparative roles, it was Gloucester who cast money out to spectators at the marriage, Rivers who rewarded the heralds with largesse at the end of the jousting.[774]

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[767] See above, n. 338.

[768] Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmole MS 856, f. 94. Woodville was made the prince's tutor on 10 November 1473, *CPR* 1467-77, p. 417.

[769] Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmole MS 856, f. 96.

[770] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1478', items 10-11.

[771] St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, was one of three chapels royal, founded by Edward III concurrently with St George's at Windsor, Ormrod, *Edward III,* pp. 309, 312.

[772] Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmole MS 856, f. 96.

[773] *ibid.,* ff. 95-96. John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, was the king's nephew through his sister Elizabeth, duchess of Suffolk, he had been knighted with Edward's sons in 1475.

[774] Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmole MS 856, ff. 96, 104.

The spectacle of the prince's marriage synchronised with the trial of Clarence to enhance the standing of the royal family, assert the king's authority and procure corroboration in the execution of the duke. The visual display of hierarchy at the event not only demonstrated position but served to establish it, too, both within the nobility participating and for wider spectators. Furthermore, involvement in royal events identified people with the regime and created a symbiotic attachment and association with its actions. Thus the presence of almost the entire nobility at the coronation of Richard III validated his usurpation, the ritual of king-making witnessed and participated in by the realm's elite.[775] The ceremony followed tradition, differing only in being a dual crowning of the king and queen, the format mirroring the coronations of 1461 and 1465 with knights created at the Tower of London, procession to Westminster and coronation performed by Thomas Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury.[776] Custom was used to communicate the change to a new regime, around which hierarchy was redefined. Continuities were similarly expressed: Richard's new elevations John Howard, duke of Norfolk and his son Thomas, earl of Surrey bore the crown and sword respectively, William Herbert, earl of Huntington the queen's sceptre, the duke of Buckingham acted as steward in the role given to him by Edward IV in 1478, and the duke of Suffolk and earl of Lincoln prominent as they had been in royal display throughout the 1470s.[777] Participation in the event, as with each instance of royal display, signalled the power structure while emphasising the monarch's authority, hierarchy exposing status within the circles of influence. This was both a privilege of position and a duty; it was also reciprocal, in that status was gained through compliance and performance of roles at royal ceremony demanded and exposed that cooperation. Display was more than empty ritual or superficiality, it was a fundamental way in which authority was demonstrated and hierarchy established within the regime and beyond.

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[775]   The coronation was attended by three dukes, nine earls, two viscounts, five lords and over seventy knights. Lists of those present survive in a number of manuscripts, detailed in Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation,* pp. 257-69; Horrox, *Richard III,* p. 138.

[776] See above, pp. 13, 16.

[777] College of Arms, MS I 18, f. 32; Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation,* p. 276. The de la Poles, father duke of Suffolk and son earl of Lincoln, were at the reburial, took the oath to the prince of Wales, the elder was on the French campaign, Lincoln attended Anne Mowbray at the marriage in 1478 and he was at the funeral of Edward IV. This William Herbert was the son of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, one of the founders of the regime who was executed by Warwick in 1469, *ibid.,* p. 355.

Conclusion

The relationship between a monarch and his subjects was complex and reciprocal, at once offering leadership and governance while requiring confidence in the regime and compliance. These relationships were played out in public, with display around and pertaining to the king serving to demonstrate and affirm position and status, whether through physical proximity to the monarch at an event or the bestowal of honours and titles. The focus on the people around the monarch in this chapter has nuanced existing ideas about the dynamics between power and display, collapsing the distinction that holding real power negated the need for ostentatious display in contrast to performance as essential in asserting chivalric position and honour. Rather the balance was far more sophisticated: position incurred and required display, and functioned as a web of connections between individuals. Groups of people, including Garter members, those at the heart of government, peers and knights formed circles around the monarch, from those with the strongest personal connections at the centre, radiating outwards in decreasing degrees of intimacy.

Engagement in each circle denoted a relatively static relationship to the king, though their membership was fluid: the circles were permeable and overlapping. Intimacy with the monarch, and display of that status, was individual even where it was defined by group membership; knights were also peers, and could be Garter members as well, hierarchy was rigid, but open to argument even within events. Just as these circles around the king were not impermeable, neither were they entirely masculine. The awarding of offices, titles and membership of the Order of the Garter were exclusively male, but political influence was not, and not only were women prominent in royal display, they held significant position in the rhetoric of Yorkist power. Beyond this, marriage could create important relationships, for instance making a member of the nobility an in-law, as happened with the marriages of the queen's sisters. In this there was an overt attempt to create political intimacy, for example the marriage of Margaret of York to Charles the Bold in 1468 made brothers of Edward and the duke.

The structure of these circles of influence around the king was based on traditional personal monarchy and the rigid hierarchy of nobility, rank equalling position, but in

practice was far more adaptable. Status was given to valued supporters of lower rank, while peers were overlooked as officers of state. Furthermore, relationships were cultivated and communicated with a wide range of people through the promotion of chivalric culture, sponsored by the Yorkist court and led by Edward IV as a warrior monarch. This not only captivated the higher nobility, but percolated through society, in particular engaging the aspirational political classes. These individuals were critical to the Yorkist regime, offering support and money at pivotal moments. The cultivation of relationships with foreign powers was similarly vital to the status and survival of Edward IV's throne. An important way in which connections between the king and both his leading citizens and important diplomatic visitors were nurtured was through elaborate hospitality. This served to create intimacy through courtesy and generosity, and most particularly by the notion of special favour bestowed on invited individuals.

Chapter Four   Circles of Intimacy (2): Wider Circles

The Yorkist elite identified in chapter three were at the core of a web of relationships denoted by honours and hierarchy at royal events. Intimacy defined by status and signalled by physical proximity to the monarch reached far further than this inner circle of royal family, higher nobility and loyal supporters. The degree to which royal spectacle engaged audiences and participants who were not the focus of such display has already been noted, as has the importance of cultivating relationships with foreign courts. This chapter explores these areas further by examining the performance of intimacy displayed through royal hospitality to visitors and wider citizens. The first section focuses on the ways in which domestic familiarity and privileged access to royal occasions and locations was used to develop connections with foreign visitors. The reception of Louis of Bruges' at Windsor Castle in 1472 is a particularly useful example of this, emphasising the degree to which intimate access served to demonstrate and nurture a close personal relationship with the king. The second section of the chapter examines the cultivation of loyalty and support among wider groups, particularly civic leaders. The spectacle of the monarch appearing among citizens, for his coronation at St Paul's Cathedral for instance, or in processions through towns, was an important way in which the king displayed majesty before his subjects and asserted his position. More specifically, royal generosity, through entertainment, gifts and honours, served to highlight special favour bestowed on individuals. The visibility of the king among the people, feasting and celebrating with citizens, was critical in generating relationships with a broader range of subjects.

4.1 Honoured Guests: Hospitality and Intimacy

Personal access to the monarch was the nucleus around which circles formed, the ultimate degree of intimacy. While a genuine Yorkist inner circle is identifiable, understanding the private contact individuals had with the king is elusive: relationships are indicated but never fully exposed. Privacy, by its nature, does not leave a record. However the notion of royal access was a powerful political tool, a theme which featured consistently in courtly display. The politics of intimacy was not merely a court construct but underpinned all royal display, through physical proximity to the monarch, demonstration of hierarchy and the shared understanding of the language of display, all functioning to define circles of intimacy around the king.[778] Space and symbolism was consistently used to demonstrate who had a special position close to the king, for instance by limiting the people allowed within the hearse railings at a royal funeral, defining members of the royal family through canopy coverings at ceremonies, and those favoured by jousting in the king's colours.[779] The idea that access equated to power was entrenched; the Paston letters for example highlight the concern to note those elevated to title and who was close to the king, as connections could be advantageous.[780]

Proximity to the monarch was visually potent, particularly the display of intimacy through access to royal sites and more private occasions. The very reporting of these instances emphasises the exercise of publicity over genuine personal access; rather the potential for closeness with the king was intended to be widely understood. A few examples suggest the way in which this fictitious intimacy was used as part of royal display. Glimpses of exclusive political dealings, for instance, indicate those closest to the king in diplomatic manoeuvres. Edward IV's 'secret' meeting with Antoine de La Roche, bastard of Burgundy on 29 May 1467 before his official welcome in London, for example, showed Lord Hastings and the earls of Essex and Rivers at the heart of the

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[778] On the politics of intimacy at the early Tudor court, see Starkey, 'Representation Through Intimacy', pp. 42-78 and *idem.*, 'Intimacy and Innovation', pp. 71-118.

[779] At the reburial of Richard, duke of York in 1476 and the marriage of the king's son in 1478, respectively, BL, Additional MS 45131, f. 24; Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmole MS 856, ff. 96, 98-100.

[780] Davis, *Paston Letters,* vol 1 p. 524, letter of 11 December 1462.

diplomacy.[781] This meeting was noted in the Burgundian reports, though English accounts insisted that the two met for the first time on 3 June at Westminster when La Roche was presented to the king.[782] This version thus preserved the meeting as that of a visitor being ceremonially received by the monarch rather than allowing the latter to have sought out the company of the Burgundian at his residence. More fruitfully, reports of hospitality shown to visitors demonstrate the use of intimacy as display, in contrast to reading intimacy within royal spectacle. This aimed both to create and demonstrate association with the monarch through the exclusive sights people were taken to see and the domestic domains they were invited into. This was the exhibition of hospitality, accessibility to the monarch a political tool and in the surviving sources almost exclusively diplomatic, recorded in noting the treatment of continental visitors.

The visit of Antoine, bastard of Burgundy in 1467 again provides an example of the intimacy suggested by privileged access to the monarch. One of the more curious entertainments provided for the count's visit was a trip to view the incarcerated Henry VI, an incident which was not reported in English sources.[783] The king was said to have invited La Roche for dinner and played at paume after visiting Henry in a tower at Westminster.[784] The Burgundian account stated that little was said between the visitor and former king, as they could not comprehend one another. The episode was entirely a part of the diplomacy at play in summer 1467, the secret viewing of an unintelligible former ruler for a continental, not domestic, audience. The count could therefore report on his return to the continent that Henry was alive and safely in Edward's custody, which was critical in keeping the Lancastrian opposition muted. Additionally Henry's incomprehensibility, perhaps due to his illness, demonstrated the former monarch's unfitness to rule. Having a Burgundian noble witness this was a positive message of Edward's security on the throne just as diplomatic negotiations were coming to a crux,

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[781] They met at the count's residence, the bishop of Salisbury's house in Chelsea, Leeds Royal Armouries MS I-35 ff. 56-56v, transcribed in Moffat, 'Tournament', p. 180; Anglo, 'Smithfield', p. 275.

[782] The English accounts state that Edward arrived in London on 2 June to great fanfare witnessed by the La Roche and his entourage, and the Burgundian was presented to the king the following day, BL, Lansdowne MS 285, ff. 36-36v; also *Annales*, vol 2 part 2 p. 786.

[783] The visit is only noted in one source, Leeds Royal Armouries MS I-35, f. 70, Moffat, 'Tournament', p. 193.

[784] Paume is palm tennis, played on this occasion with Sir John Woodville and Sir John Howard, against four others, *ibid*.

orchestrated through the count's privileged access to the exclusive spaces of Yorkist monarchy.[785]

In a similar move, though far less politically imperative, Bohemian visitors to Edward IV's court in 1466 were favoured with special admittance to royal ceremony and a tour of objects valuable to the king. As well as being taken to see splendid gardens, tombs and holy relics in London's churches, the visitors were shown the royal treasury, including a golden bowl said to only be shown to foreigners.[786] At Windsor the party were received by companions of the Order of the Garter and taken to see the heart of St George.[787] Edward invited the Bohemians to a grand feast and knighted several of their number, bestowing on all members of the party gold and silver badges.[788] This was not a pivotal diplomatic visit yet the anxiety to impress as a host and create relationships with the travellers through hospitality is clear: they were feasted, honoured, escorted and funded by Edward, who gave them gifts and paid the expenses at their inn.[789]

As well as having access to protected royal spaces such as the treasury and being shown prized relics, the visitors were further embraced with admission to royal ceremony, being allowed to view the occasion of the queen's churching following the birth of Edward IV's first child, Elizabeth of York, on 11 February 1466.[790] This all-female spectacle was witnessed by the Bohemian visitors at the invite of the king, the party observing from an alcove separate from the banquet. The entire spectacle was an enactment of hierarchy: eight duchesses and thirty countesses were noted as present, only nobility served the queen and the king's sister is described as having danced with two dukes. Similarly, in a separate feasting room, the Bohemian lord sat apart with a

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[785] Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 104-12.

[786] *Rozmital*, pp. 51-55.

[787] *ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

[788] The two accounts differ on how many men were knighted, Tetzel lists four, Schaseck five, *ibid.*, pp. 45, 53.

[789] *ibid.*, p. 48.

[790] The account written by Gabriel Tetzel, present at the event with his lord, Leo von Rozmital, is the only surviving record of the ceremony, *ibid.*, pp. 46-48. The churching would have taken place in mid-March, around a month after the birth, G. McMurray Gibson, 'Blessing from Sun and Moon. Churching as Women's Theater' in B.A. Hanawalt and D. Wallace (eds.), *Bodies and Disciplines: Intersections of Literature and History in Fifteenth-Century England* (Minneapolis, 1996), p. 144.

great earl acting as the king's representative at the table.[791] The event conformed to custom, but was also a hugely lavish assertion of royalty, one that despite the separation of the sexes for feasting was meant to be viewed and reported. The impression of intimacy shown to the party shaped their visit and contributed to their estimation of the Yorkist court, enthusiastic wonderment at the splendour on display.[792] Overall it was a grand spectacle of chivalric cordiality, which Contamine argues was part of a common international language of hospitality encompassing the guidance and access given to visitors, gift exchanges and nourishment provided as well as the bestowal of honours.[793] Hence a highlight of Rozmital's stay in England was the visit to Windsor, home of the Garter, and the inclusion of their names in a book of prayer.[794]

Attention to the experience of visiting foreign lords may well have been Edward's generous style of monarchy, but much more importantly it was a factor in establishing the status and stability of the Yorkist court internationally. The Bohemians had visited the Burgundian court on their way to England, so the view that Edward had 'the most splendid court that could be found in all Christendom' was a pertinent comparison.[795] Of greater significance though was the report that these travellers would spread on their return journey, taking an image with them of a court steeped in gold, gifts, sumptuous feasting, luxurious decor, piety, ordered hierarchy and loyalty, with family at the centre.[796] This was not a diplomatic visit of such weight that it received attention in other sources, or which was centred on a significant treaty or agreement, and without the Bohemians' own record almost nothing would be known of it.[797] This was a relatively minor diplomatic engagement, but clearly one treated as a useful opportunity

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[791] *Rozmital,* p. 46.

[792] *ibid.*

[793] Contamine, 'L'hospitalité dans l'Europe', pp. 81-84.

[794] *Rozmital,* pp. 55-56.

[795] *ibid*, p. 45; Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 259.

[796] On the importance of such spectacles being reported abroad, see R.F. Green, *Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages* (Toronto, 1980), pp. 168-74.

[797] The visit of the Bohemians was possibly aimed at enhancing English attitudes towards Bohemia, Thomas, *England and Bohemia,* pp. 153-55. Safe conduct grants were issued on 26 February 1466, Rymer, *Foedera,* vol 11 p. 560. Scofield noted a gift of £100 made to 'a Lord of Beame', Scofield, *Edward,* vol 1 p. 397 n. 1.

for promotion, and the implication is that this was typical of the approach to welcoming foreign visitors.

While the reception of the Bohemian visitors in 1466 was splendid and welcoming but formal, that of Louis of Bruges, Lord Gruuthuse, in 1472 was genuinely personal. Edward IV had stayed with Gruuthuse in 1470-71 during his exile on the continent and his visit to England was an opportunity to return the hospitality which had provided the platform for the king's return to power.[798] Thus as well as bestowing the earldom of Winchester on the Burgundian in formal recognition of his importance, Edward invited Louis to Windsor where the king had rooms decorated especially for his guest and they hunted and dined together. The record of his stay with the king, royal family and key courtiers at the castle radiates with both the material extravagance and family harmony on display.[799] Gruuthuse was received into ostensibly private royal space, part of a domestic intimacy which was the pinnacle of closeness to the monarch, the centre of the circles around the king. That the detail of the visit was recorded highlights that although it was an intimate royal occasion, it was in no sense private. The lavish hospitality was designed to impress not just the visitors but the court to which they would return with descriptions of their reception, and all those who heard of it.

The evidence for this sojourn survives as copies of a herald's report written by Bluemantle pursuivant, who travelled to Bruges as part of an embassy in September 1472 and probably returned with Gruuthuse on his journey to England.[800] The report reads as an eyewitness account and is lengthy in detail, the display clearly exciting interest.[801] The description of tours led by the king and queen through three chambers of pleasance at the castle emphasise the significance of pleasure as spectacle and of

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[798] As Edward noted in his grant of the earldom to Gruuthuse, Madden, 'Louis de Bruges', p. 285; L. Visser-Fuchs, 'Edward IV's Grants of Privileges to People and Places in the Low Countries, 1472-1478', *Publications du Centre européen d'études bourguignonnes (XIVe-XVIe s.)*, 44 (2004), pp. 152-53. See also Visser-Fuchs, 'Edward IV in exile', p. 91-106.

[799] Copies of the account are in BL, Cotton MS Julius C iv, ff. 255-60v, printed in Kingsford, *English Historical Literature,* pp. 379-88; BL, Additional MS 6113, ff. 100v-107, printed in Madden, 'Louis de Bruges', pp. 265-86 and College of Arms, MS M 15, ff. 12-17.

[800] The author identifies himself as Blumantle Pursuivant in the account, though the post-holder in 1472 is unknown, BL, Cotton MS Julius C vi, f. 256; Kingsford, *English Historical Literature,* p. 379; Scofield, *Edward,* vol 2 p. 37.

[801] For example through the use of the first person and the assessments given, BL, Cotton MS Julius C vi, ff. 256-256v, 259v.

material grandeur as a symbolic reflection of Gruuthuse's importance as a guest. Report of the viewing of these apartments, richly decorated for his stay, demonstrates the wider importance of this display, paralleling the tours in London for the Bohemian visitors. This aspect of hospitality was intended to show both wealth and recognition of the visitor's status, simultaneously competing with Burgundian courtly splendour and repaying Louis of Bruges' generosity. More critically, in 1472 it was a statement of security. Gruuthuse was a Burgundian diplomat and involved in negotiations between his duke and the English king on war with France.[802] Given Edward's recent return to power and the persistent domestic instability in England, courtly display, particularly that which involved a range of the wider nobility, was a useful tool in demonstrating authority and control. Thus Edward's premier courtier, William Hastings, met Gruuthuse on his arrival at Windsor; the young heir was brought out to welcome him; the queen held a banquet in his honour, and in parliament he was created earl amongst the nobles of the country.[803]

Gruuthuse spent two nights at Windsor as the focus of extravagant hospitality and exceptionally personal royal attention. The visit began with his reception by the king and queen followed by supper with his own entourage and Hastings. The evening was spent in the queen's chamber observing the ladies playing games and dancing, including the king dancing with his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, then aged six.[804] The following day Gruuthuse attended matins with Edward in the king's chapel, was given gifts including a jewelled gold cup with a piece of unicorn horn, a horse and a crossbow, taken hunting with the king and in the evening was feasted by the queen. Present at the banquet were the king, queen and their daughter Elizabeth, Edward's sister Anne, duchess of Exeter, the queen's sister-in-law Elizabeth, Lady Rivers, the teenaged duke of Buckingham and his duchess Katherine Woodville, Hastings and Lord Berners, the queen's chamberlain. The familial picture was extended on the Burgundian side as Jean de la Gruuthuse, Louis' son, was also present.[805] The banquet was followed by a tour of the three chambers of pleasance, which had been carpeted and draped in silk, were shining with

[802] See above, n. 202.

[803] See above, n. 203.

[804] BL, Cotton MS Julius C vi, ff. 259-259v.

[805] *ibid.,* f. 260.

cloth of gold and swathed with ermine-furred covers, containing a bed of the finest down for the guest, one room with baths. The evening provided a sumptuous climax to the visit, as the Burgundians returned to Westminster the following day.

The account of Gruuthuse's visit to Windsor centred on the grandeur of his reception by the king, the interest being in the detail of the rich hangings and gifts given to the guest. Overall, however, two fundamental features of this treatment of the visitor and report of events are clear: the significance of family and sense of fellowship. The location was critical in this, Windsor as a palace for pleasure rather than protection or dominance, as with the Tower of London or Westminster Palace, and the home of the Order of the Garter. The presence of the royal family at the castle and both king and queen hosting festivities in Gruuthuse's honour, in particular the female-dominated interior events, created an intimacy which expressed the degree to which Louis was welcomed into the heart of Yorkist monarchy. The sense of privileged intimacy with the royal family here highlights a paradox underpinning much royal display: the more private the reception was designed to appear, the more it was for public consumption. Similarly, the informality suggested was carefully orchestrated. This is revealed by the detailed report of the treatment of this visitor and his entourage, written by the herald who was shadowing Gruuthuse as he was taken on a tour of the castle, shown his personal rooms by the king and queen who were responsible for their magnificent decoration, and witnessed the ladies at leisure and dancing. Closeness to the royal family was a measure of the visitor's favour with the king; the act of demonstrating this, both literally and in report, was vital in quantifying that. Any sense of privacy here was of no use to the king and would have made the extravagance of Gruuthuse's welcome politically mute. Display was meant to be seen and reported; the creation of a fictitious privacy necessary in qualifying the relationship between monarch and visitor.

The use of family and domestic intimacy in elevating the reception of Gruuthuse was balanced with the predominantly outdoor activities led by the king, in particular the day of deer hunting. This masculine, noble activity began with the infant prince of Wales being brought outside to be presented to the visitor before the hunt began, linking

family to action as well as exhibiting dynastic stability.[806] The hunt, led by the king, functioned as sport, entertainment and an opportunity to lavish more gifts on the guests, including the slain deer given to Gruuthuse and his party.[807] Hunting was also a collective activity, one that kept the king and his guest on the same side rather than competing, and that side was Yorkist and royal: the crossbow given to Gruuthuse to hunt with came in a case covered with velvet of the king's colours and decorated with his arms and badges.[808]

This visit saw the king and his visitor hunting, praying and dining together, not merely as a reward for the Burgundian's hospitality in Bruges, but in fellowship. Gruuthuse may not have been a member of the Order of the Garter but he was Edward's fellow member of the Toison d'Or and he entered English nobility as earl of Winchester soon after the Windsor visit.[809] This sense of fraternity is evident in the account of his time at the castle. Thus as well as the shared sport, Gruuthuse dined with Hastings when not with the king and bathed with him in one of the chambers of pleasance, an echo of knighting, perhaps, as well as luxury and camaraderie. Even Edward's gift of a unicorn's horn hints at shared ribaldry: it was 'a grete pece… to my estimacyon vij ynches'.[810] These snapshots of the welcome Gruuthuse received give an image of closeness to the king, he was welcomed as a diplomat, peer, almost as family, joining in with royal pursuits, meeting the wider family, witnessing apparently unguarded moments such as the king dancing with his daughter. This was designed to strengthen the impression of unity through the bonds of family and friendship, an intimacy which was communicated not just through actions but through report.

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[806] The prince was given an active role in proceedings through his chamberlain, Thomas Vaughan, who brought him to be presented to Gruuthuse and into parliament for the Burgundian's investiture; Vaughan had also brought the invite to Windsor to Gruuthuse at Westminster, BL, Cotton MS Julius C vi, f. 259.

[807] *ibid.,* f. 260.

[808] *ibid.,* f. 259v.

[809] Gruuthuse was admitted to the Order of the Golden Fleece on 2 May 1461, "Brugge, Lodewijk van , earl of Winchester (*c.*1427–1492)," L. Visser-Fuchs *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/92540' (accessed 12 March 2012). Edward was elected to the Order of the Golden Fleece on 14 May 1468, Payne and Jefferson, 'Golden Fleece', p. 195.

[810] BL, Cotton MS Julius C vi, f. 259v. Unicorn's horn was also precious as an antidote to poison, Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, p. 386 n. 4.

The performance was for the Burgundian party both as evidence of reward, personal gratitude from the king to Gruuthuse and for the picture of wealth and stability to be taken back to the continent to help ensure the alliance against the French came to fruition. Without funding for war at home, however, the alliance was irrelevant and the most important audience here was domestic. The herald's report was written in English and the consistent presentation of friendship between the lord and king spoke more to a native audience: this was a spectacular example of Anglo-Burgundian partnership on the eve of the king asking parliament to approve funding for war with France. The visit of Gruuthuse may not have been entirely orchestrated to this end, but the report of it was. This was not a typical herald's report of peers and placement, but a narrative of events. The visual ideal of alliance with Burgundy, particularly when seen in parliament with Gruuthuse's creation as earl on 13 October 1472, was a useful persuasive tool.[811] The investiture ceremony was the culmination of the visit and a mirror to the festivities at Windsor, but in a formal, masculine, setting. In both cases a chosen elite were invited to observe and participate, at the castle this maintained a sense of familial intimacy while in parliament it brought the nobility together in custom: many would have gone through a similar investiture, or hoped to do so. This furthered the sense of fraternity and family underlying much Yorkist public display, most especially that with diplomatic overtones.

Edward IV's reception of Gruuthuse during his stay in London and Windsor in 1472 is the most detailed account to survive of such occasions. Glimpses of other diplomatic visits, such as Rozmital's in 1466 and the bastard of Burgundy's in 1467, add to the picture but lack of evidence leaves a very narrow window on the role of royal hospitality in creating and developing relationships. As noted above, these examples also focus entirely on diplomatic visits, offering little insight into how the king entertained members of the English nobility and lesser peers in nurturing connections with other individuals. They do however demonstrate the ways in which hospitality was used to create intimacy between monarch and recipient, indicating the importance of a king demonstrating personal attentiveness. This was a model which was certainly used to cultivate bonds with citizens in wider circles, entertainment as providing access to the king as well as shared enjoyment.

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[811] Although there is no direct evidence of the spread of this report, the account or parts of it survive in at least five manuscripts, listed above, n. 174.

4.2   Visible Majesty and Royal Generosity: Cultivating Wider Relationships

The expression of intimacy aimed at fostering diplomatic relationships was further echoed in the monarch's connections with his wider subjects. The peripheral circles around the king included key civic figures, those of local but not national standing. These were ordinary people whose support for the regime, financially in particular, facilitated its success. The need for support generated the connection with the monarch, beyond subject loyalty to requiring personal attention. Pressure on the Yorkist king to extend his influence on as wide a range of subjects as possible was acute in the 1460s because of the competition with a rival king. This made necessary both the repeated performance of majesty in public spaces and the direct cultivation of relationships with groups of individuals. This use of royal display and hospitality typically occurred at civic sites and was not focused on giving individuals access to royal spaces but about the king gracing places in the city. The ways in which this was achieved are most clearly discernible in London, through appearances crowned and worshipping at St Paul's Cathedral, feasting with civic leaders and rewarding the loyal. The consequence was genuine investment in the regime, from those who gave money to help Edward secure his throne in 1461 and 1471 to those who fought to keep the capital Yorkist. This was not a group whose connections to the monarch were defined by title or hierarchy and counterbalanced with the responsibility run the country. Rather the duty expected of these people was as loyal subjects; intimacy with the king brought the promise of enhanced status but was individual and a reward for support given. This section focuses first on the importance of a monarch's appearances within cities, particularly at St Paul's Cathedral in London, and in procession through the realm. The second part examines the bestowal by the monarch of gifts, invitations to banquets and honours for citizens in cultivating relationships with individuals and groups. This was not simply reward for service but was designed to encourage reciprocity, occasionally financial support as well as personal loyalty.

Visible Majesty

Visibility as monarch was particularly critical at points of crisis and, for both Yorkist kings, in establishing their royal status. Thus the acclamation of people in London was a vital step in promoting Edward IV to the throne in March 1461. Thousands of citizens

were said to have gathered at St John's field just outside the city on Sunday 1 March to hear Edward's claim to the throne and cry their assent.[812] Three days later, once he had accepted the offer of the crown, Edward processed from St Paul's, where public assent had been given again, to Westminster and people again crowded in the city to see the new king. Following his inauguration, Edward received civic officials, including the mayor and aldermen, at the bishop's palace at St Paul's as they petitioned for their liberties.[813] This was royal business, the king fulfilling his regal responsibilities, but took place in the heart of the city. Edward's coronation on 28 June 1461 similarly sparked performances of majesty in the city. The day after the ceremony saw Edward parading crowned at St Paul's, public interest so overwhelming that the crush of people who wanted to see the king presented a hazard.[814] Ceremonial within the cathedral made a spectacle of the event, as an angel swooped down to bless the new king.[815] Richard III replicated this during his visit to York in August and September 1483 following his coronation, appearing crowned in the city and processing through the streets.[816]

The importance of St Paul's Cathedral as a site of royal display was consistent in the Yorkist period, the chosen site for communicating with citizens.[817] At another point of crisis, in 1471, Edward IV reclaimed his royal status through repeated appearances at St Paul's. Each time he returned to London, from exile and after the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury, he was received by the aldermen of the city and rode directly to the cathedral to make offerings.[818] These were public acts of a victorious monarch and those in the centre of London, not at the centre of royal power at Westminster, were the primary audience. The king's appearances at St Paul's marked a reassertion of majesty, a pronounced contrast with the display of fallen enemies at the same site.[819] This was about demonstrating control rather than developing relationships with individuals,

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[812] Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, pp. 173-74; Flenley, *Six Town Chronicles,* p. 161.

[813] Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, pp. 174-75.

[814] *ibid.,* p. 176; *Great Chronicle,* p. 198.

[815] Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, p. 176.

[816] Johnston and Rogerson, *REED York,* vol 1 pp. 132-33.

[817] See above, pp. 83-86.

[818] Letter Margaret of York, 1471, *Compte Rendu,* vol 7 p. 50; *Arrivall,* pp. 161, 163, 167; *Great Chronicle,* pp. 216-17.

[819] See below, p. 254.

however such visibility in the city cultivated support for the regime. On hearing of Edward's success at Towton, for instance, *Te Deum*, the song of praise for military victory, was sung at St Paul's and throughout the city.[820] Henry VI was still alive, but it was Edward who was celebrated in London even when neither king was present.

The performance of majesty amongst citizens was an important facet of monarchy, as emphasised by royal progresses.[821] Both Edward IV and Richard III travelled around the country following their coronations, aiming to be seen as king in key cities.[822] This was both an exercise of monarchy, in the liberties bestowed and justice overseen, and a celebration which drew citizens in. Civic leaders in York, for example, were encouraged to put on a fine display for Richard's welcome in 1483; Bristolians had similarly organised pageantry for Edward in 1461.[823] Gift giving was a public demonstration of this symbiosis. Richard III received 500 marks in a gold cup from York's citizens on his post-coronation visit; before he left the city he promised to reduce the city's fee farm from £160 to £100.[824] This was just one reception among many and the celebratory mood was certainly reported as developing enthusiasm for the new king: Thomas Langton, bishop of St David's, told his correspondent that Richard 'contents the people wher he goys best that ever did prince'.[825]

Progresses and processions were a grand exhibition of majesty which served to affirm royal status and establish connections with cities and subjects.[826] Spectacle excited interest, involved people in planning and as witnesses, and reached wide audiences.

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[820] Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, pp. 173-75; *CSPM,* p. 66.

[821] See, for example, discussions of the importance of the monarch's personal appearance amongst his subjects in Doig, 'Henry V's Royal Progress', pp. 167-79, and E. Cavell, 'Henry VII, the North of England, and the First Provincial Progress of 1486', *Northern History,* 39 (2002), pp. 187-207.

[822] See above, n. 125, 141.

[823] *York House Books,* vol. 2 p. 713; Pilkinton, *REED Bristol,* pp. 7-8.

[824] The money was to be given as either a gold cup or a pair of silver-gilt basins, *York House Books*, vol 1 pp. 290-91. The reduction of the fee farm was announced by the king to civic leaders on 17 September 1483 at the chapter house of the Minster, *ibid.,* vol 2 p. 729; *CPR* 1476-1485, p. 409; Horrox and Hammond, *Harl 433,* vol 1 p. 120 and vol 2 p. 18; see above, n. 684.

[825] Sheppard, *Christ Church Letters*, p. 46.

[826] Scholarship on royal progresses has tended to focus on specific events, such as Henry VII's progress in the north in 1487 and Henry V, see above n. 822 and Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry* (1997), pp. 21-35; similarly Richard III in 1483, Tudor-Craig, 'Richard III's Entry', pp. 108-16, the focus being on the entry into a city as a culmination of the progress itself.

Thus royal ritual, such as coronations, marriages and funerals, incorporated pageantry, processions and tournaments as part of the festivities as a way of broadening visibility and inclusiveness. The reburial of Richard, duke of York in 1476, for example, involved a huge range of people, from the spiritual and secular nobility taking part to foreign ambassadors, local suppliers and craftspeople, hundreds of onlookers and poor people receiving alms. The description of an audience of 20,000 people there on the day by one herald was a huge overestimation, perhaps, but indicative of the impression of the scale of the spectacle.[827] The effect of the event on Edward IV's subjects was enhanced throughout the journey of the hearse from Pontefract to Fotheringhay. At each of the towns along the route where the hearse rested overnight local people came out to greet the procession, a church service was held and alms were given. The cortège travelled the shortest route possible from Pontefract to Fotheringhay, but this was a journey which took it predominantly through Yorkist lands and therefore played to a receptive audience: it was not a route chosen to convert but to cultivate enthusiasm.[828]

A welcoming reception was also fostered through the huge wealth of alms given by the royal procession to the towns and people encountered. A hearse was donated to each church which housed the coffin overnight; payments were given to clerics to sing and offer masses as well as those who rang bells, and poor people were paid for holding torches.[829] One herald counted up to 5,000 who came to receive alms at Fotheringhay, again an estimate which quantified the enormous impact of the event, if not necessarily numerically accurate.[830] This was a public event in which the public were not merely spectators, they were involved in the veneration of the corpses, their parish churches hosted the coffins and provided services, and their poor could expect alms. The donation of hearses was not merely charitable but would have left visual dynastic symbolism in every church along the route, embedding support for the regime in the

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[827] BL, Harley MS 48, f. 81.

[828] The cortège passed through Yorkist lands centred in the West Riding and Northamptonshire as well as duchy of Lancaster lands then in Edward IV's control, Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 5; Pollard, *North-Eastern England,* p. 101.

[829] The hearses were left fully decorated at each town; in the procession from Pontefract sixty poor men held burning torches and received twelve pence a day as well as twenty shillings on setting off; priests and clerks received money for singing mass, and those who attended were each given a penny, pregnant women two pence. BL, Harley 48, f. 78v.

[830] *ibid.*, f. 80v.

heart of every community by decorating parish churches with Yorkist symbolism.[831] The royal procession thus brought a degree of money and status to every community involved. The statement of royal authority was made through involvement in the event rather than merely observing: nobility taking their place in the hierarchy, being surrounded by heraldic banners, making offerings and prayers for the king's father and brother, and feasting alongside the royal family, all as a mechanism through which Edward's lineage and dynastic superiority was asserted.

Cultivating Relationships

Public displays of majesty were designed to be viewed by a wide range of people and could absorb the involvement of many beyond mere spectating. Relationships with individuals were nurtured through more purposeful royal action, both hospitality and reward. Occasionally they formed a part of a wider event, such as Richard III's appointment of York's mayor John Newton as his chief sergeant at arms during the festivities of September 1483.[832] This honour was part of rewards given specifically in recognition of the city's good service to the king in supplying troops for his campaign against the Scots in 1482 and their attendance at his coronation. Similarly following Coventry's reception of the prince in 1474 the queen sent a gift of twelve bucks of venison to be given to the mayor and brethren and their wives and shared among the wards of the city.[833] This gift was demonstrative of a new warmth in royal relations with the city, and the queen later wrote to thank civic leaders for the continued fidelity and generosity shown to herself and all her children.[834]

More personal still was access to the king through hospitality and entertainment. Just a few references to such events survive and these give little indication of who was included and what took place. Many more occasions must have happened, forming an important part of cultivating connections between king and civic leaders. In 1466, for

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[831] The church of St Mary and All Saints at Fotheringhay retains Yorkist imagery, including York's falcon and fetterlock, Hughes, *Arthurian Myths,* p. 119.

[832] The appointment was made on 17 September 1483 and worth twelve pence a day to the mayor, *York House Books,* vol 2 p. 729.

[833] The gift was sent on 4 September 1474 while the queen was in the city, *Leet Book,* vol 1 pp. 405-406.

[834] Letter of 30 November 1474, *Leet Book,* vol 1 pp. 407-408. On the relations between Yorkists and Coventry and the prince's welcome in 1474, see below, pp. 293-94.

example, the mayor held a banquet for the king, queen and her mother the duchess of Bedford alongside numerous other lords, who were not named.[835] Edward IV's invitation to London's mayor, aldermen and others to hunt at Waltham forest in July 1482 is better documented.[836] The civic leaders hunted with the king and were entertained with a lavish feast including the best dainties, venison and Gascon wine. Although the king did not dine with them, he made a show of favour by waiting until his guests had been served before eating himself. He also sent them home with fine words and plenty of the proceeds of the day's sport, followed the next month by a gift of two harts and six bucks with a tun of gascon wine to the mayoress and aldermens' wives. This bounty was consumed in the city's drapers hall, shared with all the aldermen and many company members and their wives. The recording of the event in such detail may suggest that it was an unusual occurrence, though it is possible that the author was among those hunting or dining; Fabyan had been a member of the draper's company from the 1470s.[837] There was no delusion among those taking part regarding the objective of this show of munificence, understood as reward for subsidies received by the king: 'the cause of whiche bountie thus shewyd by the kynge was, as moost men toke it, for that the mayer was a merchaunte of wonderous auentures… by reason whereof the kynge had yerely of hym notable summes of money for his customes'.[838]

Royal hospitality was therefore something of a contract; those involved moved in the highest social circles at such entertainments and enjoyed the king's generosity, however they did so in reward for loyalty or financial support. The same principle underlay Edward IV's benevolences, which were nominally payment as a substitute for military service but essentially a pressurised gift.[839] These gifts were essentially personal, often given following a face-to-face meeting with the king and based upon individual wealth. The mayor and aldermen of Coventry, for instance, were directed to encourage the

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[835] *Gregory,* p. 232.

[836] Ellis, *Fabyan*, p. 667; *Great Chronicle,* pp. 228-29.

[837] On the *Newe Cronycles of England and of Fraunce*, and Fabyan's proposed authorship, see M-R. McLaren, *The London Chronicles of the Fifteenth Century: A Revolution in English Writing* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 263-67.

[838] The mayor was William Haryott, a draper, Fabyan, *New Chronicles,* p. 667.

[839] *Crowland,* p. 135; M. Jurkowski, 'Parliamentary and Prerogative Taxation in the Reign of Edward IV', *Parliamentary History,* 19 (1999), pp. 283-85.

generosity of citizens and all those worth more than £10 a year or £100 overall were called to appear before the king to understand his pleasure.[840] In this the king himself became the public face of taxation, raising money through his own action and using royal authority to exhort funds. In Coventry he was present in the city when the letters of invitation were sent and for their cash citizens received a personal audience with the king, albeit on the monarch's terms. Similarly in London, the mayor gave £30 and aldermen between £10 and 20 marks each as Edward also called wealthy commoners before him for their gifts.[841] The royal person was therefore a commodity that could be sold; those obliged to partake paid to enact friendship with the king. Continental observers marvelled at Edward's success, how he greeted people as old friends, his kindness mollifying any regret at the money parted with.[842] Later accounts developed even further the notion of the king charming money from his subjects, recounting the story of a widow who doubled her contribution for a kiss from the king.[843] The tale may have been apocryphal but it encapsulated the impression that access to Edward could be purchased, suggesting that he was indecently avaricious.[844] The benevolence was both a financial and physical exchange between monarch and subject, one that reaped reward for the king but left hints of distaste: the Coventry record stated that the money was not officially recorded, indicating disquiet about its validity; foreign observers marvelled at the credulity of the English; for another commentator it represented something of a prostitution of the king.

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[840] Letters of 21 and 24 December 1474, *Leet Book,* vol 1 pp. 409-11, 413.

[841] Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, p. 186. This happened across the country, Scofield, *Edward,* vol 2 p. 105, lists Warwickshire, Nottinghamshire, Worcestershire and Gloucestershire. Edward's letter of 22 June 1475 to the mayor of London, offering assistance in the collection of benevolences, BL, Harley MS 543, ff. 148-49, printed in Halliwell, *Letters of the Kings of England,* vol 1 pp. 144-47.

[842] *CSPM,* pp. 193-94, letter of 17 March 1475.

[843] From £10 to £20, *Great Chronicle,* p. 223.

[844] The performative element of chronicle texts, with specific reference to the *Great Chronicle,* is discussed in P. Strohm, 'Interpreting a Chronicle Text: Henry VI's Blue Gown' in M. Davies and A. Prescoll (eds.), *London and the Kingdom: Essays in Honour of Caroline Barron* (Donington, 2008), pp. 335-345. Strohm analysed in detail the ways in which the parade of Henry VI around London in April 1471 (*Great Chronicle,* p. 215) was reconceived by the author in presenting the occasion as a failed attempt to gather support rather than the religious observance it was based on. The engaging narrative and weighted interpretation of the event is again apparent in Edward's embrace of the Suffolk widow, so clearly a gossipy anecdote that '*Ridiculum*' appears in the margin nearby, *ibid.,* p. 223. Again, though, as Strohm found with Henry's parade, historical truths can be perceived within the text, notably that Edward did travel into the counties to rake in money through benevolences prised from individuals using his personal charm and that this was recognised as a dubious act.

The honours given to citizens for military support were more unusual and less self-interested than the feasting or procurement of benevolences. On Edward's victorious return to the capital following the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury on 21 May 1471, the courageous fidelity Londoners had shown in defending their city against Fauconberg in the king's name was distinguished with knighthoods for the mayor, John Stokton, sheriff of London John Crosby, recorder Thomas Urswick and several aldermen. The knighthoods were deliberately bestowed outside of the city and therefore in the field, replicating battlefield honours.[845] This was a dramatic move which permanently changed the status of London's mayors, all of whom tended to be knighted from Edward's reign on.[846] The bestowal of these honours was an expression of the king's genuine gratitude and was mirrored in the rewards made to many individuals of appointments and preferments for their fidelity during his exile.[847] Butcher William Gould, for example, received letters patent to travel freely by sea in trade for his services to the queen and her children while they were in sanctuary at Westminster. The award was given for the 'grete kyndnesse and true hert' shown by Gould to the king and queen in supplying her with half a beef and two muttons every week for her household during the king's absence.[848]

The ability of the king to reward subjects was exercised in various ways for different reasons, but in all cases established connections with his subjects. Predominantly, for this wider circle, the honours of knighthoods, gifts or hospitality occurred in response to support, rather than in expectation of loyalty or performance of duty. However the visibility of the king amongst citizens and the demonstrations of his capacity to reward individuals induced allegiance for the regime which was self-perpetuating. The backing Londoners had given the Yorkists in the 1460s, for instance, at least in part drove their urge to restore Edward in 1471: under Warwick and the Lancastrians, there was little

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[845] At Shoreditch, on 22 May 1471. The names are listed in different sources, none of which entirely match: College of Arms, MS M 16*bis*, f. 11; BL, Additional MS 46354, f. 6; *Arrivall*, p. 184 and list p. 192; *Warkworth*, p. 19-20.

[846] C. Barron, 'Chivalry, Pageantry and Merchant Culture in Medieval London', in Coss and Keen, *Heraldry, Pageantry*, p. 239.

[847] Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 185.

[848] Ellis, *Original Letters,* p. 140.

hope for repayment of the huge sums citizens had lent Edward.[849] Relationships could be cultivated but pragmatism underpinned actions. Despite the wealth of support for Edward in the city, London was not a unified citizenry, only the civic elite had money to offer the regime and opinions in the city were diverse. On Edward's return to the city in April 1471, for instance, Henry VI had earlier paraded around the city gathering support, with onlookers said to have pledged their allegiance to the Lancastrian king.[850] Later Warwick's badge, the ragged staff, was worn by people in the city before Edward's arrival added another figurehead.[851]

Those who held positions of authority in the city maintained their status by hedging their bets; in 1471 people were defending their city as well as securing Edward's capital. The letters sent by the mayor and aldermen to Fauconberg before his attack highlight the practical decision-making behind the action of civic leaders. On 9 May they responded to Fauconberg's request to pass through London in force stating that Edward, their sovereign lord, had commanded them to keep the city safe and so they could not.[852] This was not an overt declaration of Yorkist support, however, but a rational evaluation of the political situation. Lancastrian opposition had all but crumbled by the date of this letter, following the deaths of Warwick at the battle of Barnet on 14 April and of Henry VI's heir, Edward of Lancaster, at Tewkesbury on 4 May. The city leaders knew this and informed Fauconberg in their letter, advising him to accept and obey Edward as his king.[853] The defence of the city for which Edward IV offered so much reward was not simply an act of loyalty. By bestowing knighthoods and gifts on individuals the king elevated the importance of fidelity while framing these citizens' behaviour as devotion to the regime. Doing so was an investment in the future he was already building, a stable monarchy founded on wide support.

[849] Barron, 'London and the Crown', pp. 89-90, 97, 100; Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 166. Commynes listed three reasons why London's leaders backed Edward: because of the Yorkists who had been in sanctuary in the city; the great debts owed by Edward to merchants, and the persuasion of those noblewomen and wives of wealthy citizens with whom the king had great acquaintance, Blanchard, *Commynes,* vol 1 p. 202.

[850] *Warkworth*, p. 37.

[851] Kleineke, 'von Wesel's Newsletter', p. 78.

[852] Sharpe, *Letter Book L*, pp. 97-98; R.R. Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom* (3 vols, London, 1894-95), vol 3 pp. 388-91.

[853] *ibid.*, vol. 3 p. 391.

Conclusion

The creation of intimacy through hospitality exploited the idea of access. An invitation to be entertained at Windsor Castle or to dine with the king offered a close personal relationship with the monarch. Connections with foreign visitors were promoted through domestic familiarity and privileged access to royal occasions and locations. The opportunity such visits presented for the display of Yorkist monarchy served to strengthen the international status of the regime and nurture continental support. This was enhanced by royal generosity, which indicated special favour for both visitors and ordinary subjects whose support was courted by the monarch. The ability to provide hospitality and lavish gifts on guests and subjects emphasised the king's security in his position and his command; the style of display distinguished the characteristics of Yorkist rule. The performance of majesty for wider audiences, particularly in cities, allowed people to visually connect with the monarch. Gifts, honours and entertainment aimed at sustaining relationships which were often financially and militarily significant to the security of the regime. Although these involved an element of intimacy, a personal link between monarch and individuals, segregation was apparent even within the more exclusive royal occasions such as hunting or feasting. These events constituted a play of access, also seen in the audiences for benevolences. The king could grace civic spaces and host entertainments, but purposefully set himself apart and always acted in response to loyalty already demonstrated. Yet the performance of intimacy with the monarch could reap genuine rewards, such as status through knighthood or in gifts and entertainment, and fostered sincere connections between the monarch and his wider subjects, albeit the most useful ones. As with the creation and maintenance of a Yorkist elite, the embrace of broader groups of people was grounded in the need for support. Loyalty was consistently fundamental to the regime, evident not only in the drive to maintain circles of powerful, influential and supportive groups around the king, but also in the rhetoric.

Chapter Five   **Oaths, Speeches and Manifestos: the Power of the Word**

Loyalties forged on the battlefield and demonstrated through position and hierarchy formed the foundation of support for the Yorkist regime. A new chivalric impetus defined and demonstrated relationships between the monarch and his most important subjects, shaped by an emphasis on the martial leadership of Edward IV and on individual reputation through knightly honours. Chapters three and four focused on the ways in which this dynamic bound people to the Yorkist king and how that evolved over the period. This chapter builds on these ideas to examine how the regime communicated its identity and ideals in persuading people to support the regime.

The written word and public speeches were a key way in which Edward was presented as a model king and this was paralleled with visual imagery, discussed in chapter six. Textual promotion was a critical facet of the performance of monarchy, designed to influence an audience and build confidence in the regime through the demonstration of authority and majesty. The proliferation of official public communication at times of crisis reveals the desperate desire of factions to control the rhetoric, and Yorkist creativity in doing so. The core themes of the importance of loyalty and chivalry and the effect of conflict with a competing regime emerge again in looking at the political communication of the period. This had its foundations in the fissures of the 1450s and evolved in reaction to political catastrophe and the Yorkist restoration. The chapter thus firstly looks at the importance of textual appeals to the public and the Yorkist efforts to control public debate, then the mechanisms of this, including proclamations, official chronicles and the significance of oaths. The following four sections elaborate on this to focus chronologically on the developments over the Yorkist period, from the legacy of the 1450s to the creation of a warrior monarchy around Edward IV, the aftermath of the disastrous conflict of 1469-71 and finally Richard III's usurpation.

5.1   Political Communication

Anxiety for news consumed society and the political letters and manifestos, chronicles and reports of the Yorkist period demonstrate the preoccupation with information gathering.[854] Chronicles reported the urgency with which messengers ran between county and county in the aftermath of Edward's accession, for example, and how rumourmongers spread gossip between the king and his brother as their relationship crumbled in 1477.[855] Letter writers asserted the authenticity of their information, requested news and speculated on what would happen next.[856] Official accounts were eager to demonstrate the king's superior knowledge, such as the *Arrivall'*s note that Edward was aware of Warwick's plans to surprise him with an attack at Easter 1471.[857] They also highlighted the extent to which letters were the most vital element of communication, for example the daily messages sent between Edward and the city of London as Fauconberg assailed the city in May 1471, alongside the spies and scourers who were also critical facets of the information network.[858] Scourers, or fore-riders, were the first to ascertain where an enemy was located, identifying their numbers and disposition.[859] Edward IV established his own postal relay in order to expedite communication; it was introduced during escalating tensions with Scotland in 1482, emphasising how crucial knowledge of what was happening in different areas of the

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[854] C.A.J. Armstrong, 'Some Examples of the Distribution and Speed of News in England at the Time of the Wars of the Roses' in R.W. Hunt, W.A. Pantin and R.W. Southern (eds.), *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 429-54; Ross, 'Rumour, Propaganda', pp. 15-32; C. Richmond, 'Hand and Mouth: Information Gathering and Use in England in the Later Middle Ages', *Journal of Historical Sociology,* 1 (1988), pp. 235-52; P. Contamine (ed.), *La Circulation des Nouvelles au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1994).

[855] *Gregory,* p. 216; *Crowland*, p. 145.

[856] The discord between Clarence and Gloucester and treasonous rumours were noted by John Paston in November 1473, for example, Davis, *Paston Letters,* part 1 pp. 468-69. George Cely wanted information on whether the king would go to war with France in November 1480, and a letter to him from William Dalton in May 1482 noted good tidings from England, having seen a copy of a letter from Gloucester and Northumberland to the king, Hanham, *Cely Letters*, pp. 98, 159.

[857] *Arrivall*, pp. 164-65. See also above, pp. 55-58.

[858] Fauconberg wrote to citizens on 8 May 1471 and they replied the following day, letters printed in Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, pp. 388-91. Spies noted as critical in *Arrivall,* pp. 153-54, 170; *Crowland*, p. 173; *Chronicle of the Rebellion*, p. 109; Commynes recounts that a female spy brought communication from Edward IV to Clarence in 1471 and was instrumental in reconciling the brothers, Blanchard, *Commynes,* vol 1 pp. 188-89.

[859] Edward was warned by spies not to land in Norfolk on his return in 1471 because of the weight of opposition there, for example, *Arrivall*, p. 148. On the critical role of spies during the Yorkist and early Tudor period, see I. Arthurson, 'Espionage and Intelligence from the Wars of the Roses to the Reformation', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 35 (1991), pp. 134-54.

country became in times of crisis.[860] Information in letters was supplemented and verified through messages given by the bearer, credences being a characteristic of correspondence.[861] Letters not only shared information but were also a tool of royal authority, both in sending instructions to localities and in exposing political relationships.[862] They were the key instrument through which Richard duke of York publicly communicated his position in the 1450s, and similarly the deteriorating discord between Edward IV and his brother and Warwick was documented in their exchange of missives in the late 1460s.[863]

There was, then, a sophisticated network of intelligence gathering and sharing fuelling the desire for news. At the highest level information could be regime-saving, for example the spies who informed Edward IV of the weight of opposition leading to his flight in 1470.[864] This was not purely for the ruling elite, however, but involved a much wider range of people, in particular the merchant gentry who reported news they heard on their own travels and from their colleagues, and who formed a critical part of spying networks.[865] Political communication, the letters and manifestos disseminated by the king and opposing factions, exploited this ready audience for information which was gentry and urban as well as governmental and diplomatic. This included those groups who were cultivated in the wider circles around the monarch, emphasising their investment and involvement in the regime.

The pressing need to obtain information is palpable in the sources and it was matched by the desire to control communication. This manifest both as a drive to stamp out

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[860] *Crowland*, p. 173; Armstrong, 'Speed of News', pp. 438-9.

[861]   Many of the surviving royal letters reference the supplementary information of messengers, for example both letters sent by Edward as a teenager to his father note information related by York's servant John Milewater on political developments, *Excerpta Historica,* pp. 8-9; Halliwell, *Letters of the Kings of England*, vol 1 pp. 121-22. Similarly a letter from Richard III to the mayor of York of 10 June 1483 urged the city to supply him with military support in London, leaving the divulgence of further details to the bearer, *York House Books*, vol 2 pp. 713-14. On credences, Armstrong, 'Speed of News', p. 435.

[862]   For example the letters of Edward IV and Warwick to Coventry requesting assistance during 1469-70, *Leet Book*, vol 1 pp. 340-46, 353-58, 362-66.

[863]   A list of York's letters to Henry VI during the 1450s is given in Hicks, 'Megaphone', pp. 245, 249. Letters and replies between Edward and Clarence form much of the narrative of the *Chronicle of the Rebellion*, pp. 108-109, 114-20.

[864] *Hearne*, p. 29.

[865] Arthurson, 'Espionage', p. 146.

seditious rumours and the endeavour to manipulate the readership of written texts, that is, as overt propaganda.[866] The power of words was such that they were revered and feared by monarchs and governments. They provided surety and formed bonds between people, but the 'wrong' words were perceived as a dire threat. The Yorkist era was a particularly fruitful period of public political discussion in this context. The protracted failure to achieve domestic stability in the 1450s and trauma of regime change in 1461 engaged an increasingly broad audience in debate about who should govern, and how.[867] Asserting position, counteracting criticism and persuading people of the legitimate claim to the throne were all executed in text and through publicity. This was an especially important part of establishing Yorkist monarchy because such communication not only defined the right to rule clearly and authoritatively, but was an opportunity to portray the king as embodying an ideal.

Debate sparked by political crisis was certainly not new in the Yorkist period, but rather continued a pattern of heightened discussion regarding government and monarchy faced with adversity.[868] The intensity with which news-sheets, letters, proclamations and manifestos highlighted ideas of loyalty and betrayal, selfishness and the common good was a rehearsal of perennial anxieties, one brought to the fore during the 1450s with the breakdown of Lancastrian government.[869] Indeed this discussion recurred during the reigns of Edward IV and Richard III, initially as an aspect of the conflict with supporters of Henry VI following Edward's accession in 1461, in 1469-71 when the regime fragmented with the defection of Warwick, and again in 1483 on Richard's usurpation. In each instance, the subject of the debate was familiar and indeed customary, conforming to a language of rebellion and rulership: the importance of the common weal, of allegiance to the monarch, reproving falsehood and the oppression of the poor, and upholding justice.[870]

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[866] Ross, 'Rumour, Propaganda', p. 24.

[867] Watts, 'Pressure of the Public', p. 162.

[868] J.L. Watts, 'Ideas, Principles and Politics' in A.J. Pollard (ed.), *The Wars of the Roses* (Basingstoke, 1995), pp. 110-12.

[869] Ross, 'Rumour, Propaganda', pp. 20-21; Allan, 'Royal Propaganda', p. 154.

[870] Warwick and Clarence's proclamation from France, 1470, for example, *John Vale's Book,* pp. 218-19; Watts, 'Public or Plebs', pp. 243, 251; Richmond, 'Information Gathering', p. 237; R. Radulescu, 'Yorkist Propaganda and "The Chronicle from Rollo to Edward IV"', *Studies in Philology,* 100 (2003), pp. 410-11.

There was something of a tension during this period between the emphasis placed upon the common good, and the continuing importance of individual honour. Henry VI's treachery against the duke of York, for example, justified Edward IV taking the crown, the former king's deceit described as contrary to the honour expected of a Christian prince.[871] Similarly Clarence's dissimulation, in writing repeatedly to Edward falsely claiming fidelity, conveyed the unworthiness of the duke.[872] While a person's political stance was justified by the declaration of acting for the common good, their conduct was measured as an individual and in terms of their virtue. The period saw an enhanced use of chivalric language in this context, framed in traditional expressions but rooted in political pragmatism which was both necessary and, novelly, praised.[873] The ideas at the heart of public discussion were enduring but the way in which they were expressed was different, and in particular the factional politics of the 1450s shifted the conversation into English. Public debate in the vernacular was not invented by the Yorkists but it was amplified to such an extent during this period that it effected a permanent change. Engagement in political discussion grew during the mid-fifteenth century, was more accessible through the use of English and the proliferation of publicity, and the expectation that it should be so deepened.[874]

A range of mechanisms were used in the endeavour to control communication, from the repression of sedition to the promotion of official narratives in proclamations, parliamentary discussion and chronicles. Critical in the effectiveness of royal proclamations was the use of English by the Yorkists, a contrast with the Lancastrians

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[871] In Edward IV's first parliament, Henry was said to have stirred up treachery through his writings and messages, Horrox, 'Parliament of 1461', item 13. The idea spread; Henry was accused of having wickedly broken his oath against his true lords in the aftermath of Wakefield and St Albans in 1460-61, *Short English Chronicle,* p. 76.

[872] *Chronicle of the Rebellion,* p. 110.

[873] Strohm, *Politique*, pp. 21-50. See below, pp. 234-37.

[874] Richmond, 'Information Gathering', p. 238; Ross, 'Rumour, Propaganda', p. 15.

and a deliberate attempt to widen the impact of the king's command.[875] Official chronicles, those produced by the Yorkist regime and from the perspective of the party, were a refined form of the proclamation and deliberately created a narrative that aimed at persuading audiences of the regime's legitimacy and authority.[876] They mirrored, to an extent, parliamentary accounts of events and more particularly the idealisation of the king in his speeches to parliament. This was propaganda reacting to circumstance, in contrast with the more deliberate and wide-ranging efforts of Lancastrian writers to support the regime.[877] Just as the use of chivalric ideals and honours intensified and evolved as a system of binding people to Edward IV's monarchy, so the style and message of official communication developed. Again this was a response to political reality which crystallised into a distinct Yorkist approach. Similarly, loyalty was fundamental, and in textual communication was given expression in the oath, the ultimate demonstration of fidelity which was clearly defined and widely understood.

Controlling Sedition

Seditious rumour alarmed kings because of the inability to control it effectively: it was irrepressible. As the Lancastrian treatise *Somnium Vigilantis* put it: 'it is hard to abolysshe a rumour that is oones taken in the wlgare voyce'.[878] Attempting to quieten such stories, however, was a preoccupation of rulers. In the crisis of 1470 Edward IV demanded that all those spreading malicious rumours in London should be arrested and

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[875] On the Lancastrian language policy, see J.H. Fisher, *The Emergence of Standard English* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1996) and important revisions offered, for example, by W.M. Ormrod, 'The Use of English: Language, Law, and Political Culture in Fourteenth-Century England', *Speculum,* 78 (2003), pp. 750-87; G. Dodd, 'The Rise of English, the Decline of French: Supplications to the English Crown, c. 1420-50', *Speculum*, 86 (2011), pp. 117-150; *idem.*, 'The Spread of English in the Records of Central Government, 1400-30' in E. Salter and H. Wicker (eds.), *Vernacularity in England and Wales, c.1300-1550* (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 225-66.

[876] See above, pp. 55-58.

[877] Strohm, *England's Empty Throne; idem.,* 'Hoccleve, Lydgate and the Lancastrian Court' in D. Wallace (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 640-61; L. Patterson, 'Making Identities in Fifteenth-Century England: Henry V and John Lydgate' in J.N. Cox and L.J. Reynolds (eds.), *New Historical Literary Study: Essays on Reproducing Texts, Representing History* (Princeton, 1993), pp. 69-107; S-M. Straker, 'Propaganda, Intentionality, and the Lancastrian Lydgate' in L. Scanlon and J. Simpson (eds.), *John Lydgate: Poetry, Culture, and Lancastrian England* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 2006), pp. 98-128; J.A. Doig, 'Propaganda, Public Opinion and the Siege of Calais in 1436' in R.E. Archer (ed.), *Crown, Government and People in the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud, 1995), pp. 79-106. J.W. McKenna, 'Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy: Aspects of Royal Political Propaganda, 1422-1432', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 28 (1965), pp. 145-62.

[878] The tract was written after the attainder of the Yorkists in 1459, it is included in BL, Royal MS 17 D xv, ff. 302-11 and printed in J.P. Gilson, 'A Defence of the Proscription of the Yorkists in 1459', *English Historical Review,* 26 (1911), pp. 513-25, quote is on p. 514. The *Chronicle of the Rebellion* also notes the use of seditious language to stir up trouble in the north, p. 117.

imprisoned.[879] Richard III's efforts were less subtle than Edward in the calculated attempts to damage an enemy's reputation. Scandalmongering plagued Richard's short reign and threatened domestic stability.[880] William Colyngbourne's actions in colluding with the king's enemies and posting a rhyme satirising his closest courtiers on the doors of St Paul's Cathedral and around the city in July 1484 not only cost him his life, but a traitor's death of hanging, drawing and quartering.[881] The famous rhyme, 'The Catt the Ratt, and lovell owyr dogge Rulyn all Engeland, undyr an hogge', was not quashed with Colyngbourne's death, but his execution was a statement of intent and a warning of the gravity with which treachery, and its expression in words made public, was taken by Richard.[882]

Richard also used the weight of parliament in attempting to control and refute rumour. The assertion of his title in 1484 included reference to parliament's authority as facilitating the quietening of doubts and seditious language regarding his right to the throne.[883] Lords and commons agreed that the details of Richard's claim should be pronounced within England and overseas specifically for this purpose. This was a quasi-legal approach to dealing with subversive murmuring, parliament serving to legitimise Richard's position by promoting his title to subjects nationwide. This ostensibly appealed to a much wider catchment for debate than Edward's official chronicles which employed knightly values to influence a noble and gentry audience. The implication is that antagonism towards the king was more profound in 1483-84 and that the favourable opinion of a wider population needed to be secured, or at least their potential opposition stifled. Additionally, it suggests that written or proclaimed explanation was considered necessary to attain this, and had the potential to be successful.

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[879] *CCR* 1468-76, p. 138, order of 26 May 1470 to the mayor and sheriffs of London.

[880] *Crowland* reported successive rumours, for instance in 1483 on the fate of the princes in the Tower, on the potential for invasion by Henry Tudor, and the escape of Edward IV's daughters from sanctuary, p. 163.

[881] *Great Chronicle*, p. 236, W. Scase, *Literature and Complaint in England, 1272-1553* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 141-42, Ross, 'Rumour, Propaganda', p. 16.

[882] The quote is from *Great Chronicle*, p. 236. The rhyme referenced the great influence wielded by Richard's (the hog) close adherents Richard Ratcliffe and William Catesby, Horrox, *Richard III*, p. 222.

[883] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1484', item 1[5].

Language: Proclamations, Parliament and Official Chronicles

During the Yorkist period there was a shift to using English in written proclamations, rather than Latin, meaning that the king's words were made directly to his subjects, not through the translation of local officials.[884] Indeed the use of English for communication was a Yorkist motif that encompassed all media, including letters between royal family members such as those of Edward as a boy to his father in 1454 and Richard III's to his mother thirty years later.[885] York's political correspondence in the 1450s established the pattern from which an increasingly sophisticated use of written public promotion evolved. The duke's position at the forefront of factional politics during a decade in which the established order protractedly collapsed made personal promotion necessary. Typically these involved letters to the king declaring his oath of allegiance. As written public statements, these professions of loyalty were also an opportunity for York to assert his political platform in non-treasonable terms. Letters, such as that sent jointly with the earls of Salisbury and Warwick from Ludlow on 10 October 1459, proclaimed the Yorkists as defenders of the common weal and opponents of those councillors whose bad government had led to domestic strife and English territorial losses in France.[886] That these letters were written in English highlights that this was an attempt to reach a large audience, an idea reinforced by the wide dissemination suggested by their repetition in chronicles.[887] This also indicates that it was not entirely a one-way process, from the regime outwards, but that the clamour for news and interest in current events created a demanding audience. The opportunity to direct the information that was circulated was in the hands of rulers, but a receptive public did not need to be cultivated.

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[884]   Allan, 'Royal Propaganda', pp. 152-53; J.A. Doig 'Political Propaganda and Royal Proclamations in Late Medieval England', *Historical Research,* 71 (1998), p. 264.

[885]   *Excerpta Historica,* pp. 8-9; Halliwell, *Letters of the Kings of England*, vol 1 pp. 121-22; Horrox and Hammond, *Harl 433,* vol 1 p. 3.

[886]   The letter asserted the duke and earls' faithfulness to Henry VI while complaining against the attacks of others, having been robbed and spoiled against the king's peace, Davies, *English Chronicle,* pp. 81-83. Similarly in the letters from these Yorkist lords to the archbishop of Canterbury and Henry VI in May 1455, just before the battle of St Albans, R. Horrox, 'Henry VI: Parliament of July 1455, Text and Translation' *PROME* (accessed 6 July 2013), items 19, 20. On York and the rhetoric of the common weal, see Watts, 'Polemic and Politics', pp. 13-17; *idem., Henry VI,* pp. 266-82.

[887] As in the example above, Doig, 'Royal Proclamations', pp. 170-71.

The use of English was not merely about engaging an extensive audience, but about who that included: English was inclusive of the commons, not exclusively for royal or legal circles.[888] The expression of loyalty in letters and circulation of the wording of York's oaths in English also kept them true to original, rather than subject to translation. This emphasises not only that a wide knowledge of these oaths was important, but that a detailed understanding of their occurrence and wording was essential. Given the increasingly prevalent use of English as the language of politics by the mid-fifteenth century, it perhaps also indicates the expectation that this should be so.[889] Rather than the use of English as inclusive, the use of French and Latin had become deliberately exclusive.[890] Importantly, there was not a sacrifice of legitimacy in York's use of English, of authority holding greater weight when expressed through the use of legal Latin or noble French in contrast with the vulgar tongue. Rather York's use of English in his public communications, including oath-making, demonstrated both the determination to be heard and the degree to which a broad spectrum of society was politically aware and concerned with issues of state.

York was not a ruler, however, and the Yorkist use of language really came to the fore under Edward IV. As monarch, he had greater agency in controlling communication. For instance the use of English for proclamations became almost wholesale under this king, contrasting with the predominance of Latin under his predecessor.[891] This drive to communicate directly with his subjects was bolstered by the introduction of explanations of the command being made within the proclamations themselves, such as the assertion of his title in 1461, rather than leaving this to the local official's interpretation.[892] This was important because it was through proclamations that Edward informed his subjects of significant news, such as the death of Warwick in 1471 and general pardons, and rallied them to his cause, as he did immediately following his

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[888] On the development of the use of the English language, see Ormrod, 'Use of English', pp. 750-87.

[889] *ibid.,* especially pp. 782-87.

[890]   The *Somnium Vigilantis*, for example, used French, Latin and English in the appeal to a narrow readership urging severe treatment of the Yorkists in 1459, Kekewich, 'Attainder 1459', p. 28.

[891] Allan, 'Royal Propaganda', p. 153.

[892] Proclamation of 6 March 1461, *CCR* 1461-68, pp. 54-55.

accession in March 1461.[893] Ensuring that his words were expressed without translation was considered critical because control of communication was paramount. The clarity of royal instructions was essential, for instance, in 1470 proclaiming Clarence and Warwick as traitors and demanding that no-one assist them, and similarly with Margaret of Anjou in 1471.[894] Public letters were also written in English and great effort was made to ensure their dissemination. The antagonism in 1470 between Edward, Clarence and Warwick for example was documented in letters which were publicised not only individually but in an official chronicle which placed them within an explanatory narrative.[895] This echoed the reporting of York's letters on the parliament rolls in 1455, but went much further in directly engaging a readership.[896] Political papers, such as the attainder of Clarence in 1478, were also written in English and aimed to explain and persuade a specific audience.[897] The attainder was replete with arguments that would have resonated with the parliamentarians who sanctioned the duke's conviction for treason, such as his privileged status, great wealth and titles, and the expectation of allegiance that came with this.

Across the public literature of the period there was a deliberate cultivation of the gentry as an audience. This is highlighted, but was not solely achieved, by the use of English. Employing the vernacular was more generally inclusive, and it is rather the style of language which indicates the support this literature courted. The political gentry, those who were involved in local, civic and national government and thus who collectively held some power and had money to lend the regime, mattered.[898] They mattered because they did fund the Yorkists, fought for them in their own cities and beyond, were vital

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[893] *ibid.*; proclamation of 27 April 1471, *CCR* 1468-76, pp. 134-35; Allan, 'Royal Propaganda', pp. 148-49.

[894] Proclamations of 31 March 1470 and 27 April 1471, *CCR* 1468-76, pp. 135-36, 189.

[895] *Chronicle of the Rebellion*, pp. 107-20.

[896] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1455', items 19, 20. See also, on the timing of these letters, Hicks, 'Battle of St Albans', pp. 167-83.

[897] Strachey, *Rotuli Parliamentorum,* vol 6 pp. 193-95; *Crowland* repeats similar accusations against Clarence and the attainder may have been his source, p. 145.

[898] Ross, 'Rumour, Propaganda', pp. 15-17; Watts, 'Pressure of the Public', p. 162.

links with the localities and held influence as members of parliament.[899] William Stonor, for example, in 1478 alone was an MP at the parliament which complied with the king's condemnation of Clarence, was knighted at the marriage of Richard duke of York and appeared on commissions of the peace in Oxfordshire, as well as exchanging information on political change with his correspondents.[900] As proclamations highlighted, ordinary subjects could also be enemies, or at least provide aid for the king's adversaries, were they not persuaded otherwise.[901] This was not exclusive, however, and the combination of traditional political ideas with knightly aspirations embraced the nobility while extending the reach of these values. Just as the renewed elevation of chivalric orders and festive events engaged this group culturally, so knightly virtues espoused in Yorkist literature aimed to attract their political support. This included, for example, those men who would join the royal army on the French campaign, as Stonor's brothers did, called to arms in a proclamation which defined the cause as being for the defence of the realm and public good, led by the king and his knightly courage.[902] Information provided through persuasive, inclusive language, in newsletters, proclamations and manifestos engendered support by creating a circle of the informed.

While Lancastrian texts continued to use Latin, reiterate traditional ideas and appeal to a scholarly readership, such as in the *Somnium Vigilantis,* the Yorkists embraced English not just literally but rhetorically, associating the protection of the common weal with the

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[899] Londoners lent over £13,000 to the Yorkists in less than a year during 1460 and 1461, as well as giving military support in 1471, Barron, 'London and the Crown', pp. 97, 103-104. Similarly Edward received almost £1,000 from Bristol in the first two years of his reign in addition to men and ships, Fleming, 'Bristol 1451-1471', p. 89. That parliament was a significant force is emphasised in the deliberate attempts to influence the balance of power in the 1478 session for the trial of Clarence, Hicks, *Clarence,* pp. 147-58.

[900] Stonor received updates on the events of summer 1483 from Simon Stallworthe, for instance, Carpenter, *Stonor*, p. 58, 415-17; *CPR* 1476-85, pp. 109, 569. Sir John Paston served as a member of parliament in the 1460s and 1470s, as well as fighting on the king's French campaign in 1475, Richmond, *The Paston Family*, vol 3 pp. 81-82.

[901] People in cities and towns were urged not to give aid to the Lancastrians in England with Margaret of Anjou in 1471, for example, *CCR* 1468-76, p. 189.

[902] Proclamation of 1 February 1475, readying captains and companies to join the king on 26 May, *CCR* 1468-76, p. 377. Thomas and Edmund Stonor took part in the French campaign, Carpenter, *Stonor*, p. 67. Three Paston brothers also took part, H. Castor, *Blood and Roses* (New York, 2006), p. 323.

defence of the English language.[903] Early in his reign, Edward IV wrote to London alderman Thomas Cooke urging him to gather money and support within his ward for the new king against the machinations of the Lancastrians, who were bent on destroying not just the English people but the English tongue.[904] Margaret of Anjou's French descent and their appeal for foreign support provided a traditional strand of vitriol against an enemy, but Edward's bodily defence of the realm was clearly associated here with language as well as nation. Furthermore Edward IV's reign saw a new sophistication in official communication in English aimed at engaging a wider audience. The official chronicles produced during the crisis of 1470-71 were the pinnacle of this, using narrative to persuade. The *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire* presented the king's version of the breakdown in his relationship with Clarence and Warwick by offering an account of the communication between those involved. This ostensibly presented the situation as evidence that the audience could assess for themselves, but the seductive flow of the narrative seethed with judgements against the rebels. Their disloyalty and falseness were repeatedly underlined and the newsletter style of the text suggests that gentry as well as nobility were invited to conclude for themselves that this demonstrated the rebels' lack of honour.[905] The *Arrivall* was even closer in composition to the historical chronicles popular with fifteenth century gentry, and consciously so.[906] In presenting Edward's recovery of the throne as a breathtaking adventure the text made the king the hero of the piece and in a style of language with which the wider political

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[903]   Gilson, 'Proscription', pp. 513-25. Sir John Fortescue, the principal defender of Lancastrian kingship during the 1460s, produced a number of tracts on the title and right to the throne and demonstrates the appeal to a scholarly readership. His surviving tracts include items written in English as well as Latin, *De titulo Edwardi comitis Marchiae; Of the Title of the House of York; Defension juris domus Lancastriaei; Replication Ageinste the Clayme and Title of the Duc of Yorke for the Crownes of England and France.* The retraction of these arguments, made 1471-73 under Edward IV's patronage, was in English: *Declaration upon certayn wrytinges sent oute of Scotteland ayenst the kynges title to the roialme of Englond.* See Taylor, 'Fortescue', especially pp. 112, 127-28.

[904]   Ellis, *Original Letters*, pp. 127-28, letter of 13 March 1462.

[905]   Gransden, *Historical Writing ii,* p. 263. For a discussion of gentry ideas of honour as distinct from those of nobility, see P. Maddern, 'Honour Among the Pastons: Gender and Integrity in Fifteenth-Century English Provincial Society', *Journal of Medieval History,* 14 (1988), pp. 357-71. This does not detract, however, from the idea that readers of the *Chronicle of the Rebellion* were expected to hold Clarence and Warwick to a strict code of honour.

[906]   The number of London chronicles probably ran into the hundreds, McLaren, *London Chronicles*, pp. 3-4; Gransden, *Historical Writing ii*, p. 263.

population were familiar. This was the king placed into the popular imagination, displaying all the knightly virtues expected of a monarch.[907]

Although these official chronicles stand apart within the political texts of the period, they are representative of the Yorkist attitude towards communication. Proclamations sent by the king during 1470 and 1471 used the same language as the chronicles, giving a narrative of the exchange between Edward and the rebels rather than simply issuing commands. Familiar themes such as the king's defence of the common weal were presented alongside more emotive expression of his desire to show clemency and forgive the noble traitors, while the business of the proclamation was to offer reward for their capture.[908] This was persuasion, not simple instruction, emphasising the significance of political explanation to this fractured regime. The use of English for proclamations, the elevation of chivalric values and employment of narrative all demonstrate the determination to control the message and the response. The language used was further developed to include a physicality centred on the king, with Edward embodying the ideal monarch, and the narratives defining what that ideal was and demonstrating his performance of it. Thus while Henry VI did not address his parliaments, Edward IV spoke in English at two of his, using emotive language propelled by his own physical dynamism.[909] His claim to offer his body in defence of the realm was a statement of his warrior status and referenced his military victories, presenting him as a courageous king in marked contrast to his predecessor.[910]

Edward's performance as monarch was paramount across the political literature, but the drive to speak to a wide audience was also apparent in his actions. Oaths of allegiance were typically made in English during the 1450s and in the Yorkist period, but use of

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[907] The longer version of the *Arrivall* followed the more factual, shorter version sent to the continent soon after Edward's restoration with a letter of 28 May 1471, highlighting the deliberate effort to elaborate the story for a different audience, Visser-Fuchs, 'Short Version of the *Arrivall*', pp. 172, 177-83.

[908] For example the repeated proclamations of March 1470 highlighting the king's pardon of Clarence and Warwick, yet their continued subversion, planned destruction of the realm and dissimulation, and that of 27 April 1471 after the battle of Barnet, *CCR* 1468-76, pp. 135-8; 188-90.

[909] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1461', item 38 and *idem.*, 'Parliament of 1467', item 7.

[910] The theme of Edward's bodily defence of the realm in the face of any peril was also reiterated in his letters, such as that of March 1462 to alderman Thomas Cooke, Ellis, *Original Letters*, p. 129.

the vernacular in the pledge made at the coronation ceremony was new.[911] Richard III's coronation oath was certainly in English, the first recorded instance of this use of the native language rather than in French.[912] Although no note of his coronation oath survives, it is probable that Edward IV used English as well; it was, for instance, indicated in the oath he took on accession and was the language of a copy given in a collection of the 1460s.[913] This is significant because it suggests the need for communication of these ceremonial vows as promises that could be understood by a wider audience than the noblemen and civic and clerical elite in the abbey, rather than being verbally separate or simply viewed as part of the spiritual actions of coronation. The oath held a king to the promise to keep the laws and customs of the land.[914] Similarly those present swore to be subjects of the newly crowned king and obey his commandments. The making of these oaths, and the use of a common language, demonstrates the seriousness with which these promises were made and expected to be kept. They were a vital collective tie which crosscut social groups and bound people to their word as a measure of their honour. The use of English in making this most sacred and symbolic of promises demonstrates that the endeavour to be more widely understood superseded any sense of legitimacy offered by conforming to tradition.

Assertion of the Yorkist right to the throne was persistent throughout the literature of the period, and dovetailed with the depiction of Edward in particular as embodying the ideal king. Parliamentary records, for instance, focused on describing at length the veracity of Edward IV's and later Richard III's claims to the throne.[915] These discussions

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[911] For example York's oaths of 1455 and 1459, recorded on the parliament rolls, Horrox, 'Parliament of 1455', item 25; *idem.,* 'Parliament of 1459', item 9.

[912] Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation,* pp. 3-5, the oath itself is given on pp. 219-20.

[913] Edward's oath of accession was made on 4 March 1461 at Westminster before the archbishop and chancellor and with a crowd of Londoners who had processed with him through the city and repeated their acclamation of his title, Flenley, *Six Town Chronicles,* p. 162. The wording of the oath was an echo of the coronation oath, in promising to justly keep the realm and its laws, but occurred before Edward was robed in royal mantle and cap of estate, an inversion of the coronation ceremony. On this, see Armstrong, 'Inauguration Ceremonies', pp. 59-64. The contemporary description of the coronation ceremony is 'The maner and forme of the Coronacion of kyngis and Quenes in Engelonde' in BL, Lansdowne MS 285, John Paston's Grete Book, f. 2-5v, the oath is at f. 4 and is given in English as well as noted that it was also made in French. A printed version of this document is in Dillon, 'Collection of Ordinances', pp. 46-55 (oath, pp. 51-52). Lester suggests this text is identified with Henry VI's English coronation, *Grete Boke,* p. 73. 'The maner and forme' also given in BL, Additional MS 10106, f. 21, a collection which includes a chronicle up to the reign of Edward IV.

[914] BL, Lansdowne MS 285, f. 4; Hunt, *Drama of Coronation,* pp. 26-27.

[915] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1461', items 8-14; *idem.,* 'Parliament of 1484', item 1[5].

were publicised more widely, being repeated in chronicles and publicly proclaimed, such as Richard III's title at St Paul's Cross in June 1483.[916] Genealogies produced at the start of Edward's reign were similarly aimed at making his right to the throne clear to those who viewed them, probably a noble and higher gentry audience.[917] The insistence with which legitimacy was promoted across Yorkist communication aimed at persuading people of their claim to rule, but also of their capacity to do so. In this the rhetoric was bolstered by descriptions of the monarch: Edward was presented as a warrior who was also merciful, while Richard advocated morality. The image of these men as rightful and effective kings aimed at securing loyalty, especially critical because of the regime's involvement in civil war: people literally wore their allegiance on their coats and the numbers on each side were of mortal significance.[918] Loyalty remained of paramount importance because instability continued throughout the 1460s and erupted into conflict again in 1469-71. While Edward IV's second reign did not witness a major recurrence of rebellion, disloyalty was a consistent undercurrent, surfacing for instance in his relationship with Clarence. Usurpation and conflict brought fidelity to the fore again in 1483, with Richard's reign a sustained search for allegiance.

Oaths

The performance of loyalty was thus a central feature of Yorkist literature and was illustrated by the giving and receiving of oaths. In proclamations, parliamentary reports and manifestos oaths were critical in demonstrating allegiance, defining groups, justifying conduct and communicating a political standpoint. Within narratives they were an action point, a physical demonstration of fidelity around which further events pivoted, and conceptually they exemplified honour. Oaths were political communication, and offered a standard by which to measure character: both Clarence

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[916] *Great Chronicle,* pp. 231-32; Kingsford, *Chronicles of London,* pp. 190-91. In reiterating Richard III's claim to rule, *Crowland* directly referred to the parliament rolls, for example, p. 161. Londoners were well informed of Yorkist claim to the throne in 1460, with proclamations made through the city, and were aware of the detail of the Accord, Kingsford, *Chronicles of London,* p. 172; *Gregory,* p. 208; 'Brief Latin Chronicle' in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles,* pp. 170-71. Parliamentary approval of Edward's title was publicly proclaimed in 1461, *Whethamstede*, vol 1 pp. 415-20. Similarly, the discussion in parliament in 1474 of the French campaign was reported at length in the Canterbury letter books, J.B. Sheppard (ed.), *Literae Cantuarienses. The Letter Books of the Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury* (3 vols, London, 1889), vol 3 pp. 274-85.

[917] Allan, 'Yorkist Propaganda', pp. 172-74; Radulescu, 'Yorkist Propaganda', pp. 408-10.

[918] Chronicles, for example, were fixated with giving numbers of those fighting or killed on the battlefield, for example on those who died at Towton, see above n.234.

and Gloucester, for instance, were the focus of vilification for breaking their sworn vows.[919]

Oath-making pervaded legal and political culture in the later middle ages. The public declaration of a promise, the truth of which was witnessed and judged by God, was a foundation stone of justice, office-holding and the formation of alliances.[920] The trustworthiness of an individual's word was political currency hinged on personal reputation. Breaking an oath tarnished that individual's character; it was an affront to honour. When Edward IV's claim to the throne was presented in his first parliament, Henry IV's usurpation in 1399 was condemned as being against his faith, allegiance and oath of fealty to the king.[921] Yorkist monarchy was founded on a return to rightful and just rule from the perversity of Lancastrian sovereignty, begun by this treachery of Henry IV. Yet it was also established upon the violation of Edward's own oath to Henry VI, promising to incite no violence towards the king, made in acceptance of the Accord in October 1460.[922] Contradiction was evident in much of Yorkist politics, but in this instance was directly answered: Edward was freed from this oath by the treasonable attack on Richard duke of York at Wakefield by forces in Henry VI's name.[923]

These examples of politically significant oaths highlight both their fragility and their importance despite that. Rebuttal of the accusation that Edward had broken his oath to Henry VI was considered necessary in establishing his regime, preserving both Edward's reputation and the inviolability of the oath as a meaningful act. The very creation of a king was enshrined in a coronation oath to rule justly, a vow which Edward first made at his inauguration, on 4 March 1461, as well as being a vital part of his

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[919] Clarence for failing to honour his oath at Angers and Gloucester for his feigned oaths of allegiance to Edward V, *Warkworth*, p. 37; *Crowland* pp. 155-57. See below, pp. 237, 256-57.

[920]   See, for example, R.F. Green, *A Crisis of Truth: Literature and Law in Ricardian England* (Philadelphia, 1999), pp. 16-17, 78-120; J. Lee, '"Ye shall disturbe noe mans right": Oath-taking and Oath-breaking in Late Medieval and Early Modern Bristol', *Urban History,* 34 (2007), pp. 27-38. Generally there has been little scholarship focusing on oaths, though see L. Bowers, 'Oaths of Loyalty during the Wars of the Roses: 'the vertu and nature of an ooth is to conferme trouth, and of noo wise to ympugne it" (Unpublished MA thesis, University of York 2007).

[921] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1461', items 9, 10, 12.

[922] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1460', item 21.

[923] The Act of Accord had made it a treason to attack York, as heir to the throne, *ibid.*, item 24.

coronation rituals.[924] This was mirrored in the oath of fealty offered by those subjects present at the ceremony. The act of oath-making, and investment in its sanctity, resonated widely. City mayors took an oath of office on beginning their role, for instance, as did members of the royal household.[925] Oaths facilitated the legal process, requiring promises of honesty in contrast to those of faithful service.[926] They also defined allegiances, both through promises to act in an ally's interest as Warwick did with the Lancastrians in 1470, and more specifically within brotherhoods, as with chivalric fellowships such as the Order of the Garter.[927] Similarly they were used to ensure allegiance, as seen for instance in the promises to serve the princes of Wales as heirs to the throne after the monarch's death that were required of the nobility by Henry VI, Edward IV and Richard III.[928] The act of oath-making was reciprocal and in establishing a pledge of specific behaviour also set the parameters for action against failure to meet that standard. Such bonds therefore enabled political agency, as with Edward IV's justification of his actions against Henry VI, and similarly internationally in the breaking of truces.[929]

Oaths worked to bind people to their word because they were public. Witnesses were required to attest to the promise of the oath-maker and the words of the vow were enhanced by visual submission through kneeling before or placing hands on an authority such as the king or Gospels.[930] They took place in sites of spiritual or legal

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[924] Flenley, *Six Town Chronicles,* p. 162. On the development of the coronation oath from the twelfth century, see H.G. Richardson, 'The English Coronation Oath', *Speculum,* 24 (1949), pp. 44-75.

[925] London's mayoral oaths, made annually on 28 October, had become steeped in pageantry by the later fifteenth century, such that a decree was made to tone down the festivities in 1481, Barron, 'Chivalry, Pageantry', p. 229. In 1452 the oaths of the sheriffs and coroners of the city of Coventry were recorded in the *Leet Book,* vol 1 pp. 273-75. The oaths of office of the treasurer and controller of the king's household are given in Myers, *Household*, pp. 146-50.

[926] Green, *A Crisis of Truth*, p. 92.

[927] Collins, *Garter*, pp. 201-203. Garter members swore an oath to uphold the Order's statutes before the altar at St George's Chapel, and failing to uphold them was treasonable. Edward IV also swore such an oath as a companion of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1468, Payne and Jefferson, 'Golden Fleece', p. 196.

[928] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1459', item 26; *CCR* 1468-76, pp. 229-30; *Crowland,* p. 171.

[929] For example the breaking of the Truce of Tours in the 1440s, J.G. Nichols, *The Boke of Noblesse: Addressed to King Edward the Fourth on his Invasion of France in 1475* (London, 1840), pp. 5-6.

[930] In his letter of 9 January 1452, for example, York asserted proof of his fealty by having sworn to it on the blessed sacrament, and similarly in the oath repeated in the 1459 parliament, *John Vale's Book,* pp. 193-95; Horrox, 'Parliament of 1459', item 9. The nobility who took the oath to Henry VI in parliament on 24 July 1455 did so holding the king's hand, while ecclesiastical lords held their hand to their heart, *idem*, 'Parliament of 1455', item 25.

administration, often in parliament but also at royal council meetings and in churches.[931] The oath was about the written word as much as the spoken and performed vow. Thus oaths were occasionally offered in letters, such as York's missive to Henry VI in 1452, and designed to be read by a wider audience as their report in chronicles demonstrates.[932] They were also intended to be preserved as evidence of the promise of fidelity, as demonstrated by the reminder in parliament in 1459 that York's oaths to Henry VI were signed, sealed and preserved in the king's treasury.[933] Records also noted the names of those who performed the oath, for example the pledge of loyalty to Henry VI, his queen and son in 1459 and to the prince of Wales in 1471.[934] This was a permanent testament to the given word of those listed, serving to enshrine indelibly the performance of the oath. The instances at which such promises were given and the nature of the wording were widely distributed, appearing in contemporary chronicles such as *Crowland*'s reporting of the oaths following the Act of Accord.[935] The inclusion of these oaths within the chronicle forms part of the author's agenda in framing the politics of the Yorkist period in a moral light, the breaking of oaths a comment on reputation.[936] It also highlights the pervasiveness of interest in and understanding of such values and the efficacy of the Yorkist approach in exploiting this.

Publicly identifying those who made such promises, through wide dissemination of proclamations or inclusion within governmental records, held individuals to account for their oaths. Knowledge of a vow that had been made spotlighted any breach. This provided a form of cultural regulation of behaviour and action, a self-management of

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[931] York's oaths took place at St Paul's after Dartford in 1452 and at Westminster in 1455, for example, Horrox, 'Parliament of 1459', item 8; *idem.,* 'Parliament of 1455', item 25. The oath to Edward IV's son as prince of Wales in 1471 took place in the parliament chamber at Westminster, *CCR* 1468-76, p. 229. Richard III swore an oath of fealty to Edward V in 1483 at York Minster, *Crowland*, p. 155.

[932] York's oaths to Henry VI were highlighted in parliament and appeared in collections such as John Vale's Book and the Paston letters, see *John Vale's Book,* pp. 193-95, notes. Similarly his declaration of fidelity to the king made with Warwick and Salisbury at Worcester Cathedral on 10 October 1459 was detailed in full in Davies, *English Chronicle*, pp. 81-83. The duke's oath to Henry of 1452 was also noted in *Benet*, p. 207.

[933] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1459', item 13.

[934] See above, n. 929.

[935] *Crowland,* p. 111; Davies, *English Chronicle*, pp. 102-104, gives the text of the oath exactly as it is in the parliament rolls. *Short English Chronicle,* p. 76, notes the attack on York at Wakefield as Henry VI breaking his oath of 1460.

[936] See below, pp. 256-57.

integrity evaluated by the wider community. At the highest level this was political in the most profound terms: who could or should rule the country. Because oaths pivoted on reputation, vital to position and influence, countering claims of oath-breaking was perpetually essential. In claiming the throne in 1460 Richard duke of York committed the most fundamental breach of his oath to Henry VI; the damage to his reputation contributed to his inviability as a monarch.[937]

The Yorkist period was founded on the legacy of York's repeated making and breaking of oaths juxtaposed with an increasingly intense focus on loyalty. While loyalty remained a central characteristic of Yorkist communication despite fluctuation in regime security, there were distinct phases in the language of Yorkist communication. The prowess of the monarch on the battlefield and the flight of enemies was of greater significance in the literature of the 1460s, for instance, as Edward searched for stability against a continued Lancastrian threat. The promotion of peace, in contrast, developed prominence in the 1470s following political crisis and repeated civil war. Legitimacy again came to the fore with Richard's usurpation in 1483.

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[937] The issue of the broken oath was the first query of the lords discussing his claim in parliament, Horrox, 'Parliament of 1460', item 13.

5.2   The Legacy of the 1450s

As highlighted in the previous three chapters, the geography of and support for the Yorkist monarchy were rooted in the decade before 1461. The elevation of York to political prominence within, and in opposition to, the Lancastrian regime in the 1450s created a Yorkist party founded on his ducal heritage. The same was true of ideology. The Yorkist political standpoint was generated in the public debate centred on York's place in government and developed as antagonism between king and duke progressed. This was a stance grounded in the ideas espoused in public letters and manifestos of York as a defender of the common weal and offering good government.[938] As noted above, it was also a discussion which took place almost exclusively in English. This became the Yorkist political platform and its counterpart was the assertion of the duke's noble character, an emphasis on reputation which was developed much further under Edward IV.

The idea of personal honour within this debate was most hotly contested around the performance of oaths, with oath-making and breaking a political battleground between the Lancastrian king and the key Yorkists. Breached vows of loyalty were at the fore of the political exchange throughout the 1450s precisely because this was a period of crisis and faction. The use of oaths aimed at binding a fragmented nobility but functioned as leverage, enabling subjects to act under the protection of an avowal of obedience to the monarch and conversely justifying action against rebels. The former was precisely the duke of York's approach and the decade was peppered with instances of his publicly declared loyalty to Henry VI. He repeatedly offered to swear allegiance to the king, wrote letters describing oaths he had taken, and was insistent that his professions of loyalty were marked on governmental records.[939] Expressions of fidelity were not only defensive, allowing York to protest his innocence of claims of betrayal, but also framed his actions. Oaths were made to the king before and after battle, couching even violent

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[938] Watts, 'Polemic and Politics', pp. 13-25; *idem., Henry VI*, pp. 266-323.

[939]   For example, his letter of 22 August 1450, the bill of 9 January 1452 issued from Ludlow and in parliament on 14 March 1454, Griffiths, 'York's Intentions', p. 203; *John Vale's Book,* p. 195; *CPR 1452-1461*, pp. 143-44.

conflict in a rhetoric of loyalty. This happened on several occasions, including after the battle of St Albans in 1455 and before that of Ludford Bridge in 1459.[940]

Oaths were not only offered by York, however, but were also demanded of him as a display of submission that was widely publicised. Following the standoff at Dartford in March 1452, where forces gathered by both York and the king faced each other without conflict, reconciliation which spared the duke's life required his oath of loyalty at St Paul's Cathedral.[941] This was a demonstration of royal control, later echoed in the 1458 Loveday, which also provided grounds for action against York in 1459. The act of attainder against the duke, his sons and Neville allies at the Coventry parliament reported the wording of the post-Dartford oath in detailing the need for measures to destroy him.[942] In compelling specific individuals to assert obedience in this way, of course, these oaths also defined and identified factions, particularly in dealing with York and the earls of Salisbury and Warwick as a distinct group. The Loveday at St Paul's on 25 March 1458 was a ceremonial example of this emphasis on demonstrating allegiance, pairing opponents in a contrived display of amity which ultimately proved fatally divisive.[943] In highlighting opposing groups, the event served to demonstrate not only the irreconcilability of these rifts but the growing need to choose sides, indicated by the great numbers of men each noble brought to London with them.[944] The act of attainder the following year crystallised the group around York by defining these individuals as an alliance against the king. A further oath of loyalty to Henry VI demanded of those present at this parliament made members complicit in the damnation

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[940] After the battle of St Albans, Horrox, 'Parliament of 1455', item 25; before the battle of Ludford Bridge, Davies, *English Chronicle*, p. 81.

[941] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1459', items 8, 9; *John Vale's Book*, pp. 193-94; Johnson, *Duke Richard,* pp. 112, 114-15.

[942] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1459', item 9.

[943] Carpenter, *Wars of the Roses,* p. 143. *Benet*, p. 221, gives the pairing: duke of Somerset, earl of Northumberland and Lord Clifford on one side, York, Salisbury and Warwick on the other. Description of the agreement, the Yorkists repaying Lancastrians for losses at St Albans, is given in *Whethamstede*, vol 1 pp. 298-308.

[944] According to one London chronicler, the numbers of armed men in the city included 400 with York, 500 with Salisbury, 600 with Warwick, 800 with Exeter and Somerset, 1,500 with Northumberland, Clifford and Egremont in the months before the Loveday, Kingsford, *Chronicles of London,* p. 168.

of the Yorkist leaders.[945] The wording of the oath may have emphasised a lack of coercion, but the sentiment was quite the opposite. Rather than ostracising the Yorkists, this act made oath-breakers of all those who were ready to support them, and thus diminished the power of the oath to bind people to a failing king.

As ties of loyalty, oaths seem to have failed spectacularly in the 1450s. The oath had been used as political leverage and debate for a decade, culminating in its employment as a constraint on the nobility in 1459. This manipulation of an act which centred on the trustworthiness of an individual's word, freely given, left it effectively redundant. Those who made vows of allegiance to the Lancastrian king in 1459 that they would soon breach became oath-breakers, just like York. As an expression of allegiance, oaths had failed. Yet their importance did not recede. Oaths were still debated, required and performed as a key part of political communication throughout the subsequent decades.

Indeed the desire to preserve the oath as an undertaking was clear in the discussion of the lords regarding York's claim to the throne in October 1460. Parliament's first question of York in response to the declaration of his right to the crown focused on oaths made to the Lancastrian king. The emphasis was not primarily on York's own vow, but on those of all the lords.[946] They questioned how they could accept the duke's claim given their oaths to Henry VI, and this was both criticism and leverage: if York had an escape from this tie, so did they. York's reply stressed obligation to God before king, that the truth of his right to rule was God-given and any oaths made contrary to this truth were void.[947] Upholding a promise of allegiance, he stated, was secondary to upholding truth and God's law, and the lords should strive to assist him in this despite any oaths of fealty. The final judgement of the lords, keeping Henry VI on the throne for his lifetime and making York his heir, was not simply a political fudge of the situation but a genuine attempt to address the problem of the oaths that they had already made.[948]

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[945] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1459', item 26. The oath of 11 December 1459 was signed by many lords who were or would soon openly be Yorkists, including the archbishop of York, duke of Norfolk, Viscount Bourchier, Lord Bonville and the earl of Arundel. That it was an attempt to bind people to the Lancastrian regime is emphasised by the awareness of Yorkist sympathies of some of these men, evident in their exclusion from a council meeting in June 1459, *Benet,* p. 223; Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 20.

[946] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1460', item 13.

[947] *ibid.,* item 14.

[948] *ibid.,* item 18.

Ultimately the duke's claim to rule was accepted, but by securing Henry VI's throne the decision-makers openly salved their consciences regarding their oaths to him.[949] In this the oaths to Henry's son as heir were swept aside, suggesting the heightened significance of a promise to a monarch, or perhaps the prince's more vulnerable position.[950] The sincerity with which oaths were given, and the determination with which they were upheld, were clearly not damaged despite agreement with York's argument. Furthermore, the Accord itself was endorsed by the oaths of York and his sons to the king and to the lords, and of the lords to York and his heirs.[951] Even a decade of sworn and flouted promises of loyalty to Henry VI did not dissuade them from requiring further oaths of York as surety, though this had earlier been voiced as an argument for the duke's ruination.[952] The lords not only adhered to their own oaths to the king, they demonstrated faith in York's word of honour. This was especially important because the Accord was the foundation of Yorkist rule, and its potency was embedded in the honour with which it was established as well as the legitimacy the parliamentary act gave to the claim to the throne. Parliamentary approval of York's claim, albeit as heir not king, was the cornerstone of Yorkist monarchy. This was consistently referenced throughout the reign of Edward IV as the authority with which his sovereignty was approved.[953]

Shifting loyalties were identified and highlighted in the political communication of the 1450s through using oaths as both physical and written demonstrations of authority and allegiance. They were a centre-point in the conflict between Yorkist and Lancastrian

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[949] *ibid.*

[950] Maurer suggests that Yorkist rumours of the prince's illegitimacy may have weakened support for the prince, who was aged just seven in 1460, with York's sons in contrast being ten years older and therefore more of a political force, H. Maurer, 'Delegitimizing Lancaster: The Yorkist Use of Gendered Propaganda During the Wars of the Roses' in D.L. Biggs, S.D. Michalove and A.C. Reeves (eds.), *Reputation and Representation in Fifteenth-Century Europe* (Leiden, 2004), p. 182. The Accord's disinheriting of Edward sparked Lancastrian response through a public letter in the prince's name to the city of London, asserting that York was acting against his oath in claiming the throne and insisting that Edward was of blood royal, *John Vale's Book,* pp. 142-43 and discussion, pp. 36-37.

[951] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1460', items 21, 24-26, 29.

[952] In the *Somnium Vigilantis*, which directly criticised the Yorkists by highlighting the repeated falseness and untrustworthiness, Gilson, 'Proscription', p. 522.

[953] Even at the highpoint in Yorkist magnificence, the reburial of the duke of York in 1476, the epitaph to Edward's father emphasised York's right to the throne as approved by parliament, College of Arms, MS M 3, f. i(v).

factions and illustrative of that division. The focus on vows of fidelity as a remedy for discord, or as justification for action against an opponent, set the tone for Edward IV's reign by emphasising the importance of honour. This idea took hold in the Yorkist literature and became a mainstay of the rhetoric, informing an increasingly sophisticated style of communication imbued with cultural values.

5.3   Legitimacy and Warrior Monarchy

Faith was consistently invested in the public promise of allegiance and had been determinedly preserved throughout the crisis-ridden 1450s. As an act which fundamentally centred on loyalty, the oath was of heightened political importance in this period despite challenges to its sanctity. Edward IV's first parliament, in directly tackling the issue of his own oath to Henry VI, aimed to protect both the new king's reputation and the significance of the vow itself. The primary business of the parliament of November 1461, however, was asserting Yorkist legitimacy through the same body that had approved the dynasty's right to rule.

Parliament was not in session when Edward took the throne, so the Yorkists could not use it in gaining the crown, as Henry IV had done in 1399.[954] In contrast the emphasis was legally on rightful accession rather than deposition, and visually on popular support for Edward as king and his ritual possession of the crown, as the dating of his reign from 4 March 1461 when he sat upon the king's bench at Westminster highlights. Although Edward's parliament opened over four months after his coronation, there is evidence of the desire to link accession and parliament; the original summons was for parliament to be held from 6 July, with Edward's coronation planned for the following Sunday, 12 July.[955] Threat of a Lancastrian attack supported by the king of France delayed the opening of parliament to November and hastened the coronation to 28 June.[956] Clearly, however, the intention was to hold these two critical aspects of the consolidation of rule in tandem, binding the political, spiritual and ceremonial aspects of the taking of power. The need for parliament to be called was essential in establishing the new regime and the session narrowly focused on Edward's title and the punishment of Lancastrian supporters.

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[954] Henry IV took the throne through parliamentary control effected by the resignation of Richard II, not through having to stake a superior claim, Biggs, *Three Armies*, pp. 255-59.

[955] Davis, *Paston Letters,* part 2 pp. 235-36, letter of June 1461.

[956] Commissions of May and June 1461 were called to act against those stirring up trouble on behalf of Henry VI and the French, to cause a fleet to be raised against the French and Scots, and urging subjects to resist the French on Guernsey who were besieging the castle there, *CPR* 1461-67, pp. 33-34; Davis, *Paston Letters,* letters of 19 and 21 June and 2 July 1461, part 1 pp. 265-66, part 2 pp. 238-40.

The assertion of Edward's title took the form of a petition of the commons, which was declared on 12 November.[957] Rather than simply a formality, this affirmation had a renewed significance to a regime founded on parliamentary acceptance of its claim. However far the Yorkists had created their path to the throne, this was a reign sanctioned by parliament and rather than publicly distancing Edward's rule from that basis, it was embraced as a legitimising force. He sat on the royal throne in the painted chamber of Westminster Palace to hear the commons give thanks for his military victory and the restoration of his just title, and commend him for facing jeopardy in saving the realm.[958] The commons then urged the enrolment of their petition, so that it would remain on record. The reiteration of title which followed noted, in English, the right by which Edward held the crown, detailed from Henry III and followed by a narration of recent events, Henry VI labelled an 'unrightwise usurpour' whose reign had brought misery on his people.[959] This set out Edward's legitimacy as ruler, through Lionel of Clarence as third son of Edward III and Edward as cousin and heir to Richard II, as well as the unlawful usurpation of Henry IV.[960]

Putting this reworking of the historical narrative into the words of the commons served not only to establish the Yorkist right to the throne on the official record, but to present it as a reflection of political opinion rather than a direct declaration from those in power. The vehemently Yorkist tone is sustained throughout the parliamentary record and demonstrated in the language used: the 'tyranny' and 'wilfull malice' of the Lancastrians, their 'unlawful', 'unmanly' and 'unrightwise' behaviour, is delivered as the view of the commons.[961] This served to widen the angle of those asserting and therefore politically supporting Edward's rule beyond the Yorkist lords who urged him to take the crown in March 1461 at Baynard's Castle. Giving the commons this visible and important role in establishing the regime not only established a specific dynamic between king and commons, in which both publicly promoted the Yorkist version of events, it enhanced

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[957] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1461', item 7.

[958] *ibid.*

[959] *ibid.,* items 8-10.

[960] *ibid.,* item 9.

[961] *ibid.,* items 9, 14.

the political legitimacy of the process of taking power and demonstrated the king's control of parliament.

This use of the parliamentary arena was further enhanced by Edward's own performance in the session. His speech to the chamber mixed the repetition of his right to the crown with gratitude for the support of the commons, thus mirroring the presentation of his title in the petition while underlining the notion that it was his subjects who had called upon him to be king.[962] In reiterating his right to the throne, Edward thanked the commons sincerely for their true hearts and consideration of his right to the throne.[963] Not only did he thank them for their support of his title, and God for his victory, Edward's speech took a personal tone in expressing gratitude for the commons' remembrance of his fallen family members, specifically linking his taking of the crown with amendment for this injury.[964] He ended his speech by promising to be a good and gracious sovereign lord, requesting the assistance of the commons for the future. Throughout, the emphasis was on the king's service to his subjects, a political trope but one used here to underline, or perhaps insist upon, a sense of popular support for the Yorkist regime.

There was also an enhanced element here of Edward's performance as a warrior king, and this was highlighted in his own speech as well as that of the commons. His actions on the battlefield were attributed to God as the giver of all victories, emphasising divine approval of the Yorkist cause, but also acting as a significant reminder of the way in which this king fulfilled his position. In November 1461 this was the key aspect of monarchy that Edward could play on: he had recently led significant victories at Mortimer's Cross and Towton in securing the throne and this prowess and his willingness to throw himself into the fray was a complete contrast with his predecessor. Thus Edward told his parliament: 'yf Y had eny better good to reward you withall then my body, ye shuld have it, the which shall alwey be redy for youre defence, never

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[962] The king's speech was addressed to the commons but not made directly to them, rather in the parliament chamber, Hicks, 'Parliaments 1461-85', p. 140.

[963] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1461', item 38.

[964] *ibid.*

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sparyng nor lettyng for noo jeopardie'.[965] This was not only about establishing a Yorkist approach to rule in which the king was a martial defender of his people and a brave leader; it was a recognition of the immediate conflict faced by the regime in holding on to the crown. This framed Edward's previous victories, and the battles to come, as his protection of the realm in the name of the commons. In this it reiterated the enduring Yorkist policy of representing the common good while linking it to Edward's martial qualities. The notion of the new king as facing bodily harm for the good of the realm was repeated throughout the parliamentary record, particularly in the commons' speech to the king, referencing his performance at Mortimer's Cross and at Towton.[966] Genealogies produced at the time of Edward's accession also expressed this theme, for example in giving a pictorial narrative of his route to the throne, a warrior at the head of a victorious army, and depicted alongside his royal lineage.[967]

This royal performance was primarily, and possibly exclusively, for the political elite. The note of Edward's right to the throne on the parliamentary record represented legal legitimacy, just as the attainders against Lancastrian enemies were only prosecutable once they had been enrolled. There was also clearly some attempt to publicise the business of this parliament beyond the official record. Several contemporary chronicles note that the parliament was held and give details of the approval of the king's title and the attainders, which Whethamstede stated were '*publice proclamatis*'.[968] The inclusion of a list of over a hundred names of those attainted in another chronicle supports this.[969] The detail of the attainders encompassed a large part of parliamentary proceedings as

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[965] *ibid.*

[966] *ibid.*, item 7.

[967]   BL, Harley MS 7353 is the most visual example of this, described in Strohm, *Politique*, p. 2. The genealogy is pictured below, figure 23. On Yorkist genealogies, see A. Allan, 'Yorkist Propaganda: Pedigree, Prophecy and the 'British History' in the Reign of Edward IV' in C. Ross (ed.), *Patronage Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1979) pp. 172-75.

[968]   Several of the London chronicles note the date the parliament began and linked it to the creations of Gloucester, Bourchier and Fauconberg, including Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, pp. 176-77; *Hearne*, p. 289; Flenley, *Six Town Chronicles,* pp. 162-63; *Great Chronicle*, p. 198. *Benet,* p. 232, notes the dates parliament was prorogued and dissolved.

[969]   *Annales* lists 108 names and states there were forty-two others, but gives a total of 153 names, vol 2 part 2 pp. 778-79. The list in this manuscript is thought to have been an earlier draft of the final act, which attainted 116 people, S. Payling, 'Rehabilitation and Retribution: Lancastrians in Edward IV's First Reign', paper, Harlaxton Symposium 2011.

well as the interest of chroniclers. The most prominent figures attainted were the former king, his wife and son.[970]

Dealing with such legal issues was the business of parliament and paralleled Yorkist inclinations in defending their position. Thus Edward's speech to the commons was emotive in referencing the deaths of Richard duke of York and Edmund earl of Rutland, and similarly there was a specific family focus to the issues dealt with in the session. In particular grants were made to family members, such as that made to Edward's mother Cecily Neville, which aimed to secure the Yorkist royal family financially just as the reiteration of claim endeavoured to do so dynastically.[971] More significantly, this parliament overturned the attainders against Edward's grandfather, Richard earl of Cambridge, in 1415 and Warwick's connections, John Montagu, earl of Shrewsbury and Thomas Lord le Despenser in 1400.[972] The latter benefitted the earl through allowing his wife and mother to enter into their inheritances; the former was entirely concerned with Yorkist reputation.[973] The immediacy of family honour was tangible in this move and emphasises the importance of worthiness promoted by the Yorkists.

Edward IV's first parliament was pivotal in developing the language of Yorkist political rhetoric. His speech at his third parliament on 5 June 1467 was focused on his intention to live from his own resources, but served also to reiterate his promotion of the common weal and his bodily defence of the realm in the face of any danger.[974] In part this was because his claim that he would only request taxes given specific need actually presaged conflict, rather than being an assertion of financial prudence that should ease the commons. Twice within the short speech there was a plea for the commons to be generous should special reasons of need arise; the promise to risk his life for his realm was a prelude to Edward's planned war with France as well as a reiteration of a familiar theme. He was already pursuing alliances with Burgundy and Brittany who were

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[970] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1461', item 27.

[971] *ibid.,* item 31.

[972] *ibid.,* items 32, 33.

[973] *ibid.,* item 34.

[974] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1467', item 7.

enemies of the Valois monarchy, and required the English to fund military support should conflict on the continent arise.[975]

Between the two parliamentary speeches, the rhetoric had begun to evolve. Edward's performance of monarchy was founded on his military prowess and the presentation of this was shaped by the increasing focus on chivalric values. Holding the 1467 parliament concurrently with the spectacular feat of arms at Smithfield was no coincidence but part of the strategy of Yorkist promotion. Embracing the political elite through involvement in aspirational pursuits was a parallel to the presentation in parliament of Edward as an ideal monarch, serving the common weal even at the sacrifice of his own security.[976] This also maintained the place of the nobility, leaders in political and chivalric society. Most importantly, it aimed to garner support for Edward's Burgundian alliance, celebrated at the Smithfield tournament through the jousting between the king's brother-in-law, Anthony Woodville, and the bastard of Burgundy, Antoine de La Roche.[977] The development of an enhanced focus on chivalric ideals in political communication emerged from the consolidation of Edward IV's royal identity as knightly in virtue and prowess, but really crystallised in the fervour of renewed internal hostilities. The treachery of former allies intensified the emphasis on duplicity and falseness as a contrast to honour, paralleled with deliberate moves to damage the reputations of opponents.

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[975] Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 104-112; Calmette and Périnelle, *Louis XI,* pp. 88-96.

[976] On wider relationships cultivated through chivalric pursuits, see above, pp. 131-35.

[977] See above, pp. 36-37.

5.4 Loyalty, Betrayal and Peace

Throughout the 1450s and in the early years of the Yorkist regime loyalty remained a critical theme in political communication, as the search for allies and stability was paramount. Crisis brought this to the forefront again in 1469, as relationships at the heart of the regime disintegrated. The dynamics were different because Warwick and Clarence represented new opposition, an enemy within. The difficulty for each side of this discord in their public communications was in disparaging adversaries while rationalising their former unity and creating distinct standpoints. This focused to a far less extent on oaths as demonstrative of allegiance. Where oaths in the 1450s had been employed as social adhesive, they became a statement of division in the late 1460s. The breach between Edward IV and Warwick saw the most significant instance of this in the Yorkist period, as the earl's defection to the Lancastrians was embodied by and proclaimed through his oath to Henry VI. The most striking development during this period, however, was the introduction of official chronicles and use of narrative in persuading a readership and bringing an enemy's honour into disrepute. This brought a heightened emphasis on the allegiance expected of a subject, of the courage of the king and cowardice of his enemies and, in the aftermath, on peace.

The breakdown in relations between the king, his brother Clarence, and Warwick was punctuated with public statements made by both king and rebels in the months prior to the volte-face at Angers in July 1470. Cracks in the relationship between Edward and Warwick had begun to surface in late 1467 and early 1468, with the earl refusing two summons to come before the king and answer to rumours questioning his loyalty.[978] Warwick's dislike of those closest to Edward, particularly the queen's family, created tensions at the heart of government, while discontent and lawlessness increased across the realm.[979] Disaffection rumbled throughout the latter half of 1468 and came to a head in 1469, with rebellion in Yorkshire in April followed by Warwick's open revolt in July. Edward wrote to the earl, his brother George Neville archbishop of York, and his own

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[978] *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 p. 788; Hicks, *Warwick*, pp. 264-65. Bills proliferated around London gossiping about Warwick and Clarence, Kingsford, *Chronicles of England,* p. 180.

[979] Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 118-20. Those denounced as encouraging the king to increase their personal wealth to the detriment of the country during Robin of Redesdale's revolt in 1469 included Earl Rivers, his wife and sons, Lord Audley, William Herbert and Humphrey Stafford, *John Vale's Book*, p. 213.

brother Clarence expressing friendship on 9 July, but it was too late.[980] On 11 July Clarence, heir to Edward IV, married Warwick's daughter Isabel in Calais, publicly bonding the duke and earl.[981] They, along with the archbishop, issued a manifesto in their names the following day which identified those they considered seditious persons around the king: Earl Rivers and the duchess of Bedford, William Herbert, Humphrey Stafford, lords Scales and Audley, John Woodville and his brothers and John Fogge.[982] They also called upon people to meet them in arms at Canterbury on Sunday 16 July, as they prepared to take their grievances to the king. The manifesto was a statement of intent and a warning to the king. The text was framed by a reminder of troubles of the reigns of Edward II, Richard II and Henry VI which had caused their destruction, most prominently the exclusion of those of royal blood from the council.[983]

Warwick was initially successful, capturing Edward in July 1469 and imprisoning him at Warwick and Middleham castles. The earl's inability to control local disorder without the weight of royal authority led to the king's release by early September, though tensions soon surfaced again in early 1470.[984] A letter of 19 March by the king demanding the earl and Clarence's attendance upon him was met with a response that safe conducts, guaranteed by oaths, were required by the rebels.[985] This not only emphasised the apprehension of the duke and earl and Edward's lack of authority over them, despite victory in the skirmish at Lose-Cote Field on 12 March 1470, but also questioned the honour of the king. The Yorkist *Chronicle of the Rebellion* proclaimed Edward's indignant reply, in which he reminded them of the pardon he had granted and stated that he would treat them as a sovereign lord ought to, 'for his auncient enemyes of France wolde not desire so large a suretie for their comyng to his rialle presens'.[986] The

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[980] Castor, *Blood and Roses,* p. 252.

[981] *Collection of Ordinances,* p. 98.

[982] Letter of manifesto, in the name of Warwick, Clarence and the Archbishop of York, attached to the Redesdale manifesto, is printed in *Warkworth*, pp. 68-73. This list included five relatives of the queen: her father, mother, two brothers and the husband of a cousin - Fogge had married the queen's cousin Alice Haute before 1468, R. Horrox, "Fogge, Sir John (*b.* in or before 1417, *d.* 1490)." *DNB* 'http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/57617' (accessed 23 February 2012).

[983] *Warkworth*, p. 69; *John Vale's Book*, pp. 212-13.

[984] On Warwick's capture of Edward and his inability to rule through a captive king, Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 132-35.

[985] *Chronicle of the Rebellion*, p. 14.

[986] *ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

oath, here, was a symbol of the decayed dynamic between the king and his leading subjects. Rather than a statement of customary allegiance to a monarch, it was proposed as security against a monarch's actions. The inversion is clear, and was an expression of the shift in power balance: the promise of good behaviour was asked of the king, not offered by liegeman. This occurred when the rebels were isolated and outmanoeuvred, and is noted in the royal account of the uprising.[987] That it was included in the *Chronicle of the Rebellion* suggests that the notion of demanding oaths of assurance from the king was startling, a measure of Warwick and Clarence's degeneracy. It was, of course, also a device through which the narrative could convey dialogue between Edward and his opponents, thus arguing his position. The *Chronicle of the Rebellion* was remarkable in its presentation of the exchanges between king and rebels for a wider audience; that this was extended through use of the same narrative in proclamations made this an even more determined promotion of the regime.[988]

Warwick's pledge of allegiance to the Lancastrians at Angers four months later was the final statement on what this request for Edward IV's oath of surety had initiated. The earl had been quite literally driven to seek the succour of Louis XI, having fled England and been refused entry at Calais.[989] The rebels had spent almost a month at sea in April 1470, engaging in acts of piracy while planning their next move. Their position was extremely precarious, epitomised by the plight of the duchess of Clarence, who gave birth at sea to a child who did not survive. The king of France capitalised on Warwick's predicament to engineer the remarkable alliance with Margaret of Anjou, which he witnessed on 22 July 1470.[990] The agreement at Angers saw Warwick's daughter, Anne, betrothed to Edward of Lancaster and required Warwick to invade England and regain the realm for the former king.

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[987] Pollard, *Warwick*, pp. 67-68.

[988] Proclamations of March 1470, *CCR* 1468-76, pp. 134-37; Ross, 'Rumour, Propaganda', pp. 24-25; Gransden, 'Propaganda', pp. 374-75.

[989] Hicks, *Warwick,* pp. 286-91.

[990] Calmette and Périnelle, *Louis XI,* pp. 110-14.

The agreement was detailed in a Lancastrian account of the meeting between earl and former queen, *The Maner and Gwidynge of the Erle of Warwick at Aungiers*.[991] The report was a narrative of the events from 15 July to 4 August 1470 leading up to the making of oaths by Warwick, Margaret of Anjou, the king of France and his brother. This offered a riposte to Edward IV's *Chronicle of the Rebellion*, explaining the dramatic shift in alliances to followers and observers.[992] In doing so, it directly tackled the issue of former enmity, presenting the Lancastrian queen as reluctant to accept any association with the earl who had been instrumental in removing Henry VI from the throne. Warwick's response was not submissive, as he defended his actions by highlighting the fact that false counsel had encouraged the king and queen to seek his destruction. He claimed to be Edward IV's unremitting enemy and asked their forgiveness, with the king of France standing surety for his promise to serve them faithfully henceforward.[993] After pardoning the earl of Warwick, Margaret's objections were then raised to the marriage of their offspring and fifteen days of negotiations took place before the engagement was agreed.[994] Oaths sealed the accord, and although they were made by all the key figures involved, the subservience of Warwick was clear in the wording. His promise was to hold always to King Henry's party and to serve him, the queen and prince truly and faithfully. The king of France and Margaret swore to help the earl in his endeavours for the Lancastrian cause. The former queen also vowed no reproach on the earl for past wrongs.[995] The entire affair was focused on one goal: the recovery of the English throne for Henry VI. The *Maner and Gwidynge* concludes with details of the invasion, including Warwick's expectation of support from lords in England and request for men, ships and money from Louis XI. The earl left his daughter in Margaret's hands, to be married to the prince once the realm was recovered. Clarence was almost disregarded; he was to be given the duchy of York, no great prize for a duke who had hoped for a crown.[996]

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[991] Ellis, *Original Letters*, vol 2 pp. 132-35; *John Vale's Book,* pp. 215-18.

[992] Gransden, *Historical Writing ii,* pp. 261-63.

[993] Ellis, *Original Letters,* p. 133.

[994] *ibid.,* p. 134.

[995] *ibid.,* p. 134.

[996] *ibid.,* pp. 134-35.

Throughout, the Lancastrian chronicle used the same narrative tone as the Yorkist text in asserting a specific version of events; it was also in English. Emotive language, such as Margaret's struggle to trust Warwick, was perhaps genuine but was employed in the account to enhance plausibility and thereby function to persuade an audience. Supporters of Warwick in England needed to be convinced of the truth, and strength, of this astounding reversal of allegiance. Similarly Lancastrian support in England had to be induced into collusion with the earl once he returned to the country, despite former enmity. The *Maner and Gwidynge* was thus a profoundly important piece of communication for the new alliance.[997] Within the text the difficulties presented by making allies of enemies was repeatedly addressed. For instance, the performance of oaths at Angers served to embody the union but it involved conditions. Unreserved fealty was accepted from Warwick, but his actions were required to substantiate his words. The description in the *Maner and Gwidynge* indicates Margaret of Anjou's mistrust of the earl's sworn promise, the written account perhaps both a Lancastrian slur on Warwick's character and acting to hold him publicly to his word. The integrity of a sworn allegiance made it a barometer of honour and this was employed widely in the written sources, chronicle and governmental, to define character.

The *Maner and Gwidynge* is unique as a Lancastrian narrative in the mould of Yorkist official chronicles and so it is difficult to assess this as part of a public political dialogue.[998] There does seem to have been a shift in the Yorkist approach by 1469, however. The *Arrivall* was the apogee of this, presenting a triumphant account of Edward's recovery of the throne in 1471 which elevated the king and disparaged his enemies in a determined attempt to influence attitudes towards both. This was most developed in the English, longer version, with an earlier, shorter edition produced in French for distribution on the continent.[999] The use of narrative in promoting Yorkist monarchy was successful: both texts survive in a number of manuscripts, some illuminated to enhance the story, and there is substantial evidence for their influence on

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[997] Two manuscript copies of the account survive, BL, Additional MS 48031 A, ff. 142-143v and BL, Harley MS 543, ff. 168-70v, noted in *John Vale's Book*, p. 218; discussion of possible audiences, pp. 48, 92-93.

[998] The text is discussed, as centred on Warwick and produced for his purpose, in Hicks, *Clarence,* pp. 80-83.

[999] Visser-Fuchs, 'Short Version of the *Arrivall*', pp. 172-74.

other written accounts.[1000] The *Arrivall* was potent propaganda because the narrative energy drove the story while familiar themes were rehearsed throughout, embedding the image of the Yorkist king in contemporary ideals.

Alongside the conventional themes which preoccupied political debate in the later middle ages, certain ideas were of particular prominence in the Yorkist period and these are evident in the written communication during this crisis. Broadly, these included a focus on asserting legitimacy of title and encouraging loyalty, as well as promoting a specific image of the king throughout all media. Just as the presentation of Edward as a victorious warrior in the *Arrivall* echoed the speeches in his earlier parliaments, so his tendency to mercy and care for justice appeared in political proclamations.[1001] These were added to traditional ideas of the importance of the king taking proper counsel, for example in his decision to execute Sir Robert Welles following the Lincolnshire rebellion and offering Warwick a pardon in 1471 in the weeks before the battle of Barnet.[1002] Justice, mercy and counsel, alongside the piety expressed repeatedly through noting the offer of prayers and attributing military victories to God, were all important aspects of kingship promoted in mirrors for princes and, in these manifestos, performed by Edward IV.[1003]

Mirrors for princes expounded the idea that good governance was founded upon taking advice from councillors and working for the welfare of the realm, notions which informed these promotional texts. That their ideas influenced the language with which the performance of monarchy was expressed is further suggested by the ownership of

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[1000] A list of the manuscripts containing the short version of the *Arrivall* is given in Gransden, *Historical Writing ii,* pp. 481-89 and discussed in Visser-Fuchs, 'Short Version of the *Arrivall*', pp. 184-201. On the influence of the text of the *Arrivall*, *ibid.,* pp. 177-83.

[1001] *Arrivall*, p. 185; parliamentary speeches praising his knightly courage and princely prowess, see above, pp. 220-23. On Edward's mercy, for example sparing ordinary folk after the battle at Lose-Coat Field, 12 March 1470, *Chronicle of the Rebellion*, pp. 107, 112. Upholding justice, for instance in the executions carried out following victory at Tewkesbury, *Arrivall*, pp. 176-77; proclamation in London, 12 July 1473, exercise of justice in pacifying the realm, *CCR* 1468-76, pp. 298-99.

[1002] *Chronicle of the Rebellion*, p. 112; *Arrivall*, p. 158.

[1003] Military victories as the will of God, *Arrivall*, pp. 165-66, 175-76, 185-86; Horrox, 'Parliament of 1461', item 38. The advice of mirrors for princes stated that the king was 'made to kepen and maynteene Iustice', and crucially he had to deliver a balance between mercy and justice, both showing compassion and exercising retribution where necessary, F.J. Furnivall (ed.), *Hoccleve's Works, iii. The Regement of Princes,* Early English Text Society, extra series, 72, (London, 1897), lines 2514-5; R.R. Steele, (ed.), *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum,* Early English Text Society, extra series, 74, (London, 1898)*,* p. 181.

such texts by monarchs; Edward IV, for instance, owned a copy of the *Secretum Secretorum* from a young age.[1004] As Maurice Keen has argued, the perspective on good kingship offered by the mirrors was complementary to and overlapped with manuals of chivalry; such texts often emphasised that knighthood was not a purely individual concern, but rather tied to the common good.[1005] Certainly both chivalric ideals and notions of good governance were commonplace themes in the texts produced to promote the Yorkist king. Yet this was no slavish following of advice, but an expression of royal leadership. Public debate during the period borrowed from these philosophies but was not bound by them. The way that texts framed ideas of good kingship was inextricably linked to and shaped by circumstance and political reality. The resulting narratives were not designed to educate, like mirrors for princes, but rather to legitimise through demonstrating that Edward was a monarch who embodied the ideal of kingship and had God on his side. The final paragraph of the *Arrivall* epitomises this. Edward's return was by the grace of God, and through his own

> wysdome, and polyqwe, he escaped and passyd many great perills,
> and daungars, and dificulties, wherin he had bene; and, by his full
> noble and knyghtly cowrage, hathe opteyned two right-great,
> crwell, and mortall battayles; put to flight and discomfeture dyvars
> great assembles of his rebells, and riotows persons, in many partes
> of his land … with the helpe of Almyghty God, whiche from his
> begynning hathe not fayled hym, in short tyme he shall appeas his

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[1004] Edward's *Secretum*, BL, Royal MS 12 E xv, inscribed with Edward's name as earl of March on f. 2v. Edward IV possibly also owned a copy of Giles of Rome, *De Regimine Principum,* C.F. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's* De Regimine Principum: *Reading and Writing: Politics at Court and University, c. 1275-c.1525* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 70. The wardrobe accounts of 1480 include a list of Edward's books undergoing work on binding and gilding, including Titus Livius, Froissart, *Le Fortresse de Foy*, Book of Josephus, *bible historiale*, book of the holy trinity and a bible, as well as 'Le Gouvernement of kinges and princes', which is possibly the *Secreta*, Nicholas, 'Wardrobe Accounts Edward IV', pp. 126, 152. On Edward IV's books, see J. Backhouse, 'Founders of the Royal Library: Edward IV and Henry VII as Collectors of Illuminated Manuscripts' in D. Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 23-32, 39-41, and S. McKendrick, J. Lowden and K. Doyle (eds.), *Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination* (London, 2011), pp. 192-225, 293.

[1005] M. Keen, 'Chivalry and English Kingship in the Later Middle Ages', in C. Given-Wilson, A. Kettle and L. Scales (eds.), *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles, c. 1150-1500. Essays in Honour of Michael Prestwich* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 250-65.

subgetes thrwghe all his royalme; that peace and tranquilitie shall grow and multiplye in the same.[1006]

Neatly encapsulated here is the sense of adventure through which was expressed the pursuit of the common weal and Edward as the manifestation of a devout, wise, courageous and victorious king. This Yorkist chronicle articulated these concepts fully, but the ideas ran through all the texts which could serve to promote the king, including records of parliament and political proclamations.

This passage also spotlights two further dominant themes, the Yorkists as peacemakers and the king putting to flight his enemies. Neither of these were novel, and indeed their potency relied on familiarity.[1007] But they are strikingly prominent in the texts and something of a Yorkist motif. While the importance of peace flourished most particularly following Edward's French campaign, the expounding of a polarity between the Yorkist king's courage and his enemies' cowardice had its roots in the early development of his image as a warrior monarch. He was repeatedly described as courageous, manly and the embodiment of knightly virtue, in both chronicle descriptions of battles and in parliamentary speeches, as well as official literature such as the *Arrivall* quoted above and verse.[1008] Thus at Mortimer's Cross Edward was described as taking the field 'fresshly and manly', and his performance on the battlefield at Towton was reported by one individual at the heart of the new regime as single-handedly turning the tide of battle, as he had thrown himself into the struggle with supreme courage.[1009] The speaker's speech to the king at his first parliament, November 1461, included six references to Edward's knightly prowess and courage, alongside seven notes of his actions being for the defence of the realm and common weal.[1010]

[1006] *Arrivall,* pp. 185-86. The paragraph is very similar to the earlier French version sent to the continent, Visser-Fuchs, 'Short Version of the *Arrivall*', p. 220.

[1007]   The *Regement of Princes,* for example, directly linked flight from battle with cowardice and unmanliness: a king was better 'to suffer dethes shour, than cowardly and shamefully flee, so manly of corage and herte is he', Furnivall, *Regement of Princes,* lines 3939-41.

[1008] *Chronicle of the Rebellion,* p. 9; lament for Edward IV, 1483, Robbins, *Historical Poems,* pp. 111-12.

[1009] *Short English Chronicle*, p. 77; letter of the bishop of Salisbury of 7 April 1461, *CSPM*, p. 64.

[1010] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1461', item 7.

Yorkist promotion capitalised on the military success of a king who never lost a battle, and whose youth and vigour were in startling contrast to Henry VI's inertia.

The contrast to Edward's courage was the cowardice of his enemies, again reported especially in describing battles.[1011] This was encapsulated textually in the flight of opponents, and an opportunity to spotlight such desertion was rarely missed. The greatest of these examples was Henry VI's flight to Scotland following Edward's victory at the battle of Towton on 29 March 1461.[1012] In fleeing, Henry became a king who abandoned his country and one who was increasingly further from the centre of government, effectively leaving the country and the responsibility for the common weal to Edward IV. The Yorkist monarch's first parliament noted this duty, gained through driving and chasing the former king from the realm.[1013] The idea of the weak former king who neglected his realm and duty was emphasised to promote Edward: the continental chronicler who reported Edward's refusal to physically take the crown until his enemies were forced from the realm was surely repeating a Yorkist story.[1014] Fleeing from conflict with the courageous new king was expressed as something of a Lancastrian trait, as well as evidence of Edward's formidable prowess. At Mortimer's Cross, Edward's valour had reportedly put to flight many of his enemies and chronicles fixated on those who fled even where they noted nothing else about the battle. The earls of Pembroke and Wiltshire, for example, were said to have stolen away in disguise to save themselves.[1015] Political verse celebrating Edward's military victories also reiterated his ability to put enemies to flight, attributing it to the will of God.[1016]

[1011] For a discussion of the inversion of traditional attitudes, cowardice as shameful and a contrast to the courage and masculinity of nobility, in Hoccleve's work, see A. Lynch, '"Manly Cowardyse": Thomas Hoccleve's Peace Strategy', *Medium Aevum,* 73 (2004), pp. 306-23.

[1012] Davis, *Paston Letters,* part 1 p. 165, letter of 4 April 1461; *Short English Chronicle,* p. 77; *Gregory,* p. 217; *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 pp. 777-78; 'Brief Latin Chronicle' in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles,* p. 174.

[1013] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1461', item 7.

[1014] 'Mémoires de Jacques Duclercq' in J.A. Buchon (ed.), *Chroniques d'Enguerrand de Monstrelet* (15 vols, Paris, 1826-27), vol 14, p. 108. Edward's coronation took place in June after Henry had fled to Scotland.

[1015] *Short English Chronicle*, p. 77; Davies, *English Chronicle*, p. 110; *Gregory,* p. 211; *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 p. 776; *Benet,* p. 229.

[1016] 'A Political Retrospective (1462)' in Robbins, *Historical Poems*, p. 225.

The same language was used in 1470-71 of Clarence and Warwick as well as Lancastrian opposition.[1017] At the battle of Barnet, the earl of Oxford's men were said to have fled the field when fog and confusion led comrades to mistakenly turn arms on each other.[1018] Warwick was cut down 'somewhat fleinge', according to the Yorkist chronicle, as was Edward of Lancaster at Tewkesbury.[1019] As a contrast, Margaret of York spread the report on the continent that her brother had carried himself with the greatest honour on the field at Barnet, and that the Calais garrison had sworn an oath to die in battle before fleeing.[1020] In the Yorkist texts taking flight not only highlighted an enemy's cowardice, but was the result of Edward's superior might chasing them from the field. This idea extended beyond the battlefield and into commemorative literature. York's epitaph, for instance, recounted how the duke had chased the dauphin at Pontoise in 1441: sending an enemy fleeing was a military triumph, an expression of masculine power and authority.[1021] Reiterating these established themes in the presentation of Yorkist monarchy aimed to embed the image of Edward as an ideal king and critically one who had divine support and the power to annihilate his enemies. A proclamation made after the battle of Barnet, for example, repeated these themes clearly in informing people of Warwick's death and Margaret of Anjou's arrival in England: Edward's just title to the throne was asserted and his victory in battle pronounced as the surest indication of God's will.[1022] This was about promoting the king, persuading potential supporters and, in the *Arrivall,* celebrating his success. In presenting a monarch who was in control, and detailing that opposition had been destroyed, the *Arrivall* also looked towards the stability the nation craved.

A key difference between the Lancastrian narrative of Warwick's alliance with Henry VI at Angers and Yorkist texts such as the *Chronicle of the Rebellion* and *Arrivall* was in the approach to dealing with the enemy. The *Maner and Gwidynge* makes only slight

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[1017]   For example a letter of Edward IV to Sir Thomas Stonor, 3 April 1470 noting that Clarence and Warwick had fled westwards and the king would pursue them, Carpenter, *Stonor*, pp. 203-204.

[1018]   *Warkworth*, p. 38.

[1019]   *Arrivall,* pp. 166, 176.

[1020]   Letter Margaret of York, 1471, *Compte Rendu,* vol 7 p. 50.

[1021]   College of Arms, MS M 3, f. i(v).

[1022]   Proclamation of 27 April 1471, *CCR* 1468-76, pp. 188-89.

reference to Edward IV and does not engage in a denigration of his reputation.[1023] The manifesto proclaimed by Warwick and Clarence from France in 1470 as they prepared to return to England contrasted sharply with this. The letter, addressed to the commons of England, included a sustained complaint about their treatment by the king, their claim to act for the common weal and most pointedly a stinging attack on the seditious people around the king who acted for their own covetousness and not the royal majesty.[1024] On landing in England, the rhetoric had escalated and their next proclamation declared Edward a usurper, oppressor and destroyer of the former king and noble blood of England.[1025]   These texts however lacked the sophistication of Yorkist political communication, which had a greater consistency of tone between genres and a more subtle style in tarnishing the enemy through eroding their honour. This was seen, for instance, in the repetition of the commonplace of enemies fleeing the battlefield, reported in the course of the narrative and thus inviting the reader's judgement. Additionally, the use of reputation in this way was not unequivocal. Warwick's oath to Henry VI and actions against Edward were condemned in the *Arrivall*, but his virtue in not abandoning that oath was noted. The account was at pains to explain the king's relations with Warwick and account for the latter's intransigent refusal to reconcile with his former ally.[1026] While suspicion of Edward's offer of pardon was suggested as a reason for this, so was the earl's inability to go back on his oath to the Lancastrians. The vows, solemnly made, were of the earl's seeking and to break them would have invited great slander. The tiny hint of redemption here in Warwick's behaviour was admissible because the earl was already dead by the time the account was written and Edward secure on the throne.

In contrast to this potential for an enemy to be honourable, the *Arrivall* also deals with instances in which Yorkist leaders deliberately practised deceit. Given the importance of oaths, the only possible justification for double-dealing in violation of such a promise

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[1023] The reference to Edward stated the 'evil terms' with which he had treated Warwick, *John Vale's Book,* p. 216.

[1024] *ibid.*, pp. 218-19.

[1025] *ibid.,* pp. 220-22.

[1026] *Arrivall*, p. 158.

was service to a much greater cause.[1027] As Strohm has argued, the *Arrivall's* approach moved public political discussion into a new sphere in which cold political calculation was presented as valid, despite the potential dishonour of breaking one's word.[1028] The concept did indeed anticipate Machiavelli, though the Italian writer was less interested in moral justification for breaking an oath, than advising individuals not to feel bound by promises that ran counter to their selfish and personal interests.[1029]

On returning from exile Edward purposefully lied about his aims to ensure his safe passage south, claiming that he was only interested in reclaiming his duchy. Similarly Clarence, in his change of allegiance back to Edward, proved himself false to Warwick and broke his oath to Henry VI. In both cases duplicity was presented in the *Arrivall* as necessary and therefore appropriate. There was an acknowledgement in this of the pragmatism of politics, but also of the dynamic between message and audience. Edward IV's return, claiming his ducal rights, was exactly a mirror to Henry IV's path to the throne in 1399, even landing at Ravenspur in his footsteps. This connection was not downplayed in the *Arrivall* but highlighted.[1030] The account was clear about Edward's lack of support in the north of England, which had been Neville territory until the restoration of Henry Percy to the earldom of Northumberland in March 1470.[1031] Implied in the account is the idea that those who heard Edward's claim were aware of both the precedent and the political situation, the consequence being that they colluded in facilitating Edward's progress despite awareness of its real aim. Just as the chronicle praised Percy's inaction, in doing nothing to aid or impede Edward and thereby enabling his recovery of the throne, so the populace was reflected as complicit in this.[1032] The engagement between king and subjects, both understanding the situation clearly despite

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[1027] The limit was typically breaking an oath of allegiance, which against a king was treasonable, J.G. Bellamy, *The Law of Treason in England in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 54.

[1028] Strohm, *Politique*, pp. 34-35, 41-42.

[1029] *ibid*., pp. 34-35; Machiavelli, *The Prince* chapter 18: 'A wise prince cannot and should not fulfil his pledges when their observance is contrary to his interest'.

[1030] The *Arrivall* openly drew comparison between Henry IV's and Edward's landing at Ravenspur; this was also an opportunity for Yorkist vitriol against the first Lancastrian king as a false usurper, p. 148.

[1031] The earldom was returned to Percy on 25 March 1470 along with property held by his father, which had been given to John Neville following attainder in 1461. Neville was elevated to the title of marquis in recompense and given lands in the south west, though this apparently did not satisfy him since he rebelled with his brother in 1471; *CPR* 1467-77, p. 206; Pollard, *North-Eastern England,* pp. 306-307, 310-15.

[1032] *Arrivall,* pp. 152-53.

the public proclamation, is plainly evident. This was less a glorification of perjury, as Strohm argues, or a Yorkist righting of the 'wrong' of Henry IV's path to the throne by following in his footsteps.[1033] Rather it was an assertion of understanding between king and subjects, one which alongside political pragmatism justified the king's actions without damaging his honour.

The claim for duchy, not kingdom, was described as necessary to ensure Edward IV's safety and progression through the country and the *Arrivall* did not baulk from detailing the deception Edward undertook in professing this as his intention.[1034] People were said to have supported his right to the duchy of York, because of their esteem for his father, though they were prepared to resist Edward if he challenged for the crown. The decision with his council was thus to 'noyse, and say openly where so evar they came, that his entent and purpos was only to claime to be Duke of Yorke'.[1035] Yet, the *Arrivall* argued, York had also been the rightful heir to the crown of England, a fact which the people were not reminded of and Edward's true purpose was thus kept within his fellowship. *Warkworth* corroborates the basic narrative here, but heightened the spectacle with which Edward performed his falsehood. He was said to have appeared in York crying support for Henry and prince Edward wearing an ostrich feather, the prince's livery.[1036] This show of dishonest loyalty was a contrast to the open deception detailed in the *Arrivall* and emphasises the way in which both texts, by opposite means, attempted to reconcile the action here. The Yorkist text preserved Edward's integrity by admitting the duplicity while reinforcing the legitimacy of his claim to rule and asserting the population's tacit understanding of his aims. The less favourable chronicle demonstrated that the king was a man whose word could not be trusted.[1037] The duplicity was explicit

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[1033] Strohm, *Politique*, pp. 24-25.

[1034] *Arrivall*, pp. 149-50. This feature of his return to England was not noted in the short version of the *Arrivall*, sent to friends on the continent immediately after Edward's defeat of Warwick and the Lancastrians, but an evolution of the story.

[1035] *ibid.*, p. 150.

[1036] *Warkworth,* p. 36. Potentially there is more to this episode, in that the ostrich feather may have been a statement of Edward's own position, open artifice rather than deception, as it was not only a Lancastrian badge but one of York: Warkworth states he wore 'ane estryche feder', as in the York badge, whereas the prince had 'esteryge ys fetherys', *Gregory,* p. 212; M.P. Siddons, *Heraldic Badges in England and Wales* (3 vols, Woodbridge, 2009), vol 2 part 1 pp. 8, 184-86.

[1037] Warkworth stated that Edward broke his word but did not directly say that he forswore an oath; only the *Great Chronicle* mentioned an oath made by Edward IV to Montagu that he was merely claiming his duchy, pp. 213-15.

and required justification to maintain public clarity of conscience, essentially defending the reputation of the monarch.

Similar themes emerge in discussion of Clarence's second defection. His return to his brother's side despite rebellion and promises of allegiance to Henry VI aroused contempt from those with Lancastrian sympathies.[1038] *Warkworth* believed the duke's forsaken promises to Margaret and her son caused his destruction as well as theirs, with a hint that this perjury warranted his end.[1039] The *Arrivall* offered some mitigation for Clarence's actions, highlighting that those with the queen and her son broke their appointments with the duke, thus going against their own words, indicating an attitude towards him which could only have led to his annihilation.[1040] The interest of the Yorkists was clearly to present this reconciliation in the best light and both the *Arrivall* and more general report, exemplified by Margaret of York's letters, demonstrate this.

The *Arrivall* is the only source to offer a dramatic account of the meeting of the brothers and their hosts, with banners raised.[1041] The *Arrivall* was contemporary to events and the inclusion of a description of this meeting demonstrates the importance of creating a convincing picture of unity.[1042] Thus, not only was there 'right kynde and lovynge langwage… with parfite accord knyt togethars for evar her aftar' between Edward and Clarence, but key figures including Gloucester, Hastings and Anthony Woodville were listed as being beside the king and party to this reconciliation.[1043] The letter of Margaret of York to her mother-in-law Isabelle of Portugal also described how the brothers

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[1038] Although the 'Maner and Gwidynge' specifically does not include Clarence in the oath-making, the duke certainly came to an agreement with the Lancastrians, *John Vale's Book* p. 217; Hicks, *Clarence,* p. 81. Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, p. 184 recounts that Clarence made an oath to Louis XI in France.

[1039] *Warkworth*, p. 37, which completes the comment on Clarence's desertion of the Lancastrians with '*Vide finem'*: 'see the end'.

[1040] *Arrivall*, pp. 156-57.

[1041] *Crowland* stated that the brothers were 'quietly reconciled', p. 125; *Warkworth* that they met with 7,000 men and made their accord, pp. 36-37; Kingsford, *Chronicles of London,* p. 184 and Blanchard, *Commynes*, vol 1 p. 202, stated that Clarence only joined Edward at the battle of Barnet.

[1042] Gransden, *Historical Writing ii,* p. 263.

[1043] *Arrivall*, p. 157. Additionally, it was the urgent negotiating of the wider family and close friends which was said to have brought the event about, including the brothers' mother, Cecily Neville, their sisters the duchesses of Exeter, Suffolk and Burgundy, the archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Bourchier and his brother Henry earl of Essex, husband of Edward's aunt Isobel, and Robert Stillington, bishop of Bath and Wells, *ibid.,* p. 156.

approached each other, both backed by a great force, and met with a small company around them to make their accord.[1044] Margaret was even more poetic in describing Clarence as dropping to his knees before the king and Edward responding to his brother's humility by raising him up and kissing him many times while those around cried '*Vive le roy Édouart!*'.[1045] This was a physical demonstration of submission which echoed the visual presentation of oath-making, genuflection as obedience as well as surrender. Waurin's chronicle consolidated the message by following the *Arrivall* in detailing the event.[1046]

The contrast between general report and Yorkist writing surfaces clearly regarding this reconciliation, emphasising the determined effort made by the regime to present an image of family stability and depth of support. The official account was deliberately factual, particularly in its earlier forms circulated on the continent, embracing drama but resolutely plausible in its description of events.[1047] This example serves as a reminder of how works such as the *Arrivall* should be understood, not so much as a direct version of what happened, but as an indication of what was relevant and urgent to impress upon different audiences.[1048] The author was as concerned to redeem Clarence's honour, despite the broken oath, as he had been to couch Edward's actions in favourable terms. Thus the brothers were reunited thanks to the efforts of many prominent Yorkists, especially the women of the family, highlighting that his loyalty to his kin was natural.[1049] Similarly it was Clarence who was shown as trying to reconcile Warwick with the king to avoid bloodshed and bring peace to the realm, a potentially positive consequence of his betrayal of the earl.[1050]

[1044] Letter of April 1471, sent shortly after the battle of Barnet, *Compte Rendu,* vol 7 pp. 47-48.

[1045] *ibid.,* p. 48.

[1046] *Waurin,* vol 5 pp. 651-53.

[1047] Visser Fuchs, 'Short Version of the *Arrivall*', pp. 210-20. On drama in the *Arrivall*, especially the inclusion of the miracle of St Anne in the text as framing the work in liturgical and performative context, see W. Scase, 'Writing and the 'Poetics of Spectacle': Political Epiphanies in *The Arrivall of Edward IV* and Some Contemporary Lancastrian and Yorkist Texts' in J. Dimmick, J. Simpson and N. Zeeman (eds.), *Images, Idolatry and Iconoclasm in Late Medieval England: Textuality and Visual Image* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 172-84.

[1048] On the *Arrivall* as a text, see Visser-Fuchs, 'Short Version of the *Arrivall*', pp. 177-83; J.A.F. Thompson, '"The Arrivall of Edward IV" - the Development of the Text', *Speculum,* 46 (1971), pp. 84-93; Strohm, *Politique,* pp. 21-50, 250-51.

[1049] *Arrivall,* p. 156.

[1050] *ibid.,* pp. 157-58.

There was, then, in this most advanced of Yorkist communication, a complicated attitude towards honour which effectively put the king at the centre of determining what was appropriate. Where deceit was necessary for the good of the realm, through Edward's return to the throne, it was to be celebrated as politic.[1051] The language of betrayal was subdued in the *Arrivall* compared to the *Chronicle of the Rebellion* and proclamations of 1470 because its purpose was not to highlight the corruption and disloyalty of an enemy, but to elevate the king. The earlier texts had repeatedly articulated the dishonesty of Warwick and Clarence's behaviour, their false promises of fidelity, conspiracies and inciting rebellion to the hurt of the common good.[1052] The aim was both to justify the king's actions and persuade people of the magnitude of the rebels' betrayal as representative of their degeneracy. Once these enemies had been defeated or reconciled, the political currency of their betrayal evaporated.

Treachery was persistent as a theme, however, and surfaced again most spectacularly in 1478 with the trial of Clarence. The duke's treason included not only his defection in 1470, for which he had been forgiven, but his continued conspiracies after this.[1053] These included seeking to turn the king's subjects against him, taking oaths from people above their loyalty to the king, accusing the king of taking his livelihood from him and keeping a copy of the 1470 agreement promising him the crown if Henry VI's line failed.[1054] This provided both impetus to act against the duke and reason for his disgrace; it was also attestation of his ignobility, having breached his own fealty to Edward. The king's accusation against his brother is recorded in a copy of the act of attainder, which reads as a presentation of Edward's case to parliament.[1055] This centres

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[1051] Strohm, *Politique,* pp. 42-43.

[1052] *Chronicle of the Rebellion*, pp. 109-10, 117.

[1053] Strachey, *Rotuli Parliamentorum,* vol 6 p. 193.

[1054] *Warkworth* notes the agreement that Clarence would inherit the crown after Edward of Lancaster should their line end, p. 32. In the accusations against the duke, he was also said to have called the king a bastard, resorted to necromancy, and charged with having planned to send his son and heir abroad to win support, bringing a false child to Warwick castle in the toddler's place, and that he planned to raise war against the king within England and made men promise to be ready at an hour's notice, Strachey, *Rotuli Parliamentorum,* vol 6 pp. 193-95.

[1055] *ibid*. The attainder is not part of the parliament rolls, but possibly a draft of a bill to be put through parliament, it has the king's sign manual top and bottom, perhaps suggesting it was approved for use, not as a record, Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 243 n.1.

on threats to the king's person through rumour and planning rebellion and the loyalty due to him by Clarence as a subject and brother. That it was written in English suggests that the text was used not just within parliament, or as a record of proceedings but also intended for a wider audience.[1056]

The attainder was intensely personal in the language used. Clarence's treason, 'moche and more henyous, unnaturell and lothley' than all others, was presented as a betrayal of family, country and of his status given the possessions bestowed upon him by the king.[1057] Only the duke's lack of due submission and continued conspiracies were said to have broken this bond.[1058] The wording of Edward's accusation against Clarence specifically emphasised the king's desire to forgive his brother, but declared that his repeated treasons and failure to offer due submission would not allow it. The king's love of his brother was also highlighted in emphasising the great benefits of land and goods he had received from the king, status he was not born to but was entrusted with, placing him second only to the monarch.[1059] This grace was expected to buy fidelity, a theme which would have echoed around parliament among those who had received favour and those who wanted it.[1060] Those appealed to by the attainder were also told that the duke's conspiracies threatened stability in England, particularly as he sought foreign assistance as well as internal, going as far as to plan to send his son abroad to gain support.[1061] Again, the threat of conflict was potent leverage in a country so recently riven by civil war, as well as a reminder of Edward's achievement of peace.[1062] The sustained attack on the duke's character was personal, but conformed to traditional ideas of duty and fidelity. The attainder against York in 1459, for example, had begun with a declaration of the favour in which the king had held the duke during his youth and the

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[1056] *Crowland* repeats similar accusations against Clarence, including the trial of Burdet and the duke's loss of livelihood, and this document may have been a source, pp. 143-47. For a discussion of *Crowland* as an eyewitness, and Westminster connections, see M. Hicks, 'Crowland's World: A Westminster View of the Yorkist Age', *History,* 90 (2005), pp. 172-90, especially pp. 176-77.

[1057] Strachey, *Rotuli Parliamentorum,* vol 6 p. 193.

[1058] *ibid.,* p. 194.

[1059] *ibid.,* p. 193.

[1060] *ibid.*

[1061] *ibid.,* pp. 193-94.

[1062] The truce with France had been extended on 21 July 1477 to last for the lifetime of either Louis or Edward, whichever died first, plus one year, Calmette and Périnelle, *Louis XI,* p. 224.

grants and offices bestowed upon him, as did that of 1478 against Clarence.[1063] In both instances this acted as a reminder of each duke's position and obligation to the monarch before their wrongdoings were listed, but the language was emotive: these dukes had been cherished and loved. This was demonstrative of the way in which virtues interlocked; a common language of trust and betrayal.

Throughout, the two themes of justice and forgiveness were emphasised, ideas which were reflected in the public nature of the trial.[1064] The tension between mercy and justice, in practice, was epitomised in this case. The attainder highlighted Edward's well-known capacity for forgiveness but also his obligation to deliver justice, a key virtue in the government of the kingdom and the maintenance of the common weal.[1065] These words formed the core of the accusations against Clarence; although witnesses were called during the parliamentary trial it was only the king who argued against the duke.[1066] Despite his denial of all charges, the strength of the arguments against him made by the king sealed his fate. In a final endeavour to save his life, Clarence offered personal combat to prove his case.[1067] From first misdeed to legal argument, the question of reputation was at the heart of establishing fidelity, identifying guilt and attempting redemption.

The trial of Clarence was deliberately and determinedly public throughout, in particular through the timing of parliament to coincide with the grand spectacle of the wedding of the prince's son, Richard.[1068] Similarly the king's capacity for forgiveness was emphasised in the festivities, for example in the public rehabilitation of Thomas de

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[1063] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1459', item 7; Strachey, *Rotuli Parliamentorum,* vol 6 pp. 193-94.

[1064] Treasonable activities were not rigid but could be malleable, especially for the nobility, see for example the interest in England regarding the trial of the duke of Alençon in France in 1458, which involved debate on the impact of kinship with the king and previous service to the crown on the fate of a traitor, as well as the king's majesty and duty to do justice, S.H. Cuttler, *The Law of Treason and Treason Trials in Later Medieval France* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 103-106; *idem.*, 'A Report to Sir John Fastolf on the trial of Jean, duke of Alençon', *English Historical Review,* 96 (1981), pp. 808-17.

[1065] Strachey, *Rotuli Parliamentorum,* vol 6 pp. 193-94.

[1066] *Crowland*, pp. 145-47; Bellamy notes that the king making charges against the accused personally was a new feature, *Law of Treason,* pp. 170-71.

[1067] *Crowland*, p. 147.

[1068] See above, pp. 166-68.

Vere.[1069] The imperative was that it was seen as proper, open and fair justice, not least because it was founded on accusations of the duke's improper challenge to the king's justice. The attainder was at pains to assert that the king had no other choice, that he had taken the advice of counsel and that conviction was in the hands of parliament. This not only reiterated traditional themes expected of a monarch's behaviour and duty, it made the destruction of the realm's greatest noble a collective enterprise, in appearance if not in reality. This served to reduce the implied threat to all nobles of the king's power, while demonstrating that justice was under his authority. Edward's control of parliament was clear, its composition was tailored to ensure support and secure endorsement of the destruction of the royal brother, despite his rank.[1070] Bishop Rotherham's speech as chancellor at the opening of parliament on 16 January prophetically emphasised the faithfulness owed to the king by his subjects and the penalties for disobedience, quoting St Paul: 'The king does not carry the sword without cause'.[1071] This choice of sermon highlights the understanding amongst parliamentarians about the task expected of them during the session and emphasises the king's dominance of the assembly. From the beginning of the Yorkist period the desire for the king to have mastery of parliament is clear, for example in the introduction of payments to speakers.[1072] Speakers functioned as communication between king and commons and held a prominent position in leading debate in the commons. A supportive speaker was valuable in ensuring accord between the houses and the carrying of the king's will.[1073]

The public nature of the trial and airing of Clarence's crimes contrasted with his execution at the Tower of London on 18 February. While justice had to be seen to be done by the king, the execution of a relative was not for public consumption.[1074] The

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[1069] See above, pp. 138-39.

[1070] Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 343-44; Hicks, *Clarence,* pp. 147-58.

[1071] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1478', items 1-2.

[1072] On payments to speakers, see above, n. 224. On the payment of MPs, and how a decline in the amounts paid to representatives opened a window of opportunity for nobles to place their own men in the commons, see H. Kleineke, 'The Payment of Members of Parliament in the Fifteenth Century', *Parliamentary History,* 26 (2007), pp. 297-98.

[1073] At Richard III's parliament of 1484, for example, his prominent esquire of the body William Catesby, famous for Colyngbourne's rhyme (see above, p. 200) was elected as speaker, despite never having sat in parliament before, Ross, *Richard III,* p. 185. The parliament rolls note that the king was '*bene contentavit*' with the choice, Horrox, 'Parliament of 1484', item [3].

[1074] See above, p. 83.

secrecy surrounding his execution excited rumour, specifically that he had been drowned in malmsey wine. Scholarly discussion has focused on the possible truth of this being the manner of death, for which no evidence has proved definitive, however the presence of rumour, instead of witnesses, is significant.[1075] As supposition, the malmsey story was not original, but at the very least followed one rumour regarding the death in 1447 of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester.[1076] The style of murder, in its extravagance, pointed to nobility as well as serving to emphasise the covertness; it was also a good story.[1077] This was a public exercise of justice but a private death, kept behind the walls of the Tower. The duke's funeral at Tewkesbury Abbey was similarly discreet, if not private, or familial.[1078] Edward disposed of his brother through the laws of treason as a judicial solution, but in doing so he did not want to tarnish the Yorkist dynasty. The dominance and majesty of the king was continually asserted and Clarence's fall was staged as far as possible to enhance, through appropriate use of justice and strategic use of secrecy, rather than damage that depiction. Thus Clarence's children were not entirely damned by their father's fate, but well provided for.[1079] His son, Edward, held the title of earl of Warwick soon after the execution, certainly by the following year, and as a minor was in the king's care.[1080]

The attainder of Clarence presented an inversion of the theme of loyalty to kin expressed in the *Arrivall* on his reconciliation with Edward. Giving Clarence a private execution and decent burial, rather than following his judgement with a traitor's death,

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[1075] Hicks, *Clarence,* pp. 200-204; Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 243.

[1076] K. de Lettenhove (ed.), *Oeuvres de Georges Chastellain* (8 vols, 1863-66), vol 7 p. 192; *Great Chronicle,* p. 179. Drowning in malmsey was similarly one suggestion for the deaths of Edward IV's sons in the Tower in 1483, *ibid.,* pp. 236-37.

[1077] Malmsey was a better class of sweet wine than its sibling, rumney, for instance, J. Harris, 'More Malmsey, Your Grace? The Export of Greek Wine to England in the Later Middle Ages', in L. Brubaker and K. Linardou (eds.), *Eat, Drink and be Merry (Luke 12:19) - Food and Wine in Byzantium: Papers of the 37th Annual Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, in Honour of Professor A.A.M. Bryer* (Aldershot, 2007), p. 250.

[1078] Sheppard, *Christ Church Letters* pp. 36-37; Hicks, *Clarence,* pp. 128, 142.

[1079] Edward provided for the care of both Clarence's daughter, Margaret, and son Edward, whose wardship was valuable, being sold to the marquis of Dorset in 1480 for £2,000, *CPR* 1476-85, p. 212. Scofield, for example, notes an order to the exchequer of 11 January 1482 in which the king paid for clothing for Margaret, 'our dear and well beloved niece, daughter unto our brother, late Duke of Clarence', *Edward,* vol 2 p. 211, n.3.

[1080] He was referred to as earl of Warwick, his title through his mother Isabel Neville, in a grant of 27 August 1479, *CPR* 1476-85, p. 159.

was a nod to his status as a royal brother and a measure of the threat he truly posed to Edward: the duke's destruction was about controlling his actions, not damning his memory. His rehabilitation in familial terms was subtle but evident in his inclusion in prayers for the souls of members of the royal family.[1081] This may have aimed at assuaging guilt, an instance of fraternal affection, but it was also about preserving the image of the royal family.[1082] The duke's restoration within familial memory almost immediately following his death cauterised the wound of his treachery and execution, tying together the king's duty to enact justice and his capacity for forgiveness, albeit in a muted rather than widely publicised way.

Far greater demonstrations of loyalty occurred at the making of oaths to the royal heirs. They were particularly important as public events because they focused on the future of the dynasty and indicated regime security, so intensely contested across this period. These events were not a mere exercise of tradition, or a vain effort to publicly insist on dynastic loyalty, but were perceived as a genuine facet of securing stability. The ceremony itself was something of a political christening, especially for Edward IV's son, who had been born in sanctuary while his father was ousted from the throne and in exile.[1083] The oath took place on 3 July 1471, a week after his investiture as prince of Wales, and both occasions marked the first ceremonial celebration of the birth and position of the heir to the throne.[1084] The event gathered the clerical and secular elite in publicly swearing their recognition of Edward as undoubted heir, a promise which was confirmed and strengthened by the written record of all those who took it. The oath to Henry VI's son demanded of peers in 1459 had similarly capitalised on the importance of documentation; the list of those participating was noted on the parliamentary record and also included a wide range of clerical and noble leaders.[1085] This instance was different as it included the king and queen in the oath, reflecting its occurrence as part

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[1081] On 21 February 1478 Gloucester was given license to found a college at Barnard Castle to include one clerk to celebrate divine service for the good estate of the king, queen, Gloucester and his wife, and for the souls of the king's father Richard, duke of York and the king's brothers and sisters, for instance, *ibid.,* p. 67.

[1082] Hicks, *Clarence,* p. 142.

[1083] *Great Chronicle,* p. 213.

[1084] *CCR* 1468-76, pp. 229-30.

[1085] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1459', item 26.

of a fraught parliament acting to condemn the Yorkist leaders. Regime insecurity and the endeavour to gather support around the royal family was always the motivation behind this act, however. The expectation of loyalty engendered by the giving of oaths was consistent and a powerful tool in publicly bonding people to the monarchy.

The upheaval of rebellion and exile in 1469-71 was a watershed in Edward IV's reign. The public promotion of his actions in political literature peaked during these years, offering an extraordinary insight into the ideas about Yorkist monarchy and the use of communication. Key themes were heightened as part of the war of words, in particular those of justice and mercy, loyalty and betrayal. These were themes which consistently formed part of the rhetoric of monarchy, but tended to surface as written communication in response to specific crises, as the trial of Clarence showed. This betrayal contrasted with earlier attempts to restore loyalty. The oath to Edward's son soon after he regained power was a demonstration of position and a demand for allegiance, as the king tried to repair a fractured nation enervated by civil war for the second time in a decade. The destruction wrought in the recovery of his throne could only be assuaged by the search for domestic stability and peace. The latter had always been a theme of Yorkist monarchy, but became of increasing consequence in the later years of Edward's reign.

The very foundation of Edward IV's rule had been justified by asserting that the Lancastrians had broken the peace agreed in the October 1460 parliament.[1086] This was not simply a way of vindicating his actions, but a direct explanation of the agency handed to the Yorkists by this breach of trust. In the promotion of Edward's monarchy this idea of peace was a consistent theme, noted for example the epitaph for the king's father, written probably fifteen years after Edward's accession, which drew on the same thread in claiming he was killed at Wakefield while treating for peace.[1087] Edward's personal motto from early in his reign was *comfort et liesse*, an indication of the priority

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[1086]   Richard Beauchamp, bishop of Salisbury, gave the official reason for Edward taking the crown in a letter of 7 April 1461 to the papal legate, stating that it was a reaction to the Lancastrians breaking the 'treaty, peace and composition of the last Parliament', *CSPM*, pp. 63-65.

[1087]   College of Arms, MS M 3, f. i(v).

he gave to the expression of peace and tranquility in his outward display.[1088] The phrase was used as one of his visual motifs, appearing for instance within the Yorkist fetterlock on a decorated genealogy and inscribed on a crown embellishing an initial 'E' on letters patent and town charters.[1089]

Figure 5: Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 201. The motif appears all along the roll as decorative embellishment

Thus not only was peace a traditional Yorkist theme, it was emphasised as such through Edward's early identification with the idea and in the glorification of his father as a peacemaker. Throughout York's epitaph his actions were lauded as striving for, and succeeding at bringing, peace, for example in ruling Ireland peaceably and in highlighting his role as protector of England.[1090] The idea of the king as defender of his people is prominent in Yorkist texts and connects with the protection of the common weal. Edward, for instance, was repeatedly described in parliament as offering his body against any peril for the defence of the realm and his efforts to safeguard the citizens of

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[1088] The motto appeared on charters as early as August 1461, for example that of 2 August to Canterbury in which the words were inscribed around the rim of a crown above the initial letter 'E', E. Danbury, 'The Decoration and Illumination of Royal Charters in England, 1250-1509: An Introduction' in M. Jones and M. Vale (eds.), *England and Her Neighbours 1066-1453. Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais* (London, 1989), p. 175; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Chevalerie', pp. 117-18; *idem., Richard III's Books,* p. 139.

[1089] Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 201, genealogy of Edward IV, letters patent to Hull of 1 July 1462, noted in Danbury, 'Royal Charters', p. 175 and Edward IV's Doncaster charter, 30 October 1467, image given in G.H. Martin, E.A. Danbury, P.J.P. Goldberg, B.J. Barber and M.W. Beresford, *Doncaster: A Borough and its Charters* (Doncaster, 1994), p. 45.

[1090] College of Arms, MS M 3, f. i(v).

Coventry and London in 1471 were highlighted in the *Arrivall*.[1091] Similarly in verse he was eulogised as always ready to take to the field and fight in defence of his subjects.[1092] Reconciliation between the king and Warwick was also said to have been urged for the sake of peace in the realm.[1093]

Peace was a theme which was highlighted even in military campaigns, such as Edward's of 1475 in France, presented from the outset as having peace as its goal. In part this was a reaction to the need for the monarch to be seen as bringing an end to civil conflict, but it was also traditional theme in the rhetoric of continental warfare.[1094] The parliamentary speech reported within the Canterbury letters is a lengthy manifesto for the war with France, centred on the necessary of national defence and the need to counter the malice plotted by the king of France.[1095] This was rhetoric used to negotiate the approval of taxes for war, with the king asserting that he should not wait to defend his realm and leave it in jeopardy but 'manly prevent his adversaries'.[1096] The idea of Edward as physically defending his people, as a martial leader, mirrored his own speeches to earlier parliaments. In writing to the citizens of Coventry to raise support, the emphasis shifted to highlight prosperity and justice in England above all, with the addition of free mercantile intercourse promoted as a benefit.[1097] The notion of healing internal divisions through external war, uniting the country behind Edward against a common enemy, was also used to persuade citizens to financially support the campaign.[1098] The

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[1091]   Horrox, 'Parliament of 1461', item 38; *idem.,* 'Parliament of 1467', item 7. Edward was said not to have taken the battle with Warwick into the city of Coventry in April 1471 for the avoidance of great slaughter, and similarly he left London on hearing of Warwick's approach for fear he might enter the city, likewise moving outside the town of Barnet for the battle, *Arrivall,* pp. 158-59, 164. The shorter version of the *Arrivall* is even clearer, stating that Edward did not know how to make Warwick come out of Coventry or how to attack it without harming some of the 20,000 citizens living there, his subjects, Visser-Fuchs, 'Short Version of the *Arrivall*', p. 213.

[1092]   'Lament on the death of Edward IV, 1483', Robbins, *Historical Poems,* p. 112.

[1093]   *Arrivall*, p. 12.

[1094]   Henry V, for example, founded Syon Abbey, 'a vision of peace', in 1414 as he was preparing to defend his rights in France through warfare in 1415, Allmand, *Henry V*, p. 275; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Chevalerie', p. 117.

[1095]   Sheppard, *Literae Cantuariensis*, pp. 274-85. Watts, 'Bishop Russell's Sermons', p. 53 n.11, suggests this may not be a parliamentary speech but a declaration in writing which was disseminated.

[1096]   Sheppard, *Literae Cantuariensis*, p. 279.

[1097]   Letter of 21 December 1474, *Leet Book,* vol 1 p. 409.

[1098]   *ibid.,* pp. 409-11. On external war as healing internal divisions in 1475, Keen, 'Chivalry and Kingship', p. 265.

reference is slight, but significant, and this use of the long period of instability in persuading people to fund the expedition functioned to both emphasise the domestic exhaustion for civil war and prick the conscience of those in Coventry who had opposed the king, perhaps thereby hoping to encourage a flow of cash.[1099]

The Yorkists did not just rehearse the idea of striving for peace in texts such as the letter Edward wrote to Nottingham tax collectors on his return from campaign, emphasising the benefits of peace.[1100] The idea was also rehearsed visually, as part of the iconography of monarchy. A misericord carved on the sovereign's stall at St George's Chapel, Windsor, depicted the meeting of Edward and Louis XI of France on the bridge at Picquigny, where the agreement concluding the campaign was made.[1101] This was an overt demonstration of pride in the event and a visual expression of the glorification of peace. Edward had asked for public money to go to France in order to subdue the French king and the treaty allowed the English king to present the outcome as Louis begging for peace, and indeed paying for it. This approach may have been influential: *Crowland* for example noted the honourable peace with which the French campaign ended, and at Edward's death the king's pursuit of his claims in France was celebrated as having been achieved without a blow being struck.[1102] The Yorkists succeeded in presenting the pursuit of peace as an honourable and worthy goal.

[1099]   Coventry had supported Warwick during 1471, he held out in the city while Edward's forces approached and citizens had lent him money and fought at Barnet alongside the earl, *Arrivall*, p. 158-59; *Leet Book*, vol 1 pp. 364-66.

[1100]   In his letter to the collectors in Nottingham, Edward attributed the 1475 treaty with the French to God's will, Louis XI as labouring to attain the king's agreement, and highlighted the benefit gained of free mercantile intercourse, W.H. Stevenson, *Records of the Borough of Nottingham,* (9 vols, London, 1882-1956), vol 2 p. 389.

[1101] Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, 'Chevalerie', p. 128; Hughes, *Arthurian Myths* p. 269.

[1102] *Crowland*, p. 137; Robbins, *Historical Poems,* p. 111.

5.5   Usurpation and Reputation

The peace championed by the Yorkists was threatened at the end of Edward's reign with renewed conflict in Scotland in 1482 and growing hostilities against France. It shattered after his death. Richard III's usurpation was not achieved through bloody battle but his reign was blighted by instability: Buckingham's rebellion, seditious rumour about the king, the persistent threat posed by Henry Tudor and finally Bosworth. Indeed these two years witnessed a rapid replaying of all the themes that had emerged in political communication during twenty-two years of Yorkist rule. This included usurpation and the problem of former oaths of allegiance, crisis and betrayal, the demand for loyalty to an heir and the determination to stamp out sedition. Ultimately, the Yorkist use of specific language in their communications to tarnish the reputations of enemies came full circle with Richard III. The sophisticated employment of noble virtues in narrative form to engender judgements on character, borrowed by his critics, shaped an enduring legacy for this monarch.

Richard III followed his brother's pattern of usurpation, accepting a petition from his supporters to take the throne, making oaths and taking those of citizens and clergy before sitting on the king's marble bench at Westminster on 26 June 1483.[1103] As with Edward IV, oath-making was at the heart of the ceremony of inauguration not only because the crowning and anointing were absent, but because this was a reign that was carefully founded upon embracing all means of securing and demonstrating public support for the royal succession. For Edward this also served to elevate the importance of the event over the coronation: it was more public in terms of requiring the involvement of citizens and occurring in open spaces, and was of greater political significance in being the point at which the change of regime occurred.[1104] Chroniclers, for instance, were more interested in the detail of this ceremony than of the coronation nearly four months later.[1105] In striking contrast with his brother's accession, however,

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[1103] *Crowland,* p. 159; *Mancini*, p. 89.

[1104] Edward's claim to the throne was first publicly asserted to a large crowd at St John's field, London, by George Neville on 1 March 1461 and was followed by processional ceremony on 4 March, Flenley, *Six Town Chronicles*, p. 161; *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 p. 777; Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, pp. 173-74.

[1105] *Gregory,* pp. 215, 218; *Annales*, vol 2 part 2 pp. 777-78; Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, pp. 173-76; Flenley, *Six Town Chronicles*, pp. 161-62; *Hearne*, pp. 7-8, 10.

Richard's oath-making and taking were less overtly public; this occurred at Baynard's Castle rather than Westminster, and citizens in the guildhall reportedly responded with little enthusiasm to the call for assent to his rule.[1106]

The divergence here highlights the sense in which Edward IV came to power on a wave of popular support, in London at least, and Richard III despite the lack of it. Public endorsement through the involvement of a great number of people in both the spread of information and participation in oath-making strengthened the regime at its outset; twenty-two years later, disregarding the wider populace exemplified the uncompromising seizure of the throne. The difference here was not one of success, or even of style, but more importantly of perception. The impression of this contrast in the accession of these Yorkist kings comes from the reports in chronicles, mostly London-based and written in reaction to Richard's usurpation or some time after his death.[1107] These works offer a judgement in their descriptions of the degree to which each monarch was welcomed to the throne. The attitudes of commentators are revealed in their accounts of the oaths, and in doing so, they also highlight the importance of the oath as a measure of reputation. In this instance it acted as a way of showing popularity or otherwise, but it was a concept which was developed further in the chronicles.

Just as Edward IV had faced the difficulty of publicly freeing himself from his oath of allegiance to Henry VI in taking the throne, so Richard III needed to alleviate anxiety over oaths of allegiance made to Edward V. These included not only his own, but more significantly those of the boy king's subjects. The situation was a mirror of that agonised over by the lords in parliament in October 1460, but significantly this was not a discussion held in parliament and recorded on the rolls. Rather the king simply issued an order instructing people on the matter. The Calais garrison, for instance, were informed that since the oath had been made in ignorance of Richard III's true title to the throne, they were obliged as good Englishmen to abandon that oath and make a new one to the king.[1108]   Richard III, not parliament, took charge of directing peoples'

[1106] *Mancini*, p. 97; *Great Chronicle,* p. 232; Ellis*, Fabyan,* p. 669.

[1107] Gransden, *Historical Writing ii,* pp. 227-35; M. Hicks, 'The Second Anonymous Continuation of the Crowland Abbey Chronicle 1459-86 Revisited', *English Historical Review,* 122 (2007), pp. 353-54; *Mancini,* pp. 3-5, 23, 105.

[1108] Horrox and Hammond, *Harl 433*, vol 3 p. 29.

consciences. Similarly the oaths of loyalty to Edward of Middleham as Richard's heir were not recorded on the parliament rolls, which only notes the decree that Edward, as son to the king, was his lawful heir.[1109] The promise of loyalty to Edward of Middleham took place in February 1484, around five months after his investiture as prince of Wales, while parliament was sitting at Westminster.[1110] This ceremony of oath-taking was thus, as with Richard III's accession, unusual in being less prominent in governmental sources. Only *Crowland* mentions the event, describing it as occurring by Richard's special command and involving the majority of spiritual and temporal lords as well as key figures of the household. In making the oath these men swore allegiance to Edward as Richard's heir, likely to have been similar in wording to that for Edward IV's son.[1111] This ran alongside the parliamentary assertion of Richard's title to the throne and aimed to establish support for his dynastic succession. In requiring allegiance to the prince, the oath legitimised the elevation of Edward of Middleham into a title he was not born to hold, and made the public obliteration of Edward IV's heirs complete.

Richard III's usurpation brought loyalty once more to the forefront of regime security. The importance of securing fidelity was critical and the king's personal attachment to the idea was clear in his choice of *loyaulte me lie* as one of his mottoes. This phrase was only used by Richard from 1483, and appears most prominently with his signature alongside the signatures of Buckingham and Edward V, written in the weeks before he took the throne.[1112] The signatures can only have been written when the three were together, after Richard and Buckingham took charge of the king at Stony Stratford on 30 April.[1113] This use of the motto elevates the sense of duty bound with loyalty, ambiguous as to the loyalty due to his nephew or Richard's perceived responsibility to the realm. Certainly the show of support for Richard as ruler was deemed essential and cultivated by those around the monarch, as seen in the pressure placed on the citizens of York to demonstrate their endorsement of the king in August 1483. His visit to the city

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[1109] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1484', item 1[5], regarding the royal title.

[1110] *Crowland*, p. 171; Johnston and Rogerson, *REED York,* vol 1 pp. 132-33.

[1111] *Crowland* describes it as 'a certain new oath, drawn up by persons unknown to me', but the description is consistent with the earlier oath, p. 171; *CCR* 1468-76, p. 229.

[1112] BL, Cotton MS Vespasian F xiii, f. 123, image in Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books*, p. 272; *idem.,* 'Chevalerie', p. 122.

[1113] Ross, *Richard III,* p. 72.

was pronounced an opportunity to display the support Richard had in the north to the southerners in his entourage, and 13,000 boar badges were distributed to this effect.[1114]

In contrast with his efforts to amass support, Richard was also mired in trying to deal with the rumblings of opposition. This continued even after he had successfully put down Buckingham's rebellion in October 1483.[1115] Buckingham's condemnation was somewhat understated, with allusion to his actions as being against his office and allegiance appearing in the sermon opening parliament in January 1484. Chancellor Bishop Russell's speech criticised Buckingham's rebellion as ingratitude for the favour shown the duke, a theme which was repeated in the act of attainder at the parliament.[1116] The attainder does not dwell on Buckingham's treachery, dealing with the duke alongside others and merely noting his malice and covetousness.[1117] By this time, of course, the duke was dead and further problems occupied the king. Rumour beset Richard's reign from the outset: in 1483 regarding the fate of Edward IV's sons who were imprisoned in the Tower; persistent talk on the potential of Henry Tudor to invade, and speculation about Richard's intention to marry his niece Elizabeth of York surfaced even before his queen had died in March 1485.[1118]

The tone of Richard III's proclamation against rumour in April 1485 was one of frustration as well as command. His letter to the citizens of York deplored the seditious people in London and around the country who daily would 'sowe sede of noise and disclaundre agaynest our persone' to turn his subjects' minds against him through posted bills, messages, abominable language and lies, and open speech and communication.[1119] Vitriol against such actions was accompanied by a warning that this was against the

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[1114] *York House Books,* vol 2 p. 713; Horrox and Hammond, *Harl 433,* vol 2 p. 49.

[1115] Buckingham was executed on 2 November 1483. On the rebellion, see Horrox, *Richard III*, pp. 147-77.

[1116] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1484', item [1]. Three drafts of Russell's sermon survive, alongside the short description in the parliament rolls, printed in S.B. Chrimes, *English Constitutional Ideas in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 167-91. Watts, 'Bishop Russell's Sermons', pp. 45-46 suggests that his final draft can be read as double edged, that the apparent criticism of Buckingham could apply to the king himself; Richard was forced to focus on Buckingham's ingratitude because other crimes could be levelled at him too.

[1117] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1484', item 3[7].

[1118] *Crowland,* pp. 163, 169, 171-77.

[1119] *York House Books*, vol 1 pp. 359-60, letter of 5 April 1485.

peace of the realm and would be severely punished. Innocent people, the letter said, were at risk of losing their lives and livelihoods if drawn into following such slander. London's civic leaders were called together before the royal household to hear Richard's mind on the matter and be pressed into action against anyone speaking negatively of the king and his lords, stirring trouble or engaging in unlawful gatherings. Seditious writing posted publicly was to be torn down without being read. Similar action was demanded in York and presumably other cities, with citizens answering to the king at their peril for failure to do so.[1120] This clear and determined attack on inflammatory communication highlights the menace it presented to the king, the degree to which it was widespread and the importance placed on attempting to crush it. There is also a sense here in which the monarch's own words were proclaimed as a pinnacle of authority, and it is significant that Richard was active in speaking out against the rumours himself. In London his commandments were described in the king's letter as having been spoken from his own mouth, corroborated by chronicle report that he personally denied any intention to marry Elizabeth of York before the mayor and citizens.[1121]

While Richard III's efforts to control inflammatory communication was forceful, it also had the tone of a beleaguered monarch for whom rumour was about to become reality. *Crowland*, for instance, reported the reign with an increasing frequency of reference to rumour, spying and intelligence, particularly about Henry Tudor's actions in the months before the battle of Bosworth.[1122] This was anachronistic, but highlights the reactionary nature of this monarch's attempts to control public discussion. Richard III has been described as the first English king to use propaganda to manipulate opinion by tarnishing enemies, a product of the desperate state of his political position.[1123] This was, however, not a radical departure but an extension of Edward IV's approach in using public promotion. Both focused on calling the reputation of an adversary into disrepute, but along different lines: Edward in chivalric terms for a noble audience, Richard in

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[1120] Ross, 'Rumour, Propaganda', p. 22; Scase, 'Clamour', p. 142.

[1121] *York House Books,* vol 1 p. 360; *Crowland,* pp. 175-77.

[1122] *ibid.*, pp. 173-77.

[1123] Ross, 'Rumour and Propaganda', pp. 25-26.

moralistic language that perhaps aimed wider.[1124] Edward's recurrent use of the cowardice of enemies, for example in fleeing the battlefield such as Warwick at Barnet, was no less an attempt to elevate his own stature and denigrate others than Richard's tirade against the immorality brought by the Woodvilles.[1125] Early in his reign, Richard's proclamation on the reform of morals was little more than a denunciation of his enemies supporting Buckingham, offering rewards for their arrest.[1126] Familiar themes of the king's responsibility for the common weal and the threat to stability posed by the rebels were rehearsed but couched in terms of vice and sin. Elizabeth Woodville's eldest son, Dorset, was attacked for his depraved behaviour in defiling and deflowering all manner of maids, widows and wives, for instance.[1127] This echoed a consistent use of morality in political communication by Richard III, the very basis of his usurpation was formulated on the infidelity of his brother, his pre-contract to Eleanor Butler making his children with Elizabeth Woodville illegitimate.[1128] The assertion of his title vilified Edward IV for his licentiousness.

The difference between the two Yorkist kings in their use of defamation was one of subtlety and to an extent this was dictated by the medium. Richard's proclamations and statements were made in parliament and official letters, like his brother, but not in official chronicles where the most sophisticated royal promotion occurred.[1129] The manifestos produced during the crisis of 1469-71 were less stark in their language by

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[1124] D. Santiuste, '"Puttyng Downe and Rebuking of Vices": Richard III and the *Proclamation for the Reform of Morals*" in A. Harper and C. Proctor (eds.), *Medieval Sexuality: A Casebook* (Abingdon, 2008), p. 142.

[1125] *Arrivall*, p. 166. In the assertion of his title to the throne, Richard argued that Edward's marriage to Elizabeth perverted the laws of God and propelled the country into immorality, Horrox, 'Parliament of 1484', item 1[5]; Ross 'Rumour and Propaganda', pp. 26-27. Even in this, the language was similar to the speech in Edward's parliament in 1461, Richard's statement that virtuous women feared being defiled and ravished in Edward's realm a counterpart to his brother's claim that Margaret of Anjou's army ravished and seduced nuns, maidens, widows and wives, Horrox, 'Parliament of 1461', item 7.

[1126] The proclamation on the reform of morals issued by Richard III on 23 October 1483 is printed in Rymer, *Foedera,* vol 12 pp. 204-205 and as an appendix in Santiuste, 'Reform of Morals', pp. 145-46.

[1127] Rymer, *Foedera,* vol 12 p. 204.

[1128] *Crowland,* p. 161; *Great Chronicle,* pp. 231-32; Horrox, 'Parliament of 1484', item 1[5]; R.H. Helmholtz, 'The Sons of Edward IV: A canonical assessment of the claim that they were illegitimate' in Hammond, *Loyalty, Lordship and Law,* pp. 91-103.

[1129] Both Richard III and Edward IV's first parliaments included blistering statements against their respective opposition, Horrox, 'Parliament of 1484', item 1[5]; *idem.,* 'Parliament of 1461', items 10, 12. Similarly Richard's proclamation against Henry Tudor, 7 December 1484, Horrox and Hammond, *Harl 433,* vol 3 pp. 124-25.

using narrative to engage and persuade people. Informing people through the display of bodies, such as Warwick and Montagu's after Barnet and Henry VI in May 1471, specifically aimed at pre-emptively dispelling rumour.[1130] This was a dramatic element of controlling seditious communication which does not seem to have been embraced by Richard III, rather he demonstrated a subdued approach to the display of extinguished opposition. There was, for instance, no exhibition of Buckingham's corpse after his execution in November 1483, despite the potential message to other rebels.[1131]

The exhibition of the corpses of fallen adversaries was a profound expression of royal power. This was the exceptional end of the demonstration of judicial authority through the display of the bodies of traitors.[1132] Again there were distinctions within this use of authority. While Edward IV presided over the public executions of rebels Sir Baldwin Fulford in Bristol in 1461 and Nicholas Faunt in Canterbury in 1471, Yorkist political communication was keen to highlight the generous treatment of traitors following the battle of Tewkesbury.[1133] The *Arrivall* stressed the king's mercy in not defiling the bodies of enemies by quartering or setting them up for display and the honourable burials given to those killed in battle. Even those who were executed were said to have felt the force of due legal process as well as clemency in not being dismembered.[1134] The same account went further in asserting the king's care for those wounded after the battle of Barnet.[1135] The rhetoric of mercy and justice was a staple of kingship and exploited here in a physical way; corpses provided startling imagery.

The battle to control information and influence the response of audiences in Richard III's reign thus saw a reiteration of many of the themes and ideas established under his brother. While royal communication does not seem to have employed narrative in

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[1130] *Arrivall*, p. 167.

[1131] Buckingham was beheaded without trial on 2 November at Salisbury, *Crowland*, p. 165; Ross, *Richard III*, p. 117.

[1132] D. Westerhof, *Death and the Noble Body in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 124-26.

[1133] *Short English Chronicle*, p. 77; *Warkworth*, p. 43. On the dismemberment of traitors' bodies as spectacle, including the importance of mercy, see K. Royer, 'The Body in Parts: Reading the Execution Ritual in Late Medieval England', *Historical Reflections,* 29 (2003), especially pp. 330-32, 336.

[1134] *Arrivall*, pp. 176-77.

[1135] *ibid.*, pp. 169-70.

persuading readers of the virtues of the monarch, the idea of honour as a critical measure of character was certainly used against Richard in the aftermath of his death. In particular, the breaking of oaths as demonstrative of iniquity in character was used to its fullest by *Crowland* in his criticism of Richard III, especially in describing the duke's actions following the death of Edward IV. Oaths of fealty to Edward V were said to have been made by Gloucester immediately after the announcement of his brother's death in April 1483, then in person before the new king as he took charge of him at Stony Stratford later that month, and when the party arrived in London soon after.[1136] The duke was also said to have written to the queen with vows of fealty to her son as king.[1137] Richard was described as having performed oaths in writing, with spoken words and through visual submission to the king whose throne he was about to take. On his meeting with Edward V on 30 April 1483, Richard was said to have enacted fealty on bended knee and with bared head before the king, despite having already taken captive the boy's tutor, Thomas Vaughan.[1138] In London, Gloucester and Buckingham not only led oaths to the new king but pressured clerical and secular lords, as well as civic leaders, to make the pledge with them. Most dramatically, Richard's reaction to the death of Edward IV had been to hold a solemn funeral ceremony at York Minster in which he was not only dressed in mourning but was full of tears for his brother. The service included the duke's swearing allegiance to his nephew and binding by oath the nobility present with him in the same fealty.[1139]

Crowland's presentation of Gloucester's profusion of promises made just weeks before he took the throne aimed to demonstrate the duke's actions and motivations; these pledges used as cover for his deceit. This was far from the reverence paid to Edward's political calculation in the *Arrivall* as he claimed to only have returned for his duchy. Rather these instances of oath-making were highlighted to expose Gloucester's insincerity: his promises in writing that he would submit to the new king, his taking the lead in swearing a public oath that he would soon act against, playing the grieving brother with his crocodile tears whilst plotting wretchedness. The account was written

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[1136] *Crowland,* pp. 155-57.

[1137] *ibid.,* p. 155.

[1138] *ibid.,* p. 157.

[1139] *ibid.,* p. 155.

in 1486 after Gloucester's usurpation, reign and death at the battle of Bosworth in August 1485, and thus was an attempt to explain events after they happened.[1140] The use of the oath indicates the importance placed on the honour of a person's word, however it was not simply a narrative device here, as there is evidence that such promises were made. For instance an oath to the queen and her daughters, guaranteeing their safety if they left sanctuary, was published in March 1484.[1141] Moreover Crowland was not the only commentator to note duplicity in the oaths Richard made in summer 1483. Mancini for example noted Gloucester's use of his mother's home, Baynard's Castle, for taking oaths of allegiance to him as king, thus being away from the Tower where Edward V was held.[1142] Where cold political judgement could be argued as necessary and demonstrative of Edward's wisdom in recovering his realm because the narrative was in royal hands, the assessment of Richard was damning. Edward, as victor, wrote his history; Richard's reputation was in the hands of his critics and enemies, and told a very different story.

[1140]   The second continuation of the chronicle was probably written in two stages, after the battle of Bosworth on 22 August 1485 and before 30 April 1486, Hicks, 'Crowland Revisited', pp. 353-54.

[1141]   The oath, of 1 March, promised that Richard would not imprison them but would promote good marriages for the girls, if they would be ruled by him, Horrox and Hammond, *Harl 433,* vol 3 p. 190.

[1142] *Mancini*, p. 97.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the ways in which Yorkist communication used traditional ideas, developed distinct textual themes and how those evolved from the legacy of political debate during the 1450s to the establishment of the regime in the 1460s, recovery from crisis in the 1470s and renewed conflict at the very end of the period. Throughout, particular themes emerged: Edward IV as a warrior monarch, highlighted by the polarisation of courage and cowardice; the balance of justice and mercy; dishonour displayed in falseness; the Yorkists as peacemakers and, above all, loyalty. Much of the debate on loyalty centred on the oath, a written and physical display of allegiance, which was a persistently critical aspect of political communication throughout the Yorkist period. The regime was founded on repeated broken vows of loyalty to Henry VI, yet rather than shattering the integrity of the oath as an act, the necessity of employing it in politically fraught periods intensified its use and sustained its effectiveness. No clearer indication of alliance was promoted than the public profession of allegiance, and its importance permeated the latticework of human interconnection. Diverse ways in which the monarch could bind men to his cause, such as grants of office, bestowal of honours and membership of knightly orders all had oaths at their ceremonial heart.[1143] The keeping of one's word of honour, offering enduring loyalty, publicly determined reputation. This idea was echoed in different contexts, for instance Richard III's motto of *loyaulte me lie* and Richard duke of York's epitaph, lauding his virtues of wisdom and courage as being complimented by his love of loyalty.[1144] Both of these examples aimed to define the bearer's character and influence their repute.

Offering promises of allegiance, demanding assurances of fidelity to an heir and berating treachery for its falseness highlighted the expectation of adherence to chivalric notions of behaviour. Edward's duplicitous actions in regaining his throne in 1471 were justified because he was rightfully monarch, arguments which had been similarly expounded by York in 1460 and by Richard III in 1483. This was conduct that the

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[1143] How these functioned to create relationships between monarch and subject is discussed above, chapter three.

[1144] College of Arms, MS M 3, f. i(v).

nobility at least were invested in, and was widely understood. There was a common language of loyalty and betrayal at the core of oath-making which surfaced recurrently. The idea of a traitor who had been given most cause to be true to the monarch, through the gifts, titles and intimacy given them, emerged repeatedly across the period. Henry VI berated Richard duke of York for this in 1459, mirrored in Edward's words against Clarence in 1478 and Richard III's anger at Buckingham's rebellion.[1145] The first two of these were parliamentary attainders against the dukes, the latter in Richard's own fevered handwriting, added to a letter to his chancellor of 12 October 1483 in which the king stated that he intended to 'resyste the malysse of hym that hadde best cawse to be trewe, th' Duc of Bokyngham'. The language of fidelity, for instance in the wording of oaths to princes as heirs, was similarly consistent. This formalised the oath and legitimised its influence on behaviour, creating defined parameters within which action was expected, or exceptionable. Oath-making, despite the fragility implied by simply holding people to their word, cultivated genuine ties binding people: to their monarch, his heir, to a brotherhood, to loyal service, to a cause. This was an ideal, of course, but one to which adherence was fundamental to the functioning of society. When it succeeded, peace was achievable; when it failed it defined factions and provided leverage for action against enemies.

Political communication was critical in establishing rule but also defined royal identity and Edward IV in particular embraced the idea of narrative as conveying this. The official chronicles of the period were a textual demonstration of the performance of monarchy which aimed at justifying rule, gaining support and money, and expressing sovereignty. In the display of majesty they offered, the written words synchronised with the visual demonstration of royalty in creating a distinct Yorkist monarchy, inspired by chivalric ideals and shaped by rivalry with the Lancastrian king.

[1145] Strachey, *Rotuli Parliamentorum,* vol 6 pp. 193-95; Horrox, 'Parliament of 1459', item 7; Ellis, *Original Letters,* pp. 159-60.

Chapter Six   **Bodies, Crowns and Badges: Visual Symbolism**

The performance of majesty promoted through political communication aimed to establish Yorkist monarchy as legitimate and robust, founded on the warrior leadership of Edward IV and harnessing chivalric ideals. The representation of Edward as a model prince evolved in response to the conflict with the Lancastrians, partly because of the regime's beginnings in civil war but specifically as a contrast to Henry VI, a king who reigned but did not rule and never physically defended his right to do either. Textual appeals to the public entwined with the visual representations of monarchy and this chapter focuses on the expression of Yorkist royal identity through images and symbolism. This involved the appropriation of royal symbols, especially the crown, but was nuanced by the careful and deliberate fusion of these with motifs of the house of York. Indeed, the use of the crown itself was hugely problematic during this period because it was claimed as a personal symbol by two kings; maintaining its emblematic potency through bitter conflict required political subtlety. Edward IV coveted equality with Henry VI, even aspiring to match the Lancastrian king's dual monarchy by planning for a French coronation of his own. Focusing on wider symbolism alongside the crown reveals the anxieties and ideology at the heart of the regime.

Rivalry with a living king was the most significant determinant in the expression of Edward IV's royal identity. The competition for royal status, for being seen as the rightful king, was fundamental to the creation of Yorkist monarchy, fought for on battlefields, amongst lawyers in October 1460, in scholarly treatises and official chronicles, and in visual imagery. The most powerful symbol of royalty was the king himself, and for the first half of Edward IV's reign this included not just Edward but Henry VI. The fact of the kings' two bodies in the 1460s epitomised the struggle between factions; it also highlights the problems with understanding kingship in the period through a theoretical approach centred on a dichotomy between office and man. By taking the crown in 1461 Edward IV broke all three preconditions Kantorowicz defined as essential to the medieval idea that the king never dies, that the office or body politic continued even when the king (his natural body) died.[1146] The Yorkist usurpation severed dynastic perpetuity, grasped the royal dignity vested in Henry VI and seized the

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[1146] Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, pp. 314-450.

crown, both political and symbolic, to be used for factional benefit.[1147] Yet this did not destroy kingship, but reinvigorated it.

This chapter examines the ways in which a distinct Yorkist royal identity was created through symbolism. The first section focuses on the importance of competition with the Lancastrian king in the evolution of this royal display, in particular the use of the body of Henry VI during the 1460s. The second section explores the crown as a dominant symbol of royalty and the complex attitudes towards its use during the period. The final part of the chapter analyses Yorkist visual identity, the dynastic and royal symbols that formed a critical aspect of regal display. These encompassed emblems and ceremonial objects, representing both power and the right to rule as well as the achievement of sovereignty. The fusion of Yorkist emblems with royal symbolism aimed to convey both the change in dynasty and the elevated status of these monarchs.

[1147]   Kantorowicz argued that the notion of 'the king never dies' depended on three factors: the immortality of the royal dignity (the sovereignty vested in the king by the people), the perpetuity of the dynasty and the corporate character of the crown (as symbolic of the body politic and sovereignty), *ibid.,* p. 316.

6.1 The Kings' Two Bodies: Edward IV and the Body of Henry VI

The dominant symbol of kingship during the first half of Edward IV's reign was Henry VI. Crowned almost forty years before Edward took the throne, Henry had been the figurehead of government for decades, an established monarch and one born to rule. Countering this shaped much of Yorkist royal display, making urgent the need to embody the role of king as well as assert the lineage, parliamentary accord and military victories that validated Edward's right to rule. Typically the lives of deposed monarchs were collateral damage in the path to power; Richard II was disposed of soon after Henry IV took the throne in 1399, for instance, and Edward V similarly disappeared in 1483 when Richard III usurped his throne.[1148] Henry's survival for ten years after being deposed was unprecedented and remarkable. Throughout the 1460s the Yorkists were competing with a rival king who could not be quietly dispatched. Initially this was because Henry VI remained at liberty and after his capture in 1465 he was kept alive to inhibit the potential for his son, Prince Edward, to claim authority or act as a more compelling Lancastrian figurehead.[1149] Thus it was Yorkist policy to maintain Henry VI, despite his royal status, because of his symbolic value.

During the reign of Henry VI, his personal exercise of royal power was often less important than the indirect access to this power that control of his body gave to others. This began with his minority council which functioned adequately but struggled to hand authority over to the king.[1150] Throughout the 1450s the rhetoric of acting in the king's interest enabled political manoeuvre, just as proximity to the monarch gave courtiers such as Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset genuine power.[1151] Similarly as protector in 1454 York operated in Henry's name and thus exercised royal authority.[1152] Henry VI

[1148] Burden, 'Funeral of Richard II', p. 39; Horrox, *Richard III*, p. 151.

[1149] He was captured on 13 July 1465 in Lancashire, Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 61. A contemporary chronicler noted on Henry's death that no-one was now left of his line to claim the crown, 'Yorkist Notes', Kingsford, *English Historical Literature,* p. 375.

[1150] On the difficulties of rule during Henry's minority, see J.L. Watts, 'When Did Henry VI's Minority End?', in D.J. Clayton, R.G. Davies and P. McNiven (eds.), *Trade, Devotion and Governance: Papers in Later Medieval History* (Stroud, 1994), pp. 116-39.

[1151] Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 283-306, similarly William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk in the 1440s, *ibid.,* pp. 158-71.

[1152] York held the role of Protector 27 March 1454-early 1455 and again November 1455-25 February 1456, Johnson, *Duke Richard,* pp. 134-35, 168-73.

was used as a pawn on an unprecedented level. His incapability of ruling with vigour shaped the need for others to direct government on his behalf throughout his reign. This served to emphasise the importance of the physical presence of the monarch as a statement of power, while such display increasingly disconnected from genuine political agency. This was seen for example in 1470 when the restoration of the Lancastrian king fooled no-one about who exercised power; Warwick all but placed the crown on Henry's head in October 1470 and continental observers noted the earl's authority throughout, while it was Warwick's ragged staff motif flying in support of the beleaguered king in 1471.[1153]

Edward IV, however, was dedicated to restoring the personal monarchy lacking under Henry VI. Visually, his platform for ruling presented an ideal image of a king; a leader of chivalric society with the reins of government and justice firmly in his hands. There was a deliberate effort by the Yorkists to present a stark contrast between Edward and the former monarch. His military prowess was celebrated in public communications and his virility was highlighted in the reissue of genealogies as his offspring grew.[1154] While in exile in Bruges in 1471, Edward paraded confidently around the city, where he was joined by crowds of citizens who marvelled at a ruler walking among them.[1155] As a tall man of around 6' 4" in height, Edward used his physical presence to attract attention to himself and draw people around him.[1156] This parade in Bruges was remarkable in being contrary to the practice of Burgundian dukes who favoured riding on horseback to mingling among the people. The occasion provided both a public expression of support for Edward and a recognition of his appreciation of that backing. This may not have been an organised display, or even a monarchical one, but it was a useful boost of popularity deliberately cultivated on the eve of Edward's return to England.

[1153] *Waurin* articulates the view of Warwick's supremacy most clearly, vol 5 p. 612; chroniclers also detail the earl's centrality to the events of the Readeption, for example *Warkworth*, p. 33; *Great Chronicle*, p. 212; 'Brief Latin Chronicle' in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles,* p. 183. *CSPM,* pp. 151-52; Kleineke, 'von Wesel's Newsletter', p. 78.

[1154] Allan, 'Yorkist Propaganda', p. 174.

[1155] On 19 and 20 February 1471, for example, Edward made his way seven kilometres north-east of Bruges to Damme with crowds of citizens, A. Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges c. 1300-1520* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 232.

[1156] When his coffin was discovered and opened in the eighteenth century his height was measured at 6' 3½", *Royal Funerals,* p. 115.

Physically, Henry VI suffered greatly in contrast with Edward, being almost twenty years older and weakened by ill health and extended imprisonment. Henry's failure to function as a ruler had been managed for decades and did not therefore inevitably mean the crumbling of the body politic beneath a hollow leadership. Rather the fight over how that void should be occupied descended into increasingly sharp and bitter factionalism that ultimately created the opportunity for Yorkist usurpation.[1157] The presence of two rivals claiming to be the head of the body politic may have raised complex legal and constitutional questions, but for the Yorkist and Lancastrian leaders, this was first and foremost a simple contest for power.[1158] In taking the throne and incarcerating Henry VI Edward IV terminated both the idea of ruling in Henry's name and the ability of others to do so. However he still used the body of the former king as a political tool, particularly in demonstrating his command and in highlighting the contrast between them as rulers.

Edward manifestly reunited the physical display of majesty with the exercise of kingly power. His custodianship of Henry VI was necessary to quash the ability of enemies to operate under the auspices of a rival kingship. Yet even in this there was a dynamic which highlighted Edward's competency while diminishing Henry's: not only did Edward demonstrably have power over the former king, the latter was also described as being his ward as well as his prisoner. Following his capture in June 1465 Henry was brought through London to the Tower where he was said to have been honourably kept in care.[1159] In April 1471 on his return to London Edward IV took charge of Henry and the archbishop of York, George Neville, 'and put theme in warde'.[1160] There was hint here of the guardianship of Henry VI as well as control; this clearly referenced Edward's imprisonment of the two men but the description as wardship reveals an understanding of Henry's inability to perform his expected duties.[1161] Indeed Edward's care for the

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[1157] On the disintegration of Henry's regime during the 1450s, see Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 298-362.

[1158] Kantorowicz highlighted the '*De facto Act*' of 1495, which made true service to a king, even one who was defeated, non-punishable by forfeiture, tidying up the aftermath of civil war and rival monarchs, *King's Two Bodies,* pp. 370-72.

[1159] 'Brief Latin Chronicle' in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, p. 181.

[1160] *Warkworth,* p. 37.

[1161] As in a military wardship for an heir who was a minor, N.J. Menuge, *Medieval English Wardship in Romance and Law* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 1.

former monarch was a matter of discussion and a comment on his own rulership. On his release from prison in 1470 Henry was described in chronicles as not appearing as clean or well arrayed as a king should.[1162] This both criticised Edward IV and highlighted the inability of Henry VI to properly look after himself. Similarly there was open acknowledgement that Henry's life was in Edward's hands. Margaret of York, for instance, wrote to a correspondent of the amicability between the two monarchs when they met in April 1471, Edward offering his hand but Henry embracing him. In particular, she recounted a statement attributed to Henry that he knew his life would not be in danger in Edward's hands.[1163] The letter was written just after the battle of Barnet, before the battle of Tewkesbury on 4 May and Henry's subsequent death. This was clearly a Yorkist version of events; Margaret could not have witnessed any such occurrence, but dared to highlight Henry's vulnerability to Edward's care.[1164] While an assertion of Henry's faith in his safety with Edward was the report on the continent, in reality the former king was entirely expendable once his son had been killed at the battle of Tewkesbury.

Edward's care for and control of Henry was a demonstration of his superiority, yet it was not the ultimate expression of this which ridding himself of the rival monarch would bring. While Henry was alive and in the Yorkist king's hands there was a difficult balance between the danger of rumour should he be hidden away and the threat of competition should he appear publicly. Edward was intent on asserting his own position and his use of Henry's presence formed a part of that. The Lancastrian king was taken to the battle of Barnet by Edward, for example, a visible pawn of battle who demonstrated the control of the Yorkists over the former king and presented a distraction to the opposition.[1165] Not least, it was a signal to those fighting with Warwick that they were risking their lives for Henry VI, a miserable figure in comparison with the dynamic Edward IV.

[1162] *Warkworth,* p. 33.

[1163] Letter Margaret of York, 1471, *Compte Rendu,* vol 7 p. 48.

[1164] Other sources also state that the kings met, including *Great Chronicle*, p. 216; *Warkworth,* p. 37.

[1165] *Arrivall,* p. 164.

Henry had been present at many of the battles during the 1450s and 1460s, but had never fought for his crown. He had been injured in the neck by an arrow in the fighting at St Albans on 22 May 1455, but this was incurred as a bystander near his banner rather than as a warrior, despite being dressed in harness.[1166] His presence at Ludford Bridge in October 1459 was presented in parliament the following month as decisive in the Lancastrian victory there, disheartening the enemy after the Yorkists had told their troops that the king was dead.[1167] At the second battle of St Albans in January 1461 Warwick again took the king to the field, intended perhaps as a sign that he was still fighting with Henry, not against him. Crowland expressed the confusion at this most politically uncertain juncture, stating that the earl had taken Henry to the battle 'as if to make him fight against his wife and son'.[1168] Margaret of Anjou and the Lancastrian army travelled south to meet Warwick's forces, apparently wearing the prince's livery of an ostrich feather as well as the king's.[1169] Taking Henry to the battle proved to be a dangerous move; the Lancastrian victory resulted in loss of possession of Henry, forcing the Yorkist's hand in claiming the throne.

Bringing the unwarlike Henry VI to the battlefield in each of these instances highlighted his function as token rather than commander. He was a figurehead for a faction, in 1471 representing an equal to Edward IV as an anointed king but his antithesis in every other way. The demonstration of this polarity served as Yorkist promotion, galvanising the image of Edward both as a warrior king and as a functioning monarch. The display of Henry VI to Burgundian visitors in 1467 was a further example of this. As noted above, the bastard of Burgundy was taken to see Henry in a tower at Westminster, a discreet visit which enabled report to be made on the continent both that the Lancastrian king was well-cared for but also debilitated.[1170] Specifically, the account of the visit noted that the Burgundian and Henry did not converse because they could only understand

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[1166] *Gregory*, p. 198; Davies, *English Chronicle,* p. 72.

[1167] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1459', item 16. The king's presence at the battle also made clear that the Yorkist leaders were behaving treasonably, important in this parliament's attainder of them.

[1168] *Crowland,* p. 113.

[1169] *Gregory*, p. 212.

[1170] See above, pp. 176-77.

each other with great difficulty.[1171] Henry's incapacity to rule was therefore manifest: a king needed to speak and to perform majesty.[1172] At precisely the same time as revealing Henry's inarticulateness, Edward IV was personally addressing parliament with grand statements of his intention to live from his own resources rather than tax his subjects and his desire to suffer any jeopardy to bodily defend his realm.[1173] Yorkist efforts to promote their own king as the rightful ruler were given tremendous power by the display of the pathetic figure of Henry VI, incarcerated and incapable of controlling his speech. His royal status was a threat to the regime only as a figurehead, not as a man, and he was therefore more useful alive than dead to the Yorkists while his Lancastrian heir, Prince Edward, was at large.

Throughout the 1460s Henry VI was a living carcass of Lancastrian kingship, blameless and inept: not fit to rule, not able to when incarcerated, and not allowed to do anything else. Henry wore kingship as a shroud; in May 1471 it was the death of him. Before the death of his son, Henry had only been kept alive so that the most senior threat to Edward's throne was in the Yorkist king's hands. Once his son had been extinguished, the rallying point that the etiolated figure of Henry VI embodied was also removed. This was Edward IV's last act in the control and display of his rival king's body. The Yorkist king returned to London from victory at Tewkesbury on 21 May and by the following morning Henry VI was dead.[1174] Edward's throne was clear of challengers and he was, for the first time in his reign, the only anointed English king alive. Just as the corpses of Warwick and his brother had been publicly displayed on 15 April, so the body of Henry VI was laid at St Paul's as both a final statement of victory over an enemy and putting to rest the potential for royal ghosts to haunt the reign, as Richard II

[1171] Leeds Royal Armouries MS I-35, f. 70, Moffat, 'Tournament', p. 193.

[1172] Both Yorkist kings are reported as making declarations from their own mouth, for instance Edward IV stating his own title to the throne, *Whethamstede,* vol 1 pp. 404-405, and Richard III denying seditious rumours, *York House Books,* vol 1 p. 360; *Crowland,* pp. 175-77. On the king's word as authoritative, Bellamy, *Law of Treason,* p. 171; for a discussion of royal habits of speaking, including the balance between speech and silence, see E. Lecuppre-Desjardin, "Et le prince respondit par sa bouche.' Monarchal Speech Habits in Late Medieval Europe' in J. Deploige and G. Deneckere (eds.), *Mystifying the Monarch: Studies on Discourse, Power, and History* (Amsterdam, 2006), pp. 55-64.

[1173] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1467', item 7.

[1174] On the sources for the date of Henry's death, which is given as overnight 21-22 May or 23 May, see notes in *Arrivall*, pp. 192-93; additionally *Great Chronicle*, p. 220 and Kingsford, *Chronicles of London,* p. 185, both give 22 May.

had done to Henry IV six decades earlier.[1175] The definitiveness with which this signalled Edward's return to power was not lost on commentators. On the continent letters expressed both the destruction of the Lancastrian cause, Edward as having 'crushed the seed' of the dynasty, and the celebration with processions, bell-ringing and bonfires in Burgundy.[1176]

The *Arrivall* emphasised that Henry VI was buried in an honourable fashion by Edward IV, though he was interred without ostentation at Chertsey Abbey, a relatively secluded site.[1177] The procession of the cortège to the abbey was viewed by Londoners as overwhelmingly military, a reminder that although Edward had managed to clip the heads from each group of enemies, discontent and opposition remained. The body was brought from the Tower surrounded by armed men as if bearing the former king to his execution, one chronicler stated, more weaponry than torches around the hearse.[1178] Despite the display of his corpse to scotch rumour and assertion of respectable burial, the body of Henry VI continued to trouble Edward IV throughout his reign. At York Minster a rood screen was built in 1475 that included a statue of Henry but not Edward, which soon became a shrine to the last Lancastrian king.[1179] Edward tried to stamp out worship for his rival there, with veneration of an image of Henry made punishable in 1479.[1180] This was a more targeted intervention against reverence for the Lancastrian king than was exercised against his educational foundations, but stemmed from the same impetus to subsume Henry's legacy.[1181] Indeed, while the attitude of repression towards these foundations had eased in the 1470s, the veneration of Henry personally, as a saintly figure, increased during the latter half of Edward's reign, attested for example by Blacman's hagiographical memoir which was most likely written before

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[1175]   P. Strohm, 'The Trouble with Richard: The Reburial of Richard II and Lancastrian Symbolic Strategy', *Speculum* 71 (1996), pp. 87-111.

[1176]   *CSPM*, pp. 156-57, reports of the Milanese ambassador to France to the duke of Milan, 2 and 17 June 1471.

[1177]   *Arrivall,* p. 184; Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 3; B.P. Wolffe*, Henry VI* (London, 1981), p. 4.

[1178]   *Great Chronicle,* p. 220; Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, p. 185.

[1179]   McKenna, 'Cult of Henry VI', p. 74.

[1180]   Letter of Archbishop Booth, 27 October 1479, forbade veneration of Henry VI at the Minster on the grounds that such worship had not been approved by the pope and the body was not buried there, Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, pp. 208-10.

[1181] See above, pp. 97-102.

1485.[1182] Each king epitomised polar ideals: royal magnificence opposed to kingly denial.[1183] Both archetypes served as assertions of royal power and amounted to a comment on rule, Henry's saintliness for example unattainable by the Yorkist usurper, stifled in sumptuousness.[1184] This was about reputation, not rule, and countering the impact of Henry's angelic status may have inspired Richard III's reburial of the Lancastrian monarch at Windsor in 1484, either to harness the divinity of his miracles or raise his own status as his promoter.[1185]

[1182] Blacman's memoir ends by recounting the miracles of Henry VI, M.R. James (ed. and trans.), *Henry the Sixth. A Reprint of John Blacman's Memoir* (Cambridge, 1919), pp. 41-44. The tract was probably written pre-1485, before Henry's body was moved from Chertsey to Windsor by Richard III in 1484, R. Lovatt, 'A Collector of Apocryphal Anecdotes: John Blacman Revisited', in A.J. Pollard (ed.), *Property and Politics: Essays in Later Medieval English History* (New York, 1984), pp. 178, 181; James, *Blacman*, p. 45. On Henry VI's miracles, J.M. Theilmann, 'The Miracles of King Henry VI of England', *Historian*, 42 (1980), pp. 456-71; also McKenna, 'Cult of Henry VI', pp. 72-88; L. Craig, 'Royalty, Virtue, and Adversity: The Cult of King Henry VI', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 35 (2003), pp. 188-90 and on the development of Henry's cult in the Tudor period and proposed canonisation encouraged by Henry VII, D. Piroyansky, *Making Martyrs: Political Martyrdom in Late Medieval England* (Basingstoke, 2008), pp. 75-80.

[1183] Vale, *Princely Court*, pp. 168-69.

[1184] Fortescue, *Works*, vol 1 p. 70; S. Walker, 'Political Saints in Later Medieval England', in R.H. Britnell and A.J. Pollard (eds.), *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in Late Medieval Politics and Society* (Stroud, 1995), p. 98.

[1185] *ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

6.2   The Crown

Alongside the person of the king, the crown was the most significant symbol of monarchy, holding a pivotal role in expressing status visually, both as an illustration and a physical object. As such, it was vital to the Yorkist kings in asserting position. This section focuses on ceremonies involving the crown, including crown-wearings, the coronations of Edward IV and Richard III as well as the attitude towards the crown during the Readeption of Henry VI in 1470 and recovery of the throne by Edward in 1471, and finally the French coronation planned as part of the 1475 campaign. These instances of royal display are examined to explore the wider significance of the iconography of the crown and how it was used as a symbol in this period.

The crown symbolised sovereignty: when Richard, duke of York claimed the throne in 1460 it was his right to the crown which was discussed in parliament.[1186] Conceptually, the crown could represent dynastic line of succession, the office of kingship or the financial resources that belonged to the monarchy.[1187] The material crown thus visually symbolised the institution of monarchy, and indeed the two were entwined in the rhetoric. Yorkist promotion stated that Henry IV had ousted Richard II from 'his reigne and regalie', while Warwick and the Lancastrians in 1471 had aimed to disinherit rightful rulers from 'the Royme and Crowne of England'.[1188] Similarly the readepted Henry VI was said to be 'occupinge the regalie for that tym', as Edward returned to London to reclaim the crown.[1189] Rather than highlighting a dichotomy between the public institution of the crown and the private person of the monarch, the crown was a symbol of the fusion of the two.[1190] The right to wear the crown demonstrated the sovereignty held by the individual; the ability to govern the realm made the crown function. The Yorkists were particularly clear on this synthesis, since both Edward IV

[1186] Similarly Henry IV had 'toke uppon hym the corone of Englond'; Henry VI had been allowed to keep the crown, Horrox, 'Parliament of 1460', items 10, 13, 18. Fortescue also wrote of the crown as institution, *De Titulo Edwardi Comitis Marchiae,* in Fortescue, *Works,* vol 1 p. 70.

[1187] Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies,* p. 337, 384; Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 20.

[1188] *Arrivall,* pp. 149, 156.

[1189] *ibid.,* p. 161.

[1190] Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 17; Armstrong, 'Inauguration', p. 52.

and Richard III prosecuted their claim to rule by assertion of their aptitude as well as eligibility.

The symbolic importance of the crown was paramount and intricate. There was, for instance, a distinction between coronation regalia and that worn on state occasions.[1191] The coronation with St Edward's crown involved only a brief wearing of the royal relic before the king changed into a personal crown.[1192] Furthermore the Yorkist kings claimed the right to wear three European crowns, France and Spain as well as England, as depicted in genealogies and charters.[1193] Crown wearings were significant moments of royal display, not everyday occurrences. Heralds and chroniclers noted when the king or queen was crowned, for example on religious festivals. For the 1472 Christmas celebrations Edward IV and his queen were both crowned at Westminster on Christmas Day, neither on New Year's Day and the king alone on twelfth night, as Elizabeth was heavily pregnant.[1194] The crown was heavy; during her coronation the queen removed it several times for respite during the ceremonials.[1195] Richard III's visit to York in 1483 involved repeated crown wearings in the city, in procession and at York Minster prior to the inauguration ceremony for the prince of Wales.[1196] Kings were crowned at the opening of parliament, perhaps the most critical arena for the expression of sovereignty, a visual reminder of majesty and authority.[1197] Crown wearings were important to Yorkist kings and took place regularly not only within parliament but across court events.[1198] Following his coronation in 1461, Edward IV was crowned at Westminster and St Paul's during the next two days, and was viewed with the regalia as king by a multitude of people.[1199] The public interest in seeing the new monarch was such that

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[1191] Burden, 'Rituals of Royalty', pp. 75-76; Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation,* pp. 228-44.

[1192] All kings from 1308 were crowned with St Edward's crown, *ibid.,* pp. 231-32.

[1193] BL, Harley MS 7353, for example; charter of 1461 to Canterbury, Danbury, 'Royal Charters', p. 175.

[1194] BL, Additional MS 6113, f. 103v; BL, Cotton MS Julius C vi, f. 255. The child, Margaret, was born at Windsor on 10 April 1472, Scofield, *Edward,* vol 2 p. 27. Richard also crowned at Christmas and New Year, 1484, *Crowland,* p. 173.

[1195] College of Arms, MS M 3, f. 7.

[1196] Johnston and Rogerson, *REED York*, vol 1 p. 133.

[1197] Cavill, *Parliaments of Henry VII,* p. 22.

[1198] Armstrong, 'Inauguration', pp. 70-72.

[1199] Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, p. 176; *Great Chronicle*, p. 198.

people crushed to witness the spectacle of the king crowned and observe the tall, nineteen-year-old monarch replace his older, troubled predecessor.[1200]

The crown held a protected position in the iconography as the most important symbol of sovereignty. As a motif it littered the decoration of fabrics, documents and coins, such as the tapestries ordered by Edward IV in 1480, decorated with roses, suns and crowns in every panel and bedding with crowns and roses.[1201] However the crown itself was distinct in being an item that could be worn, with the wearing of it conveying a unique status. Thus Edward IV was said to have refused to wear the crown after taking the throne until his enemies had been driven from the realm.[1202] This was presented as a badge of honour, but also suggested concerns about how a king could be crowned when an existing monarch survived. Edward was crowned three months after Henry VI fled to Scotland following the battle of Towton in March 1461. Preserving the significance of being able to wear the crown meant it held an exalted position in royal ceremony. There was, here, a clear distinction between the expression of majesty which the crown conveyed and real power. Edward's reluctance to wear the crown until he had secured the realm demonstrates the contemporary understanding of this. This did not negate the importance of the crown as a symbol, in fact it heightened it. The right to wear it had been earned, through the royal lineage validated by parliament and military victory, demonstrating God's favour.

Both Edward IV and Richard III dated the start of their reign from the day they publicly accepted the throne at Westminster, rather than their coronation. This was an inauguration before coronation, a ceremony of accession which involved a procession to Westminster, the king's oath to truly and justly keep the realm, the acclamation of the lords present, services in Westminster Abbey and offerings at St Edward's tomb.[1203]

[1200] Edward was born on 28 April 1442, so was 18 when his reign started and 19 at his coronation, Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 3; Henry VI was born on 6 December 1421 and was 40 in June 1461, Griffiths, *Henry VI,* p. 11.

[1201] Nicholas*, Wardrobe Accounts*, pp. 118, 137, 143-44.

[1202] Buchon, 'Duclercq', vol 14 p. 108.

[1203] Edward IV: Flenley, *Six Town Chronicles,* pp. 161-62; Kingsford, *Chronicles of London,* pp. 174-75; *Great Chronicle,* pp. 195-96; *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 pp. 777. Richard III: *Crowland,* p. 159; *Great Chronicle,* p. 232, J. Gairdner (ed.), *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII,* (2 vols, London, 1861-63), vol 1 p. 12. See above, pp. 14-15.

Visually, it was a coronation with all but crown and anointing. The new monarch was seen adorned in majesty: wearing royal robes, holding the regalia and enthroned on the king's bench. The ceremony of accession was fundamental, presenting Edward and Richard as kings in fact, not just in right.[1204] It was the inauguration ceremony, for instance, which made Edward IV's conclusive victory at Towton later that month the triumph of a king, not a would-be monarch: as the Almighty determined the outcome, it was validation of his right to rule.[1205] Performing a kingly ritual, wearing royal attire and regalia and making a vow to rule justly remodelled a usurper into a king, albeit one without a crown.

The realm was gained by asserting political position and prosecuting that claim militarily and administratively, though control of government. The crown itself was only worn after coronation, however. A clear distinction between being king and wearing the crown had been made in the seizure of the throne through inauguration rather than coronation. Politically, coronation was something of an afterthought, a ritual to be squeezed in between manoeuvres to secure the throne. Yet the spiritual ceremony was still important. Preserving the entitlement to wear the crown until after coronation strengthened its symbolic potency and thus infused crown-wearings with greater significance. Because the crowning of a monarch was ceremonially tied to anointing, indeed the crown was blessed and then presented to the king or queen after they had been anointed, the quasi-sacerdotal and divinely approved nature of kingship was emphasised through crown wearing.[1206] This sanctity was highlighted within the ceremony through St Edward's crown, a delicate diadem used only for this ritual.[1207] One imperative for coronation thus centred on endorsing the king's right to wear the crown, embedding the visual image of the monarch fulfilling his sacred role while maintaining the sanctity of the symbol by relating it directly to the spiritual ceremony.

[1204] Armstrong, 'Inauguration', pp. 52-53.

[1205] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1461', 'Introduction', item 7.

[1206] Hunt, *Coronation,* p. 52; on the queen as emulating images of the crowned Virgin Mary, Laynesmith, 'Crowns and Virgins', p. 61.

[1207] Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation*, pp. 231-32. Yorkist kings were increasingly identified with the imperial crown with its closed arches, for example in the Canterbury Cathedral window, D. Hoak, 'Iconography of the Crown Imperial' in *idem.* (ed.), *Tudor Political Culture* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 64-65.

The urgency to be crowned was demonstrated by Richard III, his coronation taking place on 6 July 1483, ten days after he claimed the throne, sealing his usurpation and fulfilling the expectation for the ceremony following Edward IV's death.[1208] Edward IV in contrast was far more at the mercy of his fraught political situation, especially the presence of a rival king with a large army in the realm. Coronation was an imperative but one that was secondary to dealing with the conflict surrounding his possession of the throne. Edward's chancellor insisted in a letter of April 1461 that the ceremony was postponed 'only for the most urgent reasons', but these were fundamental to securing the realm.[1209] His coronation on 28 June was not as significant as his accession in March or his victory at Towton, and this was reflected in the lack of interest in the ceremony among contemporaries.[1210] Despite the majesty of the ritual and its importance in marking the authority of a new monarch, Edward's coronation was not a rigid date around which all else orbited. Rather, the date shifted depending on circumstance, indicating the pressures and priorities on the regime in its infancy. The Paston letters from June 1461 indicate the uncertainty: two of John Paston senior's correspondents informed him that he was listed as being among those to be knighted, although this did not come to fruition.[1211] The ceremony date was brought forward from 12 July to 28 June as the king was compelled to travel northwards to deal with conflict there, including the siege of Carlisle.[1212] Right up to the week before the coronation, on 21 June, discussion was taking place in London of when the event would be held, whether the following Sunday or Monday.[1213] This uncertainty challenges the impression given in chronicles of the smooth flow from victory at Towton, to returning to London and then coronation. Instead the impression should be of a city caught up in the fast pace of political change, responding to events as they happened, of a monarch still very much in the act of securing his throne as he claimed anointment, and of a coronation which was

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[1208] *Crowland,* pp. 153, 161.

[1209] *CSPM*, p. 61.

[1210] The London chronicles express far more interest in the events of March 1461, for example Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, includes forty-nine lines on the accession, eleven on the coronation, pp. 173-76. The *Short English Chronicle,* p. 78, *Gregory*, p. 218 and *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 p. 778 just give the date and location.

[1211] Davis, *Paston Letters,* part 2 pp. 235-36, 239.

[1212] *ibid*, pp. 235-36.

[1213] *ibid.,* p. 239.

perhaps rushed rather than planned in magnificent detail, a necessity rather than a celebration.

The pressure on a king to be crowned aimed both at establishing his rule and formally legitimising his position. Rather than simply fulfilling the religious function of becoming king, it was more pointedly about stating a public claim to reign and involving the widest range of people in that sanctifying process, from the spiritual and secular lords involved in the ceremony, to the wider nobility as guests, to the citizens as onlookers and participants in the festivities.[1214] At his coronation Edward effected both spiritual affirmation of his right to rule and publicly took on the mantle of monarchy by wearing the crown. Indeed once he had the crown on his head he was reluctant to let it go, only returning it to the treasury on 12 August, where it was secured with three locks for which the king held the keys.[1215] The coronation may have made little difference to the fact of claiming the throne or the ability to prosecute that claim, but it was essential to the imagery of kingship because it was this which visually elevated Edward's status from noble to royal. In a mirror of this use of the ceremony, it was coronation again which served to advance his queen publicly from gentry status to royalty.[1216]

Once crowned, Edward IV had been invested with the right to wear the crown and his image as king was complete. Yet this visual and spiritual authority did not protect him from changes in the political landscape, just as it had not safeguarded Henry VI. The Readeption of Henry VI was signalled to the realm by the crown publicly being placed on the former king's head, on 13 October 1470, either at St Paul's Cathedral or at Westminster.[1217] Little reference to this event survives, and so it is difficult to gain a sense of the scale or impact, though it is noteworthy that a ceremonial re-crowning of a king who had lost his throne nine years previously was deemed necessary to enhance his authority and establish his status. The date was significant, being both the feast of St

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[1214] See above, pp. 12-13.

[1215] Scofield, *Edward,* vol 1 p. 183, and n.1.

[1216] See above, pp. 16-17.

[1217] Henry VI was taken to St Paul's then Westminster once freed and sources differ in their indication of where the crowning took place; perhaps it occurred at both sites. Waurin, vol 5 p. 612 clearly states it happened at St Paul's, and *Leet Book,* vol 1 p. 359 similarly only mentions the cathedral. *Crowland,* p. 123; *Warkworth*, p. 33; Blanchard, *Commynes*, vol 1 p. 195 all emphasise Westminster in the restoration of Henry's rights.

Edward the Confessor and birthday of Henry's heir, Prince Edward of Lancaster.[1218] There is little indication of how this was reflected in the ceremony, but the veneration of a saintly king was a useful reflection on Henry VI, whose piety was one royal quality for which he was praised.[1219] The reminder of the existence of a seventeen-year-old heir may also have been no small factor in asserting the re-emergence of the Lancastrian dynasty; it was a condition of the Angers agreement that Prince Edward would act as regent for Henry VI once the crown was regained.[1220] Not only did it indicate a secure line of inheritance, but it also hinted at the military force waiting with the prince just across the channel.

This was not a re-coronation, however. The rationale for the Readeption was that Henry was the rightful king and thus his coronation and anointment over forty years earlier held true, as Fortescue argued.[1221] The ceremony was significant as a reassertion of that right to rule and a demonstration of where power lay. The event took place seven days after Warwick's arrival in the city and was the point from which writs were issued again in Henry's name.[1222] While Henry VI was displayed as king, however, it was clear that real sovereignty was held by the earl. The re-crowning was necessary to prove, visually, the release of the former king from imprisonment and his resumption of his throne. This was also an exhibition of the authority through which power was wielded, that is of Warwick's kingmaking. Rather than investing Henry with any control, wearing the crown revealed him as a figurehead for the new regime. When Henry VI was paraded around London to gather support in April 1471, just before Edward IV's return to the city, it was the ragged staff, not a Lancastrian badge such as Henry's broom or antelope which was seen in London.[1223] The ragged staff was Warwick's badge, and suggests

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[1218] Edward was born on 13 October 1453, Griffiths, *Henry VI,* p. 718.

[1219] T. Hearne (ed.), *Johannis Rossi Antiquarii Warwicensis Historia Regum Angliae* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1745), p. 210.

[1220] *John Vale's Book*, p. 217. See above, pp. 226-27.

[1221] Henry's English coronation took place on 6 November 1429, Griffiths, *Henry VI,* p. 38; *De Titulo Edwardi Comitis Marchiae* in Fortescue, *Works,* vol 1 pp. 69-71.

[1222] *Crowland*, p. 123, which noted the practical ramifications of the return to power after nine years, highlighting that documents had a double dating clause, giving the example 'in the 48th year of the reign of King Henry VI and in the first year of his resumption of the throne'; also noted in *Warkworth*, p. 33.

[1223] *ibid.*, p. 37; *Great Chronicle*, p. 216; Kleineke, 'von Wesel's Newsletter', p. 78; *Arrivall,* pp. 161-62. On Henry VI's badges, Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, vol 2 part 1, pp. 17, 45-46, 56-57.

where citizens believed power lay. Certainly reports on the continent highlighted Warwick's control, advising people to go through the earl to have access to the king.[1224] The re-crowning was a demonstration of the platform through which government functioned, not an expression of Henry VI's own agency in delivering that.

Edward, in contrast, was a leader and his visual assertion of authority was designed to demonstrate that. On his return to London on 11 April 1471 there was no seizure of the physical crown as a demonstration of authority or re-crowning ceremony. As with his taking power in 1461, the iconography of this king was founded on his military victories and divine support for his cause. These two aspects of his rule, bolstered by parliamentary approval of his dynastic right to the throne, remained at the core of how Edward presented himself as monarch. Although a re-crowning ceremony was a clear assertion of kingly power, Edward chose not to use this to reassert his authority.[1225] At no point do the chronicles, letters or newsletters state that a ritual crown wearing was held to mark Edward's return to London in April and May 1471. One contemporary poem does suggest that there was a crowning ceremony for Edward following his arrival at Westminster. Scholars have generally found this account credible, though Armstrong notes that the lack of mention of such an event in official accounts indicates a private, rather than public event.[1226] The idea of a private re-crowning ceremony seems unconvincing, however. Not only would that negate any potential of the event to visually assert Edward's position and intentions, it hardly makes sense that it would then be recorded in the poem, yet not in *any* chronicle or report. Additionally, the poem itself clearly framed this as a ceremony involving numerous people, describing those present as Edward glided to Westminster by water where he was 'Worshypfully resayvid with processioun in ffeet'.[1227] While it is possible that those witnessing the king's arrival may not then have been privy to the crowning, surely if that were the purpose of his visit, or even one of his aims, it would have been noted in other sources. Indeed the lack of crown-wearing parallels the report of Edward's determination in 1461 not to wear the

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[1224] *CSPM,* vol 1 pp. 151-52, instructions given on 16 April 1471 to Christophoro de Bollate to negotiate with the earl, unaware of Warwick's death on 14 April.

[1225] Other English monarchs held significant crown wearings on returning to power, for example Stephen at Christmas 1141 and Richard I on 17 April 1194 at Winchester, Armstrong, 'Inauguration', p. 72.

[1226] *ibid.*, pp. 72-73; Scofield, *Edward,* vol 1 p. 577; Ross, *Edward IV,* p. 166.

[1227] Wright, *Political Poems,* vol 2 p. 274.

crown until his enemies were driven out of the land. In early April 1471 Edward had barely set foot in the country and had yet to take his battle to the field. His enemies were at large and of some force, with more Lancastrian supporters expected with the former queen, Margaret of Anjou's, return to England expected any day. Additionally Edward had other reasons to go to Westminster: both to make offerings and be seen in this centre of power, and most importantly to be reunited with his family in sanctuary there, as those sources noting Edward's visit to Westminster state.[1228]

Ostensibly paradoxically, then, it was not wearing the crown which affirmed Edward's position as king in 1471: he effectively attempted to regain power without calling into question his right to wear it. The visual demonstration of a return to order superseded any ritual of monarchy such as crown wearing. Instead of using visual possession of the crown as a mark of authority, Edward IV took a pragmatic approach to demonstrating his position. He centred this on making appearances in the city, drawing the civic leaders around him and giving a military show of strength. Most significantly, he cleared the opposition by annihilating his enemies and displayed their bodies publicly as a manifestation of his total victory.[1229] During April and May the bodies of Warwick, his brother Montagu and Henry VI were laid out at St Paul's Cathedral so that their deaths would confirm Edward's supremacy. This was the demonstration of power by a victorious king, a brutal political message in the most visual and incontrovertible terms. The grounds on which Edward wore the crown were epitomised in this exhibition; the crown symbolised his right to rule but it did not validate his reign in the way that military victory, divine sanction and parliamentary approval did. Wearing the crown was the pinnacle of these achievements, the glorious result of prosecuting a rightful claim.

This idea of the crown as a symbol of monarchy, rather than its constitutive element, is emphasised by its use in depicting those deemed rightful kings who were never crowned. The image of Edward V, who was never crowned king, in St George's Chapel Windsor exemplifies this. The boy is depicted alongside Henry VII, Edward IV and Edward of Lancaster in the chantry chapel of Canon Oliver King, in an image of the late

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[1228] *Arrivall,* p. 163; *Waurin,* vol 5 p. 659; Letter Margaret of York, 1471, *Compte Rendu,* vol 7 p. 49.

[1229] See above, pp. 254-55.

1490s.[1230] Dr King had been a tutor or secretary to these princes and kings.[1231] While Henry and Edward IV are crowned in the image, Edward V is shown with a crown hovering above his head, emphasising his lack of coronation.

Figure 6: Screen image, Oliver King chantry, St George's Chapel Windsor, Edward V (detail)

The crown, then, was a political symbol but one that was interpreted in a nuanced way. This was highlighted by its use within texts to embody the transfer of power or to highlight misgovernment. The triumph of Henry VII over Richard III at Bosworth was described by one chronicler in terms of the shifting crown: Richard wore it with great splendour before the battle as he drew lords and commoners around him; Henry won the priceless crown on the battlefield; finally there was a powerful contrast between Richard's debased corpse and Henry adorned with his remarkably won crown.[1232] More caustically, a critical chronicler used the dramatic and sacrilegious image of Edward IV melting the mitre of George Neville, archbishop of York, to create a crown for himself as an example of his greed and abuse of the church.[1233] The expulsion of Neville in 1472 had removed a thorn from Edward's side and demonstrated his authority. The archbishop had sided with his brother Warwick and the duke of Clarence in the crisis of 1469-71 and he was taken to the Tower in April 1472 accused of communicating with

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[1230] Saul, 'Growth of a Mausoleum', p. 249.

[1231] Hoak, *Tudor Political Culture,* p. 75.

[1232] *Crowland*, pp. 179-83.

[1233] *Warkworth*, pp. 47-48.

the troublesome Lancastrian earl of Oxford, the husband of Neville's sister Margaret.[1234] The archbishop was imprisoned abroad, at Hammes Castle near Calais, an indication of how far unease still remained at the Yorkist court in the aftermath of Edward's return to the throne. Both the king and archbishop were censured by *Warkworth*, with Edward accused not only of creating a crown from the mitre but also of having given jewels and plate to his son the prince. The archbishop was described as having deserved to lose all his riches and power, having done much for Edward's cause for no reward.

In a similar way, the crown was also a token used in continental diplomacy. Extensive negotiation and agreement took place between England and Burgundy before the French campaign of 1475 and discussion focused on the anticipated division of authority in the aftermath.[1235] The treaty signed by Edward IV and Charles the Bold in July 1474 was a statement of intent which, as a public document, functioned as the first play in diplomacy with France. The English standpoint was constructed around the king's right to the crown of France and in particular made provision for a coronation at Reims.[1236] Although the agreement settled Champagne on Burgundy, the English were clear about needing access to the region's principal city for the ceremony and the sacred unction, and this was a necessary part of the deal from early in the negotiating process.[1237] This insistence on the right to the French crown also acted as a defensive move by Burgundy and those who were encouraged to support the campaign. Using the rhetoric of the crown in this context asserted that those fighting alongside a claimant to the throne were not acting as traitors to the French crown.

The public planning for a French coronation was reinforced to a small degree by the expenditure on jewels, gold and £400 worth of cloth of gold during the preparations for the campaign, suggesting an expectation of displays of majesty and potentially a

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[1234] Davies, *Paston Letters*, part 1 pp. 438, 448-49; *CSPM*, p. 169; Ross, *Edward IV,* pp. 191-93.

[1235] Treaty with Charles the Bold, Rymer, *Foedera,* vol 12 pp. 804-14.

[1236] Burgundy agreed to the use of Reims, Rymer, *Foedera,* vol 12 pp. 813-14, consenting that Edward, his heirs and successors in France would have safe access to receive the crown and unction in the city, or to carry away the ampulla from there if they chose coronation elsewhere, with the specification that the oil had to be returned to Reims.

[1237] From at least January 1473, when it was included in Edward's instructions for negotiations with Burgundy, *State Papers: King Henry the Eighth, part 5: Foreign Correspondence 1473-1527,* (11 vols, London, 1830-52), vol 6 pp. 1-8.

coronation.[1238] The logistical provision for war was extensive but a long campaign does not seem to have been envisioned, with funding only covering one season at most.[1239] A French coronation, then, was not to be the culmination of territorial triumph in France but rather a bargaining position. The idea of the ceremony as a symbolic, political manoeuvre presents an interesting contrast to Edward's attitude towards the crown in his own realm. Possession of authority in England was far more important to the king than the ceremony; however where there was little hope of complete authority in France, coronation assumed greater relevance as a symbolic gesture, offering a challenge to Louis XI and legitimising the invasion through the assertion of a rightful claim. This nicely parallels Edward's earlier refusals to wear the English crown until fully in command and illuminates both his attitude to coronation, as more of a symbolic rather than a spiritual event, political rather than power-giving, and also towards the French campaign: a military adjunct to the continental diplomacy he had engaged with continually since 1461.

In other words, and perhaps paradoxically, the preparations for a French coronation indicate that Edward did not invade France expecting to conquer the country and take the crown, and so if he was preparing for a coronation, such a ceremony would have served primarily to demonstrate his position on an international stage. This is not to claim that coronation was the objective of the invasion, but to argue that it was a facet of Edward's approach to the French campaign, and one that is revealing about motivations which are otherwise difficult to ascertain. Certainly when Edward met Louis XI at Picquigny in August 1475 to agree terms he was apparelled something like a king of France, in cloth of gold and sporting a black velvet cap surmounted with a jewelled *fleur de lys*.[1240] This was display which suggested confidence, recognising that the balance of power lay in Edward's hands: it was his adornment with the French royal symbol which was noted, alongside the superiority of his troops, and it was Louis who offered terms.

[1238]   *CPR* 1467-77, p. 496, commission to clerks of the king's jewels of 22 February 1475 to organise goldsmiths and other jewellers to be attendant on the king during the campaign; Scofield, *Edward,* vol 2 p. 116.

[1239]   Parliament agreed to collect tax to pay the wages of 13,000 archers for one year, Horrox, 'Parliament of 1472', item 8.

[1240]   Blanchard, *Commynes*, vol 1 p. 290.

The aim of recovering rightful title and land in France was a critical facet of the international agreements to go to war, though it was not used in persuading Edward's subjects of the value of the French campaign.[1241] However there were sound symbolic gains to be had from a French coronation. Edward's predecessor, Henry VI, was famously crowned in both England and France and the loss of Normandy represented a significant stain upon the reputation and authority of the Lancastrian monarchy.[1242] Lancastrian supporters maintained that Henry's dual crowning was justification of his right to rule, and it was the overarching symbol of Henry's kingship.[1243] The double coronation was an image of monarchy which would resonate powerfully, not only putting Edward on a level with Henry VI but allowing him to be presented as winning it back. The determination to be crowned at Reims is closely linked to this, as Henry VI had failed to achieve coronation at this most spiritual site of French monarchy, settling for Notre Dame in Paris instead.[1244] For Edward the insistence on Reims was paramount in spiritually competing with the French king. Thus the agreements with Charles the Bold were careful on the detail of access to the cathedral and secured use of the holy unction.[1245] Clearly the idea of being a king in two realms lingered and was a potent characteristic of English monarchy. Indeed the claim to foreign thrones was an overt feature of Yorkist legitimacy from the outset, presented in genealogies and newsletters

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[1241]   The case for war as stated in both parliamentary speech and in a letter of the king to the city of Coventry centred on necessary national defence, the need to counter malice plotted by the king of France. Further benefits of going to war were also expressed: lawlessness at home was more damaging than putting an army in the field, and the latter would occupy troublesome people; France was a breeding ground for Edward's enemies and Louis an untrustworthy operator who needed subduing; the French navy would be grounded if the English controlled coastline in Normandy and Guyenne. Moreover failing to act presented a huge threat to the country, in particular should France overcome Burgundy and Brittany and grow in strength, while alliances with the latter presented the opportune moment to go to war. For the citizens of Coventry, free mercantile intercourse was added as a benefit, Sheppard, *Literae Cantuarienses*, vol 3 pp. 274-85; *Leet Book,* vol 1 pp. 409-11, letter of 21 December 1474.

[1242]   For example as the tensions between the dukes of York and Somerset, Henry VI's favoured councillor, first erupted publicly in 1450, Jones, 'Somerset, York', especially pp. 287-89, 305-306.

[1243]   James, *Blacman,* p. 25; similarly the depictions of both coronations in the Beauchamp Pageant, BL, Cotton MS Julius E iv, ff. 23v, 24r; *Boke of Noblesse*, BL, Royal MS 18 B xxii, f. 9v; McKenna, 'Dual Monarchy', p. 152.

[1244]   The coronation took place on 16 December 1431, Griffiths, *Henry VI,* p. 2.

[1245]   Rymer, *Foedera,* vol 12 pp. 813-14.

produced from 1461 onwards.[1246] The regime campaigned hard to assert Edward's right to both the French and Castilian thrones, not primarily as a declaration of intent to recover these rights, but as a necessary statement of English royal legitimacy. Critically, these rights stemmed from Edward III, not Henry V, circumventing the usurping Lancastrians: Edward's genealogy had to destroy Lancastrian claims, but preserve the dual monarchy. The Yorkist king's claim to the French throne was through Lionel of Clarence to Edward III as with his claim to the English crown, Edward III heir to France through his mother, Isabella, daughter of Philip IV and sister to Philip V and Charles IV.[1247]

Ultimately the treaty of Picquigny that Edward IV agreed with Louis XI in 1475 did not address the issue of Edward's French title, which was deferred for a future discussion that never took place.[1248] This left the claim dormant, not dead, though the betrothal of Edward's daughter to the future king of France was a tacit acceptance of the dauphin's rightful inheritance. The implication is that by 1475 at least, the perception of the English claim to the crown of France was recognised to be diplomatic leverage rather than a realistic goal, but perhaps also still an important contribution to the image of Yorkist monarchy. This subtle contradiction marks a disjoint between political reason and public expression, but in this demonstrates the use of posturing for diplomatic gain: in many ways, and ultimately in all ways, Edward's French campaign was entirely about posturing, and in this aspect at least that was the intention.[1249] While Edward may have expected to hold a French coronation, for all the propagandistic capital it could gain, there could have been little if any expectation that he would rule France, even though some land gain may have been anticipated. The French campaign was both a way of

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[1246] BL, Harley MS 7353 depicted Edward's right to the crown of Castile (through Edward of York's marriage to Isabella, daughter of the king of Castile) as well as his lineage from Edward III; similarly the royal standard of Castile was used on the Yorkist genealogy, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 201. A document of 1475 that appears to have been taken to the negotiations with Louis XI in August 1475, of which five manuscript versions survive, detailed Edward's right to the crown of France, Hicks, 'Treaty of Picquigny', pp. 253-265.

[1247] See above, figure 1 and p. 2.

[1248] Rymer, *Foedera*, vol 12 pp. 14-20.

[1249] Hicks has viewed the use of the English claim to the French throne in the discussions at Picquigny as directed at the English public, a response to having raised taxes for the campaign on the assertion of prosecuting the claim, 'Brief Treatise', p. 264. However, the English public were not asked to pay for Edward to regain the French crown, but for 'national defence' (see above, n. 1243); the use of the French claim was more focused on establishing an international position and understood to be a bargaining tool in this context.

operating on an international stage and another method of assuaging Edward's domestic insecurity: that it failed to deliver either coronation or territory shaped the tone of his subsequent displays of majesty in emphasising peacemaking as glorious.[1250]

[1250] See below, pp. 245-48.

6.3   Yorkist Royal Identity

As a symbol of authority the crown was the most significant element of royal display. For the Yorkist kings, coronation, and the ability to wear the crown, marked the culmination and expression of their political triumph. Yet the crown only worked as an emblem of kingship when directly associated with these men as monarchs. Yorkists kings, like their predecessors, used devices that were both personal and explicitly royal, demonstrating how entwined the individual was with office of kingship. Edward IV and Richard III were usurpers who faced legitimate opposition and thus used the iconography of monarchy to elevate their status.[1251] The visual expression of authority involved capitalising not just on possession of the crown, but harnessing all royal symbolism. Yorkist kings promoted their status by using regal iconography as their own, from the use of the royal arms to the blending of dynastic devices such as the white rose with royal motifs. Control of the trappings of monarchy, such as the ability to wear the crown, mint coinage or authorise charters, demonstrated authority. That was why, for example, coronation remained so important to accession even though the control of government and military success was politically decisive in a way the ritual could never be. Just as contemporary illustrations always indicated the figure of the king by the use of a crown, so there was an expectation that the monarch would look regal.[1252] This was the performance rather than the exercise of monarchy, but it was critical for a king to embody the role physically and visually. This section explores the development of royal identity during the period through a focus firstly on the significance of motifs and badges in demonstrating authority and loyalty, secondly on the appropriation of royal symbolism including banners and fabrics as well as icons such as angels and St George, and finally on the devices of the house of York which cultivated a distinct Yorkist monarchy.

Visual display through symbolism centred on creating a distinct Yorkist identity, based on lineage as an assertion of legitimacy, and this reached far wider than royal circles

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[1251]   On the assertion of legitimacy and continuity in the exercise of justice through the use of royal imagery in law texts, see A. Musson, 'Ruling "Virtually"? Royal Images in Medieval English Law Books' in L. Mitchell and C. Melville (eds.), *Every Inch a King: Comparative Studies on Kings and Kingship in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds* (Leiden, 2013), pp. 151-71.

[1252]   S. Pittaway, "In this signe thou shalt ouercome hem alle': Visual Rhetoric and Yorkist Propaganda in Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* (Harl. MS. 1766)', *Electronic British Library Journal,* 4 (2011), p. 11.

into parish churches and civic organisations. Images, like words as noted in chapter five, communicated powerful ideas and with that came a desire to control the message. The key difference however was that the creation of images, in contrast to rumours, was far more tangible and expensive. The king's ability to ornament his body and embellish his possessions, as well as bestow gifts featuring his motifs, was far above that of his subjects. Wealth bought splendour, and with the great wardrobe the machinery to produce it.[1253] Royal anxiety over the use of visual symbols was less fervent than the fear of sedition, but it was apparent. The dangers posed by the giving of liveries, for instance, had concerned monarchs for almost a century and Edward IV was no exception, introducing new limits on its use in the statute of 1468.[1254]

Adornment with emblems was not purely about identity but also identification. To wear a particular badge signified allegiance, especially critical during civil conflict when choice of faction was both politically significant and potentially fatal.[1255] Londoners, for instance, anxious for news as Edward IV returned to the capital to regain his throne in April 1471, observed the political tides turn by the shift in heraldic devices dominant within the city.[1256] At the battle of Barnet on 14 April the same year, confusion between the banners of York's sun in splendour and Oxford's blazing star led comrades to fight each other, facilitating Edward's victory.[1257] The use of badges to demonstrate and engender loyalty transcended the battlefield, operating as both a sign of status and of a monarch's favour. Just as chivalric honours served to establish relationships around the king, as discussed in chapter three, so they were signified by visual tokens. Members of the Order of the Garter wore the Garter as a visible sign of their status, just as knights of the Bath wore blue robes with white silk tassels on their left shoulders in ceremony.[1258] Individuals, such as Louis of Bruges in 1472 and papal legate Francesco Coppini in

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[1253] The great wardrobe had responsibility for procuring, repairing and storing materials such as clothing, including servants' liveries, furnishings, heraldic decoration and equipment for horses. The king's jewels were stored at the jewel house at Westminster, Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation,* pp. 47-57.

[1254] N. Saul, 'The Commons and the Abolition of Badges', *Parliamentary History,* 9 (1990), pp. 302-315; M. Hicks, 'The 1468 Statute of Livery', *Historical Research,* 64 (1991), p. 17.

[1255] D. Bruna, 'De l'agreable a l'utile: le bijou emblematique a la fin du moyen age', *Revue Historique,* 301 (1999), pp. 12-13, 20.

[1256] Kleineke, 'von Wesel's Newsletter', p. 78

[1257] *Warkworth*, p. 38.

[1258] Collins, *Garter,* pp. 237-38; Pilbrow, 'Dubbing to Knighthood', pp. 207-208.

1461, were marked out by the granting of arms, enabling them to wear the king's devices.[1259] On an international level the exchange of symbolic items such as the Garter and the collar of the Golden Fleece aimed to represent a brotherhood within continental diplomacy.[1260]

The collective wearing of particular emblems, whether a diplomatic statement or marking association with circles within English society, demonstrated belonging as well as position and served to further embed the relationships such honours created. Liveries, similarly, marked individuals out as a group by association with a particular lord.[1261] Indications of status or affiliation generated physical groupings, and the degree to which people embraced royal motifs emphasises their impact: this was a shared visual culture. Thus, for example, tomb effigies of Garter knights displayed their status and Yorkist collars, occasionally with Edward's lion of March attached, and even ordinary esquires bore collars of Yorkist suns and roses on their monuments.[1262] In the same vein, parish churches included royal motifs in their stained glass, just as the cathedral at Canterbury displayed the Yorkist royal family in the great north window, probably at the king's commission.[1263] Local guilds illuminated their company registers with royal devices, especially where the king or queen were members, as seen for example with Elizabeth Woodville's depiction in the book of the London Skinners' Fraternity of the Assumption of the Virgin, which she joined in the 1470s.[1264] Similarly the Company of Merchants of

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[1259] The grant of arms to Louis of Bruges, and a licence of 23 October 1461 to Francesco Coppini and his nephews allowing them to bear the king's device of a white rose on their arms are the only known instances of this between 1449 and 1485, A. Ailes, 'Royal Grants of Arms in England before 1484' in P. Coss and C. Tyerman (eds.), *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen. Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 90, 95; *CPR* 1461-67, p. 59.

[1260] Payne and Jefferson, 'Golden Fleece', pp. 194-97.

[1261] On liveries see M. Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe 1270-1380* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 93-135.

[1262] A. Ailes, 'Heraldry in Medieval England: Symbols of Politics and Propaganda' in Coss and Keen, *Heraldry, Pageantry*, p. 97.

[1263] For example Richard III's boar in the church of St Martin-cum-Gregory, York, and the royal family depicted at Little Malvern Priory Church, the influence of the church's patron, Bishop Alcock, who was chancellor of England and president of the royal council, R. Marks and P. Williamson (eds.), *Gothic: Art for England, 1400-1547* (London, 2003), p. 176. The Canterbury window was probably commissioned by Edward IV c.1465 and was completed c. 1482, M. Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church Canterbury* (1981) pp. 258-60; M.A. Michael, *Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral* (2004), p. 176.

[1264] Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens,* p. 33; K.L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490* (2 vols, London, 1996), vol 2 p. 343.

the Staple of Calais decorated their register in the 1460s with initial letters replete with Yorkist imagery.[1265]

Figure 7: Effigy on the tomb of Thomas Cokayne, died 1488, with Yorkist collar. All Saints church, Youlgrave, Derbyshire

Figure 8: Richard III's boar, St Martin-cum-Gregory Church, York

The idea of this emulative use of imagery appears most dramatically in the civic pageantry of the period, specifically the celebrations staged by city leaders to welcome royalty. These not only employed dynastic devices but spotlighted Yorkist rhetoric through the choice of display and performance. Thus for example chivalric themes were increasingly evident, such as the gift of a kerchief of pleasance to Prince Edward on his visit to Coventry in 1474.[1266] This not only echoed knightly references made throughout the pageantry held to celebrate his visit, the embroidered cloth was an unusually personal gift and perhaps intended to symbolise the prince's role as champion of the city.[1267] Similarly at Canterbury in May 1471 the city produced white cloth roses for townsfolk to wear as badges in welcoming Edward IV.[1268] Indeed the visual display of badges as personal symbols and use of mottos was directly linked to the development of

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[1265] A.F. Sutton, 'An Unfinished Celebration of the Yorkist Accession by a Clerk of the Merchant Staplers of Calais', in L. Clark (ed.), *The Fifteenth Century VIII: Rule, Redemption and Representations in Late Medieval England and France* (Woodbridge, 2008), p. 135. Similarly the register of the Luton Guild of the Holy Trinity and Blessed Virgin Mary included a frontispiece of c.1475 depicting Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville in prayer, noted in C. Richmond, 'The Visual Culture of Fifteenth-Century England' in Pollard, *Wars of the Roses*, p. 175.

[1266] *Leet Book,* vol 1 pp. 390-394.

[1267] A kerchief of pleasance was prominent in the challenge made by Anthony Woodville to the bastard of Burgundy in 1465, protecting the challenge, named flower of souvenance, on its journey to Burgundy in the hands of Chester herald, *Excerpta Historica,* pp. 189, 192.

[1268] John Whitlock was paid 9d for ¾ yard of white cloth and Philip Harward 4d for making it into roses, *Ninth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (3 parts, London, 1883-84), part 1 p. 142.

chivalric society which Edward IV drew on in establishing Yorkist monarchy. Civic pageantry in particular was also demonstrative of the ways in which Yorkist rhetoric aimed to reach audiences beyond the court.

Royal Symbolism

Much of royal display was traditional and transcended individuality, for instance the use of the royal arms. This was the standard Richard, duke of York raised to signal his intention to claim the throne in 1460 and appeared throughout all royal ceremony.[1269] Similarly royal clothing served to demonstrate the king's status as head of the realm, through the use of particular colours such as purple and crimson, as pictured in the royal window at Canterbury, and materials such as cloth of gold and ermine.[1270] Richard III's intention to take the throne was said to have been clearly indicated by his change from mourning clothes into purple in London in summer 1483.[1271] Fabric was such an important indicator of rank that it was controlled by sumptuary laws.[1272] The physical manifestation of this was evident not just in clothing but within royal ceremony. At funerals, for instance, offerings of cloth of gold to the coffin were made by members of the nobility in order of rank and in volumes relative to status.[1273] Nearness of blood determined how many cloths were offered; at Edward IV's funeral in 1483 Viscount Berkeley offered two cloths, the earl of Lincoln, the king's nephew, four.[1274]

This not only reinforced social hierarchy but served to define it, with each person present having a specific role to play and order in which to perform it. For example at a

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[1269] *Gregory*, p. 208; for example at both Edward IV's funeral and his father's reburial, and the coronation of Richard III, College of Arms, MS I 7, f. 7v; BL, Harley MS 48, f. 79; Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation,* pp. 113, 141, 146, 158, 174, 182, 213.

[1270] A.F. Sutton, 'Order and Fashion in Clothes: The King, His Household, and the City of London at the End of the Fifteenth Century', *Textile History,* 22 (1991), pp. 253, 256.

[1271] *Mancini*, p. 95.

[1272] Modifications to the sumptuary laws were made at three of Edward IV's parliaments, in 1463, 1478 and 1483, Horrox, 'Parliaments of 1463, 1478 and 1483', items 20, 30, 25. On sumptuary laws, see K.M. Phillips, 'Masculinities and the Medieval English Sumptuary Laws', *Gender and History,* 19 (2007), pp. 22-42, with a list of amendments under Edward IV, pp. 35-37.

[1273] At the reburial of Richard, duke of York, for instance, the earls offered first, Rivers, Essex, Kent, Northumberland, Lincoln, Suffolk (all three pieces of cloth of gold), then the dukes, Gloucester, Clarence, then Dacres (the queen's chamberlain) on behalf of the queen (all five pieces), and finally Hastings (the king's chamberlain) on behalf of the king (seven pieces), BL, Harley MS 48, ff. 80-80v.

[1274] College of Arms, MS I 7, f. 8v.

royal funeral this was signified in the presentation of cloth to the coffin, the offering of the mass penny, presentation of knightly achievements and position within the cortège. Similarly the cloth issued from the great wardrobe to mourners was dictated by status, nobility wearing full gowns and other mourners shorter robes.[1275] Prince George's funeral in March 1479, for instance, saw liveries of black cloth given by the yard to people of different rank: the bishops of Ely and Rochester three yards; Earl Rivers and the marquis of Dorset two-and-a-half yards and the prince's chaplain Sir Robert Wade received two yards.[1276] Similarly, as with badges, fabrics were used by royalty as gifts. Richard III and his wife Anne Neville exchanged gifts of purple cloth of gold and purple velvet at the time of their coronation.[1277] Following festivities at Windsor in Louis of Bruges' honour in 1472 Edward IV bestowed on his guest a gown of cloth of gold trimmed with fur, shortly before the Burgundian was created earl of Winchester in parliament.[1278]

The importance of dress as indicating status was enhanced by the use of fabrics and colours in identifying connections between people. The royal tournament in 1478, for instance, had seen the political rehabilitation of Sir Thomas de Vere demonstrated through his adornment with the king's colours.[1279] The event took place in January to celebrate the marriage of Edward IV's son Richard, and de Vere tourneyed with the queen's brother Anthony Woodville, star jouster of the Yorkist court. The knight appeared on a horse trapped in Yorkist colours of murrey and blue adorned with symbols of suns and roses, highlighting to all onlookers his new status in the king's favour.[1280] The king, queen and their sons Edward prince of Wales and Richard duke of York, were present for the feats of arms.[1281] This was a prominent royal event and the honour of fighting in the king's colours was hugely significant, a public display of trust and allegiance performed, critically, in a martial arena. De Vere's participation in this

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[1275] Tabri, *Court of Charles the Bold*, pp. 98-99; I. W. Archer 'City and Court Connected: The Material Dimensions of Royal Ceremonial, ca. 1480–1625', *Huntington Library Quarterly,* 71 (2008), p. 169.

[1276] Extracts from the great wardrobe accounts, *Royal Funerals,* p. 56.

[1277] Sutton and Hammond, *Coronation,* pp. 78, 164.

[1278] BL, Cotton Julius C vi, f. 260v; College of Arms MS M 15, f. 16v

[1279] Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmole MS 856, f. 100.

[1280] *ibid.,* ff. 100-101.

[1281] *ibid.,* ff. 103-104.

event put him visibly at the centre of Edward's court and fighting on his side; there was no mistaking the political message of reintegration.

Signalling majesty through wearing royal habits, displaying royal heraldry and maintaining the visual codes of status were important in establishing the Yorkist regime and this required the adoption of prevailing customs. Edward IV, for instance, followed Lancastrian custom in the choice of coronation oil, that said to have been received from the Virgin by Thomas Becket, and in doing so furthered a particularly English tradition.[1282] Holding the sceptre of St Edward and making offerings at the saintly king's shrine symbolised that Edward had taken the throne, even before he was crowned.[1283] The value of these symbolic acts was in their conformity to expected behaviour. Yet beyond this high ceremony there was an integration of royal and Yorkist imagery. The juxtaposition of Edward IV's *rose en soleil* with the royal motto, '*Dieu et mon droit*', for instance, featured often in illustrations within the king's books. Specific royal badges, such as Richard II's white hart, were also adopted in asserting legitimate lineage.[1284] This symbol was among four standards displayed at the reburial of Richard, duke of York in 1476, for example, the other three all being his ducal emblems: the white lion, falcon in fetterlock and white rose.[1285] Richard II also appeared in the pageantry at Coventry in 1474, greeting prince Edward with a speech, highlighting the perceived benefit of playing up the monarch's claimed lineage.[1286]

[1282]   J.W. McKenna, 'The Coronation Oil of Yorkist Kings', *English Historical Review,* 82 (1967), pp. 102-104.

[1283]   On regalia, and the sceptre specifically, see Burden, 'Rituals of Royalty', pp. 75-76, 79-90.

[1284]   Appearing, for instance in genealogies such as Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 201; Ailes 'Heraldry in England', pp. 95-97.

[1285]   BL, Harley MS 48, f. 79. These appeared alongside traditional royal banners of the Trinity, Our Lady, St George, St Edmund, St Edward and the whole arms of England.

[1286]   *Leet Book,* vol 1 p. 391.

Figure 9: BL Royal MS 14 E vi, f. 110, Petrus de Crescentiis 'Ruralia commoda', owned by Edward IV, *rose en soleil* and royal motto '*dieu et mon droit*'

Figure 10: White hart of Richard II in Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 201, genealogy to Edward IV

Certain imagery traditionally prominent in royal iconography was particularly popular with the Yorkist kings in asserting divine sanction of their rule.[1287] Angels often appeared in book illustrations and Edward IV similarly embraced this, but he also began his reign with the pageantry of an angel swooping down to bless him in St Paul's Cathedral.[1288] He minted a new gold coin called the angel, worth 6s 8d, in March 1465.[1289] The coin depicted St Michael spearing a dragon in the mouth and was not the only coin of Edward IV's to use chosen imagery that linked to his personal royal identity, as roses and suns appeared on his coinage alongside crowns; symbols mattered more than likenesses.[1290] At the reburial of his father in 1476 an angel presented the crown to the duke's effigy, defining his right to kingship as God-given.[1291] Similarly royal identification with St George was pronounced during Edward's reign. Using the banner of St George in royal ceremony was customary by the Yorkist period and certainly adopted by these kings, for instance at the reburial of the duke of York and

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[1287] See, for example, A.F. Sutton and L. Visser Fuchs, 'The Cult of Angels in Late Fifteenth Century England: An Hours of the Guardian Angel Presented to Queen Elizabeth Woodville' in L.J. Smith and J.H.M. Taylor (eds.), *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence* (London and Toronto, 1997), pp. 230-46.

[1288] Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, p. 176.

[1289] M. Allen, *Mints and Money in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 152.

[1290] C. Blunt, 'Some Notes on the Coinage of Edward IV between 1461 and 1470, with Particular Reference to the Nobles and Angels', *British Numismatic Journal,* 22 (1938), pp. 193-99; Marks and Williamson, *Gothic,* pp. 172-73.

[1291] BL, Harley MS 48, f. 78; BL, Harley MS 4632, f. 123; BL, Egerton MS 2642, ff. 191-191v.

Edward IV's funeral, and for Richard III's reception in York in August 1483.[1292] This was standard for royal ceremony but also connected to Edward's promotion of chivalric kingship.[1293] The presentation of achievements at funerals emphasised their chivalric nature, not just for the adult royals buried but also the young, such as Edward's son George.[1294] Similarly Edward IV's veneration of St George included not only the rebuilding of St George's Chapel, Windsor, but the gathering of relics there.[1295] These were not for private devotion but public prestige; as noted above, for instance, Bohemian visitors to Edward's court were taken to see the heart of St George there.[1296] The importance of such identification with the saint and display was a deliberate assertion of Edward's style of monarchy.

This royal symbolism embraced by the Yorkist king was recognised and replicated in civic pageantry. At Edward's visit to Bristol in September 1461, for instance, the city greeted him with great celebration.[1297] The keys of the town were delivered to Edward by a 'greet Gyaunt', before St George was seen on horseback fighting and slaying a dragon in front of a chorus of angels.[1298] At Coventry in 1474 the reception of the prince involved performances at six pageant stations all designed to flatter the royal family and enhance the city's standing. The final pageant again presented St George, highlighting his God-given role as protector of the realm and defender against enemies near and far, lauding God's grace that had enabled a king's daughter to be rescued from the dragon, and appealing for him to preserve the prince.[1299] The pageant occurred on 28 April, close to the feast of St George, but the saint was also used to reflect an image of King

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[1292] BL, Harley MS 48, f. 79; College of Arms, MS I 7 f. 7v; Horrox and Hammond, *Harl 433,* vol 2 p. 42.

[1293] Henry V, for example, fostered the cults of saints Edward the Confessor, John of Beverley and George, Catto, 'Religious Change', pp. 107-108.

[1294] Such as York's reburial, BL, Harley MS 48, f. 80v. For the funeral of Prince George 26s 9d was paid to John Smyth for hire of harness and an axe for the man at arms bearing the helmet, *Royal Funerals,* p. 54.

[1295] See above, pp. 139-40.

[1296] See above, p. 43.

[1297] See above, p. 30.

[1298] Pilkinton, *REED Bristol*, pp. 7-8.

[1299] *Leet Book,* vol 1 p. 393.

Edward, defender of England with God on his side, fighting enemies close by and abroad, defeating the beast opposing him, perhaps an allusion to Warwick.

There was an overall drive by the city to use this display to express fidelity to the Yorkist regime, including the presentation of Richard II and St Edward alongside St George, key figures whose motifs repeatedly appeared in Yorkist ceremony, alongside a pronounced reference to lineage and note of joy at Edward's return to the throne. Coventry had supported Warwick during the crisis of 1470-71 and the prince's visit was the first royal ceremony in the city since Edward's return to power. The pageantry was thus the focus of a necessary repair of the relationship between city and monarch, performed publicly. That this building of bridges centred on Prince Edward is significant, because it occurred as his council was taking shape at Ludlow and rule of his patrimony was developing in his name.[1300] Coventry was an important city within this and a public statement of cooperation was critical not just for the city but for the Yorkists as well. Hence the repeated references to Coventry as the prince's chamber in the welcome from King Richard, who also referred to the citizens as his tenants, and in the speeches of a patriarch and St Edward, demonstrating the city's use of this opportunity to rebuild relations with the monarchy.[1301]

The grandeur of the welcome alongside the tendency towards humility in the pageants at Coventry further suggests a balance of power that was overwhelmingly in the hands of the monarchy; while good relations with the city were needed to ensure smooth government, the onus was on the city to demonstrate supplication. The pre-eminence of loyalty was impressed upon the city five days after the reception of the prince when the mayor and brethren swore an oath before him on 3 May 1474, which the commonalty were also required to make before the mayor.[1302] Edward visited the city after the prince's welcome, not for the festivities but to gather finance.[1303]

[1300] See above, p. 75.

[1301] Liddy, 'Rhetoric of the Royal Chamber', pp. 342-45.

[1302] *Leet Book,* vol 1 pp. 393-94.

[1303] Edward visited the city in December 1474, *ibid.,* p. 413.

Yorkist Devices

Visual symbolism was a key way in which Yorkist monarchy identified itself and communicated sovereignty throughout the realm. The use of badges was a prolific part of this and the critical facet dictating the choice of emblems was the assertion of legitimacy through lineage. From 1460 the devices of the house of York expressed not only ducal but royal identity, a renewed but not new idea.[1304] The most potent of these symbols were the falcon and fetterlock, representing the York ducal heritage, the white rose and white lion of Mortimer, and black bull of Clarence.[1305] The fetterlock, not always containing a falcon, appeared repeatedly in Yorkist imagery, particularly genealogies setting out the claim to the throne; they litter the roll Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 201, for instance.[1306] The symbol also appeared in carvings, such as the misericord at St Laurence's Church, Ludlow, the town being one of the ducal seats.[1307] This emblem had been the badge of Edmund of Langley, duke of York and remained prominent throughout the Yorkist period, being granted to Edward IV's second son, Richard, in 1477.[1308] The fetterlock was most clearly associated with Richard, duke of York in the Yorkist period and earlier; as with the places and people associated with the regime discussed in chapters two and three, these emblems had a clear legacy from at least the 1450s. Richard, for example, was referred to consistently by this symbol in political poetry.[1309] He was described as wearing clothing embroidered with fetterlocks as he returned to England to claim the crown.[1310] The use of the badge by his grandson and namesake was not only a revival but may have symbolically evolved between the

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[1304] Lancastrian kings, for example, used the collar of esses as a symbol, which was first used as a livery badge by John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, D. Fletcher, 'The Lancastrian Collar of Esses: its Origins and Transformations down the Centuries' in J.L. Gillespie (ed.), *The Age of Richard II* (Stroud, 1997), pp. 191-204.

[1305] Siddons, *Heraldic Badges,* vol 2 part 1, pp. 4, 7-8, 38, 211.

[1306] The genealogical roll is highly decorated and replete with all the symbols associated with Edward IV; it was produced after 1468, as Margaret of York is referred to as duchess of Burgundy, but probably before 1471 as prince Edward has not been added.

[1307] See above, p. 73-76.

[1308] Siddons, *Heraldic Badges,* vol 2 part 1, pp. 38-39, 104-107.

[1309] Poem of c. 1449, *Excerpta Historica,* p. 162; 'The battle of Northampton (1460)' and 'Twelve Letters Save England (1461)', Robbins, *Historical Poems*, pp. 210, 220; 'Rose of Rouen', R.L Greene (ed.), *The Early English Carols* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1977), pp. 260-61.

[1310] *Gregory*, p. 208.

generations; it is anecdotally understood to have been changed from a closed to open fetterlock in recognition of the dynasty having gained the crown.[1311]
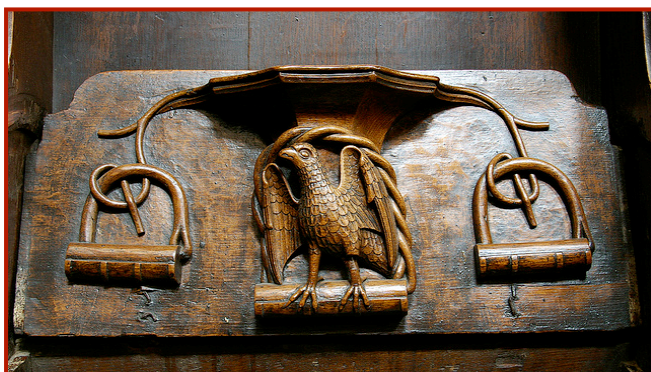

Figure 11: Falcon and fetterlock, St Laurence's Church, Ludlow

Figure 12: Richard, son of Edward IV, north west transept window, Canterbury Cathedral

Figure 13: White rose and fetterlock in BL Royal MS 19 A xix f. 4, Christine de Pizan's *Cité des Dames*, which may have been owned by Cecily Neville

Edward IV's use of the falcon and fetterlock made a visual connection with his father and the right to the throne the duke had gained from parliament.[1312] The Mortimer and Clarence devices, however, were particularly critical because they highlighted the lineage through which that claim was made. When York asserted his right to the throne he did so through superiority of lineage, as a direct descendant of Edward III's third son, Lionel of Clarence. This superseded the Lancastrian claim to rule through the fourth son, John of Gaunt. The complicating factor was one of gender: the Yorkist inheritance

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[1311] Ailes, 'Heraldry in England', pp. 97-98.

[1312] The symbol was used in official documents, for example two fetterlocks, a falcon and rose decorated the initial letter of the register of royal grants, Company of the Merchants of the Staple of Calais, Sutton, 'Celebration of Yorkist Accession', p. 161 figure 17.

passed through two females, the Lancastrians through an all male line.[1313] Roger Mortimer, fourth earl of March, was the grandson of Lionel and grandfather of Richard duke of York, thus connecting the Yorkists with Edward III. The association between York and Mortimer was politically charged long before 1460 and people were acutely aware of the potential of this lineage. Jack Cade's rebellion, for instance, highlighted the Mortimer connection in challenging the government in 1450.[1314] The Mortimer link was also made in more personal items, such as York's copy of Giles of Rome's *De Regimine Principum*, which included an image of his arms including those of Mortimer.[1315]

York's arms were the royal arms, differenced, and it was the raising of his standard without the differencing in 1460 that indicated his intention to claim the throne. As he entered London, the duke was said to have called for trumpeters to whom he gave banners 'with the hole armys of Inglonde with owte any dyversyte'.[1316] This was clearly understood as a political statement not just by experts in heraldry, but by citizens who observed and recorded it. The visual assertion of the right to the throne troubled those in parliament called on to answer York's claim. In their reply to the duke the lords questioned why he had chosen to bear the arms of York, rather than those of Clarence, and not pursue his claim earlier.[1317] He answered by stating that he lawfully could have borne the Clarence arms and those of Edward III undifferenced, but did not 'for causes not unknowen to all this reaume'.[1318] This was a sidestep of the issue, implying that he was silenced on the matter by those who ruled but that this did not diminish his right. The connection made here between imagery, through the display of heraldic devices, and political intent is clear. Similarly this demonstrates the political significance of these emblems; they were a pivot point in the discussion of who should rule. Position, defined by lineage, was forcibly displayed in the badges worn and banners displayed.

[1313] On those with claims to succession in the 1440s and 1450s see R.A. Griffiths, 'The Sense of Dynasty in the Reign of Henry VI', in Ross, *Patronage Pedigree and Power*, especially pp. 13-23; also Johnson, *Duke Richard*, pp. 99-100. See above, p. 2.

[1314] Davies, *English Chronicle,* p. 64.

[1315] Lambeth Palace Library Arc L.40.2/L.26, f. 42, noted in Briggs, *Giles of Rome,* pp. 68-70, n. 76.

[1316] *Gregory*, p. 208.

[1317] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1460', item 16.

[1318] *ibid*.

Parliament's acceptance of the validity of York's claim to the throne in October 1460 was critical to Yorkist rule and it hinged on the credence given to his superior lineage. The Clarence title took on a new prominence for the faction from this point onwards, most particularly in the early 1460s. Most strikingly Edward IV created his brother and male heir, George, duke of Clarence on 29 June 1461, the day after his coronation.[1319] This deliberate linking of these events highlights the significance of the investiture of Clarence in founding Edward's monarchy. Not only was this an elevation of an earl as king, it raised a dynasty to the monarchy; giving the king's brother a royal title singled him out for distinction as the heir to the throne and highlighted the title through which Edward's claim was based. The creation of Clarence in tandem with Edward's coronation bolstered the dynastic display not just with the reemergence of the title but with the use of a brother to host it; a public statement of legitimate and secure lineage. Even before his elevation to the ducal title Clarence was visible in royal ceremony, acting as steward at Edward's coronation, though he was only eleven at the time.[1320] On the day of his investiture, following the king's crown wearing at Westminster Abbey, a feast was held at the bishop's palace in London in honour of the new duke, extending the coronation festivities and highlighting Clarence's position and title.[1321] The promotion of this lineage was further evident in the use of the black bull motif of Clarence, which appeared prominently in contemporary imagery, such as the genealogy produced around the time of the coronation depicting Edward leading troops under this banner on his way to be crowned.[1322]

[1319] Kingsford, *Chronicles of London,* p. 176; *Great Chronicle,* p. 198; *Short English Chronicle,* p. 78; Hicks, *Clarence,* p. 18.

[1320] London's city leaders, for example, petitioned Clarence as steward of England not just to be allowed to serve at the coronation but also to take a gold cup as their fee and reward, Sharpe, *Letter Book L,* p. 5.

[1321] Hicks, *Clarence,* p. 18.
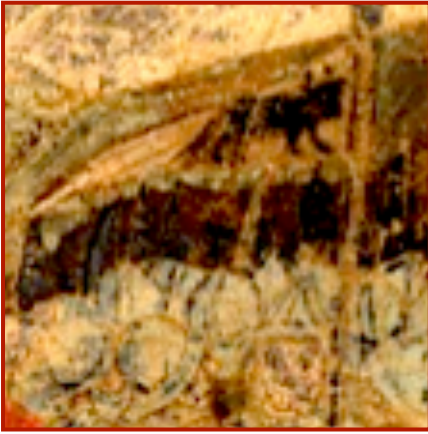
[1322] BL, Harley MS 7353.

Figure 14: Detail of the Clarence bull pennon, BL Harley MS 7353

Figure 15: Detail of black bull of Clarence in Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 201

The Clarence title was thus publicly and permanently bound with Yorkist monarchy through its bestowal on the royal heir. Edward, however, retained the Mortimer heritage for his own devices. These had particular significance for the new king as he had held a Mortimer title as earl of March. The white lion was one of his favoured motifs in marking the loyalty of adherents, appearing at the centre of Yorkist livery collars, depicted on tombs and in a portrait of Sir John Donne, for instance.[1323] In this it was the parallel to Richard III's boar emblem, for instance the two devices appear at the centre of livery collars on tombs of father and son, Nicholas and Ralph Fitzerherbert, at St Mary and St Barlok Church, Norbury, Derbyshire.[1324] Wearing the king's personal motif not only symbolised loyalty, it created an affinity. This was, like the honours system which underpinned the relationships around the monarch, again a demonstration of circles of intimacy, from the Garter knights with white lions on their collars to crowds of onlookers given white roses or boar badges to wear in viewing the king.[1325] This was both status and belonging, it was also support not just for the king but specifically for the Yorkist king.

[1323] 'Donne Triptych', by Hans Memling, National Gallery, London, see below, figure 17.

[1324] Nicholas (d. 1473) has a March lion, Sir Ralph (d. 1483) the boar, pictured in D.M. Hadley, *Death in Medieval England: An Archaeology* (Stroud, 2001), pp. 154.

[1325] See above, pp. 252, 288.

Figure 16: Detail of Mortimer white lion in Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 201


Figure 17: Sir John Donne, with Yorkist collar and Mortimer white lion. The Donne Triptych, by Hans Memling, c. 1478. The National Gallery, London

Edward IV presented himself as the heir of Mortimer and using these dynastic emblems emphasised and embedded this. The determination to display this lineage in presenting himself as monarch was especially apparent in the genealogies produced to clarify and assert the Yorkist claim to the throne. Not only were Yorkist rolls replete with heraldic motifs, but also earlier genealogies were amended to emphasise the Mortimer line. The roll University of Canterbury, New Zealand, MS 1, for instance, was amended in the 1460s with the prominent insertion of this lineage from Edward III to Edward IV.[1326] The Yorkist collar itself included yet another Mortimer device in the white rose, alongside Edward IV's personal motif of the sun. The white rose was the emblem most closely associated with Edward and was the greatest in prominence, both in imagery and literature. Just as the fetterlock was used to identify the duke of York in political poetry, the white rose represented Edward; similarly the boar symbolised Richard III.[1327] As with other Yorkist badges, the rose featured strongly in genealogies, but also in jewellery and fabrics. The crown of Margaret of York, for example, was decorated with white enamelled roses and fabrics were powdered with the symbol for use in royal

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[1326] 'The Maude Roll', University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand, MS 1, must have been amended after 1468 as Margaret of York is referred to as the duchess of Burgundy, but possibly before 1471 as there is no reference to Edward IV's male heir. The roll can be viewed online at 'http://www.canterbury.ac.nz/canterburyroll/rolling.shtml', see below, figures 18 and 19.

[1327] For example 'The Battle of Towton (1461)' and 'Twelve Letters Save England (1461)' in Robbins, *Historical Poems,* pp. 215-21; Colyngbourne's rhyme noted above, p. 200.

display, such as the hearse at the reburial of the duke of York in 1476.[1328] More personally, they appeared in many of the illuminated books Edward IV purchased in the later 1470s, signifying his ownership.[1329] As a symbol of the house of York white roses were also use to decorate official royal documents in the reign of both Edward IV and Richard III.[1330] Richard similarly used the white rose in tandem with his boar device in stonework.[1331] Edward IV's seals as king were each decorated with roses as well as suns.[1332]
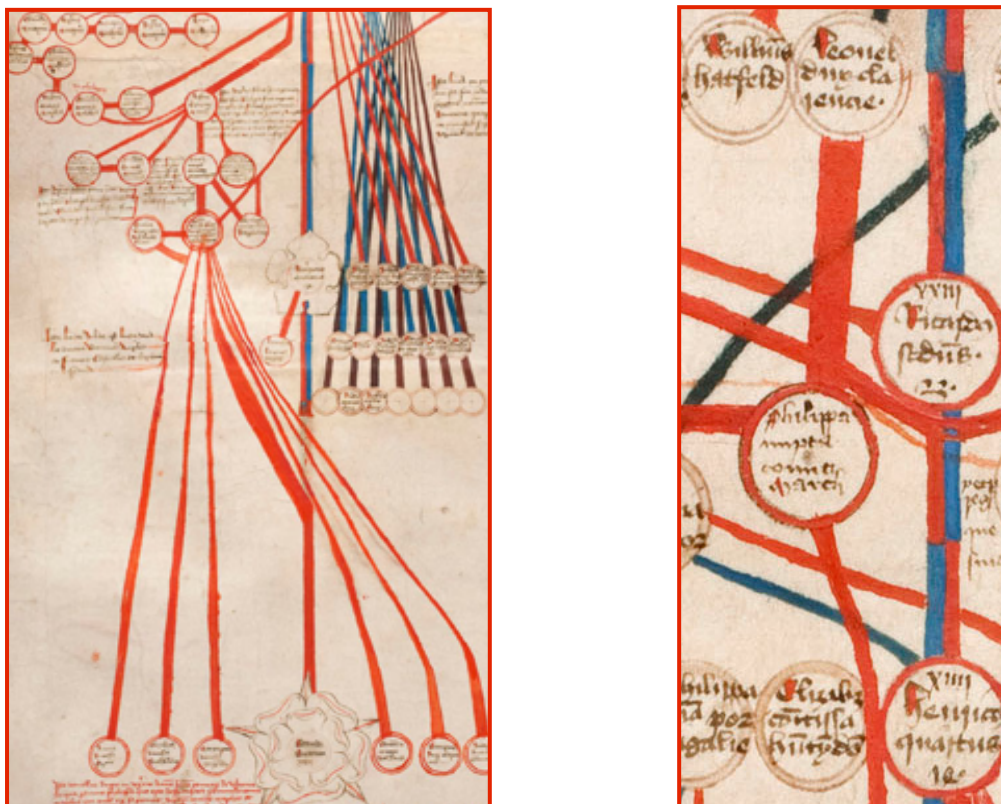
Figures 18-19: University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand, MS 1 'The Maude Roll', details. The red lines to the left of the roll are Yorkist additions of the Mortimer line from Lionel of Clarence to Edward IV

[1328] The crown was possibly for Margaret's wedding or a gift from the duchess to the cathedral at Aachen, where the crown is housed, for the image of Our Lady, Marks and Williamson, *Gothic,* pp. 154-55; BL, Harley MS 48, f. 79.

[1329] Including, for example, BL, Royal MS 14 E i, Vincent of Beauvais, *Le Miroir Historiale,* vol 1, f. 3r; BL, Royal MS 14 E v, Giovanni Boccaccio, *Des Cas des Ruynes des Nobles Hommes et Femmes,* f. 5; BL, Royal MS 14 E vi, Petrus de Crescentiis, *Rustican des Ruraulx Prouffiz du Labour des Champs*, ff. 10, 110, 215, 288; BL, Royal 14 MS E iv, Waurin, *Anciennes et Nouvelles Chroniques d'Angleterre*, ff. 1r, 23r, 34r, 49v.

[1330] For example, a charter of Richard III to Bristol, 28 November 1484, confirming letters patent of Edward IV; King's Bench plea roll, Trinity 1483, white boar with *rose en soleil*, P. Tudor-Craig, *Richard III: Catalogue of an Exhibition held at the National Portrait Gallery, 27 June-7 October 1973* (London, 1973)*,* pl. 73, 113.

[1331] For example a boar supporting a white rose on the library gates at Cambridge, Barnard, '1475', p. 12.

[1332] Siddons, *Heraldic Badges*, vol 2 part 1, pp. 218-19.

Figure 20: University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia, MS Roll 1066. The line of succession from Lionel of Clarence, through Philippa, Roger Mortimer, Anne Mortimer and Richard duke of York to Edward IV, is highlighted parallel to the line of succession

Monarchs could employ a wide range of symbolism to assert their position and the Yorkist use of badges was clearly focused on lineage and legitimacy. In part this was because of the need to promote the house, as well as the individual as king, at the outset of the regime. Although there was a distinction between dynastic and personal devices in this period, in practice they substantially overlapped.[1333] There was an imperative for the Yorkists, Edward IV in particular, to ensure that such emblems not only asserted his status and that of his house, but did so as royal. While noble devices could be chosen to suggest character traits, Edward IV's specifically aimed at identifying with his heritage. Richard III differed to his brother in this, as his white boar emblem was a personal choice, made as duke of Gloucester and kept when king.[1334]

This is not to argue that there was a limited sense of personal choice in Edward IV's devices, however. His sun in splendour motif was deliberately special to this king as an individual, used as a motif both alone and frequently behind the white rose, the *rose en soleil*; a symbol which itself emphasised the overlap between the personal and the dynastic. A lament on the death of Edward IV brought all these elements together in describing the king: 'Edward the iiijth I mene, with the sonne, the rose, the sonne-beme'.[1335] The *rose en soleil* was the visual depiction of this unity and a favourite symbol of Edward IV, it was for instance chosen as his identifying badge in the grand dynastic statement in stained glass at Canterbury Cathedral.[1336] The sun in splendour was a badge of Richard II, so Edward IV's use of this was again a dynastic assertion.[1337] More significantly, though, the sun identified with Edward's vision of three suns before the battle at Mortimer's Cross, presaging his victory and demonstrating divine support. This was a critical moment in the evolution of Yorkist monarchy, success at the battle

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[1333]   On the distinction between the personal and dynastic emblem, see S. Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London, 1992), p. 122.

[1334]   Barnard, '1475', pp. 9-12; Siddons, *Heraldic Badges,* vol 2 part 1, pp. 52-53. The earliest identification of the boar badge with Richard seems to be in Fenn's Book of Badges (c.1466-70), BL, Additional MS 40742, f. 5; Richard's retinue for the French campaign in 1475 certainly used the boar, College of Arms, MS 16(bis), f. 16v.

[1335] Robbins, *Historical Poems,* p. 111.

[1336] See below, figure 21.

[1337] Siddons, *Heraldic Badges,* vol 2 part 1, pp. 30, 231-32.

was politically vital and established Edward as a military leader in his own right, and the imagery served to conceptualise the new regime.[1338]

Figure 21: North west transept window, Canterbury Cathedral
Edward IV and *rose en soleil*

As a battle, Mortimer's Cross is something of a footnote in the Wars of the Roses. Little is known about the fighting on the day; even the date is in dispute, and chroniclers typically tend merely to note Edward's victory.[1339] The striking exception to this is the interest in the vision of three suns described as appearing in the sky before the battle. This natural phenomenon, a parhelia, was said to have appeared on the morning of the battle above Edward, who took it as a token of the Holy Trinity, showing that God was on his side.[1340] As one chronicler reported:

> 'abowte x atte clocke before none, were seen iij sonnys in the
> fyrmament shynyng fulle clere, whereof the peple hade grete
> mervayle, and therof were agast. The noble erle Edward thaym
> comforted and sayde, "Beethe of good comfort, and dredethe not; thys
> ys a good sygne, for these iij sonys betoken the Fader, the Sone, and
> the Holy Gost, and therefore late vs haue a good harte, and in the

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[1338] The sun in splendour is depicted in the glass at St Michael and All Angels near Croft Castle, close to the battlefield at Mortimer's Cross, Hughes, *Arthurian Myths,* p. 83.

[1339] See above, n. 239.

[1340] Reported in the *Short English Chronicle*, p. 77; Davies, *English Chronicle*, p. 110; *Gregory*, p. 211.

name of Almyghtye God go we agayns oure enemyes." And so by His grace, he had the vyctory of his enemyes'.[1341]

This vision constitutes the core of Yorkist monarchy's self presentation in establishing the new king and his authority. The visual element here signalled the significance of the victory and sanctioned his right to rule, demonstrating the support of God and his special favour for Edward. In this it identified Edward as a warrior monarch and emphasised the justness of his battle to claim the throne. The use of this vision in Yorkist imagery highlights how this idea of the new king was communicated, both as a legend that could be told and a picture that could be seen. The most pictorial genealogy produced at Edward's accession, BL Harley MS 7353, depicted the moment of the vision as a key element of his route to the throne. Edward, in armour and surrounded by his men, is shown as struck by the vision, saying '*D[omi]ne quid vis me facere*', echoing the flash of light from heaven seen by St Paul before asking the same of Jesus.[1342] This image was placed alongside a biblical parallel of the Trinity appearing to Moses in a burning bush. The images of Edward's path to the throne are sequential, ending at the top with him at the apex of the wheel of fortune, the biblical parallels chosen to mirror episodes in the life of the new king.[1343] The pairing of Edward's victory at Mortimer's Cross with Moses and St Paul receiving instruction from God pointed both to divine support for his cause and his role in bringing a new beginning for his people.[1344]

[1341] Davies, *English Chronicle,* p. 110.

[1342] Acts 9, 'Lord, what would you have me do?'; Hughes, *Arthurian Myths,* p. 83.

[1343] Edward's adventures were linked to biblical events: his flight to Calais in 1460 alongside Moses' deliverance; offering obedience to Henry VI following victory at the battle of Northampton in 1460 with David offering king Saul unction; the vision at Mortimer's Cross with Moses' vision of the Trinity; Edward leading the Yorkist army (possibly representing Towton) alongside Joshua at the battle of Jericho; finally Edward and Joshua atop fortune's wheel. Strohm, *Politique,* p. 2 differs in viewing the second image listed as Christ being saved from the slaughter of the innocents.

[1344] God gave Moses special powers to bring freedom to his people, *Exodus.*

Figures 22-23: BL Harley MS 7353, Edward's vision of the three suns at Mortimer's Cross and genealogy

This genealogical roll presented Edward as a leader through his military prowess and through God's word, as well as through his lineage. The lower panel of the same genealogy comprises a family tree with Edward triumphantly bearing his sword upright at the top. The images in the roll thus depict the Yorkist lineage and promote the regime's version of how supremacy was achieved. The focus is on the fact of victory and of God's statement that Edward is the king, not on the style of his success, for example the defeat of enemies or the broader ritual. Between the family tree and fortune's wheel, the images show Edward, Warwick and Salisbury sailing to Calais following defeat at Ludford Bridge in October 1459, the meeting of Henry VI with the earls at the battle of Northampton in July 1460 at which Henry was taken captive, the vision at Mortimer's Cross in February 1461 and Edward leading the Yorkist army.

This is an unusual genealogy, not conforming to the lines of descent that usually formed the core of such rolls. Indeed it is even more atypical in depicting a king in action, as opposed to merely being the monarch, a reflection of the competition for the throne in 1461.[1345] In this aspect it connects with the Yorkist drive to use the drama of military victory in promoting the regime and controlling the message, presenting Edward as the hero of a contrived narrative. This parallels the textual approach, demonstrated for instance in the *Arrivall's* presentation of Edward's recovery of the throne in 1471.[1346] In

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[1345] R. Horrox, 'Images of Royalty' in Marks and Williamson, *Gothic*, p. 171.

[1346] See above, pp. 230-39.

the *Arrivall* Edward was again shown as a warrior king overcoming obstacles to assert his rightful claim to the throne, and triumphing. The *Arrivall* is also similar in highlighting a visual miracle in constructing the account, comparable with the vision of the three suns. In this instance Edward, worshipping at Daventry parish church on Palm Sunday, 7 April 1471, witnessed a closed image of St Anne burst open before all, which the king was said to have taken as a heavenly sign of his just cause and success to come.[1347] This occurred in the lead up to Edward arriving in London to take the throne and showed divine blessing of his rule. It also referenced military victory, Palm Sunday having been the day on which he had decisively defeated the Lancastrians at Towton, causing Henry VI to flee the realm in 1461. This account, like the chronicle reports of Mortimer's Cross, was written after Edward had gained (or regained) the throne and forms part of the narrative of Yorkist acquisition of power. The episode was also a device for asserting the inexorability of Edward's success, the vision of St Anne, like that at Mortimer's Cross, serving as a qualification within the narrative of how the events described should be understood.[1348] The genealogy went a stage further in this by paralleling each incident in Edward's progress with a biblical image, stories embedded in medieval culture.

The success of this approach to Yorkist promotion is evident in the degree to which the narrative was absorbed in contemporary texts. The *Arrivall* was a key source for information on Edward's adventures in 1471, being used by a number of chroniclers.[1349] Similarly the drama of Edward's vision of the three suns before victory at Mortimer's Cross resonated with chroniclers and was reinforced much more widely by the employment of the sun in splendour as one of his motifs. Critically the vision occurred at the very start of Edward's political ascendancy, helping to shape the idea of him as a Godly warrior monarch. That the use of the vision in this promotion of the king was pragmatic, superseding its value as a spiritual sign, is clear. *Gregory,* for instance, highlighted the influence of stories circulating about the battle and the vision witnessed

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[1347] *Arrivall,* p. 160. The cult of St Anne became increasingly popular during the fifteenth century and may have been particularly special to the Yorkist kings, whose claim to the throne rested on their grandmother and the saint's namesake, Anne Mortimer, Hughes, *Arthurian Myths,* p. 122; V. Nixon, *Mary's Mother. Saint Anne in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2004), pp. 21-40.

[1348] Scase, 'Poetics of Spectacle', p. 180.

[1349] See above, p. 229.

there, his information being hearsay about the occurrence.[1350] The only sources to report the story of the three suns appearing on the day of the battle are London chronicles, all of which were written in the 1460s or later, after Edward had been crowned.[1351] They demonstrate the aspects of the battle which survived in stories through the subsequent decade. Probably these chronicle accounts were influenced either directly or indirectly by images such as those in the genealogy, made around the time of Edward's coronation specifically for display and to promote the legitimacy of his rule.[1352] Such images were made to be seen and the prominence of this phenomenon in London chronicles, and those chronicles only, is suggestive of what information was circulating, where. The impression given is that from the establishment of the regime a narrative of Edward's accession was developed, using such events to bolster his spiritual and dynastic legitimacy and in doing so defining the style of his monarchy.

The use of the sun in splendour as a personal device indicates the importance of using a visually resonant motif which combined with a narrative of events to demonstrate the inevitability and appropriateness of Edward's rule. That it also referenced a battle with the 'Mortimer' name was also politically useful, underlining Yorkist legitimacy by highlighting the Mortimer lineage, albeit obliquely. While the precise location of the battle is unclear, being described as Wigmore or near Wales in some sources, there was clearly political capital to be gained by emphasising its proximity to Mortimer's Cross. Indeed it is noteworthy that the source closest in production to the date of the battle does not name it while later references, even where the vision is not mentioned, do state

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[1350] *Gregory,* p. 211.

[1351] The *Short English Chronicle* and *Gregory*, for example, are London chronicles that continued up to 1465 and 1469 respectively; Davies, *English Chronicle,* is not strictly a London chronicle, but as a version of the *Brut* is derived from London chronicles and produced in the city milieu, probably composed in the early 1460s; Gransden, *English Historical Literature ii,* pp. 221-22, 228-31; W. Marx, *An English Chronicle 1377-1461 A New Edition Aberystwyth National Library of Wales MS 21608 and Oxford Bodleian MS Lyell 34* (Woodbridge, 2003), p. xiv.

[1352] Hughes, *Arthurian Myths,* p. 121.

it took place at Mortimer's Cross.[1353] The vision, geography and victory collectively emphasised Yorkist legitimacy in spiritual, dynastic and military terms. In stemming from the legacy of one battle and being augmented by subsequent incidents this was also clearly an evolving visual and textual rhetoric, not an approach strategised from the outset.

Mortimer's Cross was a critical moment in Edward's path to the throne, defining him as a leader following the death of his father, the Yorkist leader, five weeks earlier. This was the first battle he led in his own right and his victory was vital, not in turning the course of the war, but in establishing his position as a credible monarch. The story propagated in the London chronicles and genealogies thrust Edward to the fore, and their presentation of his success at Mortimer's Cross demonstrated his capacity for leadership. Much has been made of the crossroads Edward found himself at, literally and politically, at the battle of Mortimer's Cross.[1354] The vision of the three suns has been viewed as a point of acute self-realisation for Edward, the instant at which he became assured of God's support.[1355] Certainly the image of the three suns was presented in terms of divine support, and immediately associated with monarchy, as the image of the suns shining through three crowns towards Edward in BL Harley MS 7353 demonstrates. There is little sense in the written accounts, however, that the incident was intended to be understood as a defining moment for Edward personally or a change in his relationship with God. Rather the emphasis was on the phenomenon as proof of Edward's right to rule, that his victory and accession were destined. This is an important distinction because the sources aimed to present a story of Edward's path to power in which this was a momentous event but specifically not a shift in destiny, as also seen in the use of the St Anne miracle in the *Arrivall*.

[1353] The closest source is a letter of the Milanese ambassador to France to the duke of Milan of 11 March 1461, *CSPM*, p. 57, which does not give a site but notes the recovery of Wales as an outcome of victory. The battle is also said to have taken place at Wigmore, around four miles from Mortimer's Cross, Davies, *English Chronicle*, p. 110, also *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 p. 775; *Benet,* p. 229, describes it as having taken place 'in Wallia'; Flenley, *Six Town Chronicles,* p. 167 in the marches of Wales. *Short English Chronicle,* p. 77; Kingsford, *Chronicles of London,* p. 172; *Crowland,* p. 113; *Gregory,* p. 211 all state the battle took place at Mortimer's Cross. For a discussion of the negotiation involved in naming battlefields and the potential meaning given to battles through naming, see P.J. Morgan, 'The Naming of Battlefields in the Middle Ages' in D. Dunn (ed.), *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Britain* (Liverpool, 2000), pp. 34-52.

[1354] Hughes, *Arthurian Myths,* pp. 81-83, 120-21.

[1355] *ibid.,* p. xi.

Mortimer's Cross, then, represents the genesis not just of the symbolic character of Yorkist monarchy but of the regime's style of promotion, its approach to visual and textual communication. This used events which happened and interpreted them as a narrative which was dramatic, engaging and comprehensible to a wide range of people. The formula which began to take shape around the image of Edward IV in early 1461 as his sovereignty was asserted reached its visual crescendo in 1476 at the reburial of his father. This pinnacle of Yorkist celebration was a declaration of dynastic legitimacy focused on the commemoration of Richard, duke of York, but was saturated with assertions of Edward's royal authority. Most prominently, this centred on the figure of York himself. In the effigy of the duke was the synthesis of all the ideas explored within this chapter: Yorkist royal identity expressed in the fabrics and motifs on display; the presence of the crown as a statement of sovereignty, and the body of a would-be king.

York's effigy was at the heart of the display at the funeral, an honour reserved for royalty and bishops, wearing royal fabrics and colours and surrounded by banners bearing the arms of England.[1356] There was no mistaking the intent of the reburial to be seen as that of a true king, and above the effigy an angel held a crown, defining his right to the throne as God given. Yet royalty was imposed around the image of the duke of York in an incredibly careful manner, in which the insistence on York's right to the crown was juxtaposed awkwardly with the admissions of his failure to achieve it, symbolised by the positioning of the crown with his effigy. The surviving texts put the emphasis slightly differently, but the point is clear. The crown was *'presentant'* to York, was *'derriere son chief, nom pas de sus'*, or held 'over his hed in token that hee was kinge of right': he was not actually crowned.[1357] Edward's not quite crowning of his father left it just out of touch, like Edward V's image at Windsor, boosting his own achievement in gaining the crown. In a sense, this was instilling achievement after the fact to York; with the presentation of a crown it was almost, but not quite, a coronation and funeral in one. The image parallels the paper crowning said to have been carried out by the Lancastrians before they killed York in 1460.[1358] In that instance, the crowning

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[1356] *Reburial*, p. 6.

[1357] BL, Harley MS 4632, f. 123; BL, Harley MS 48, f. 78; BL, Egerton MS 2642, f. 191v.

[1358] *Annales,* vol 2 part 2 pp. 774-75.

has been seen as York's enemies validating his claim to the throne through giving voice to it; in the reburial Edward, who did not wear his crown at the ceremony, was not mocking his father but at the same time as exploiting his lineage, he was not entirely handing the crown over.[1359] On his own hearse, the effigy wore the crown.[1360]

As a symbol of kingship, the crown was crucial to the display at the reburial ceremony and its distance from York was vital; just as the event served Edward by emphasising his father's right to rule, it did not taint the crown by allowing one who never ruled to wear it. This encapsulates the paradox of a kingly reburial of one who was never king, highlighting a tension in display indicative of the difficult balance Edward was making in manipulating the image of his father. He was presented and buried as a king, yet was not quite crowned, and York's epitaph further stressed the significance of parliament in validating his claim to the throne.[1361] Thus the legitimacy of the Yorkist regime was, even at this high point in royal display, a subject of debate and necessarily boosted by the authority of parliament, an assertion aimed at highlighting public endorsement of Yorkist dynastic credibility.[1362] There was a further comment here on the dynamic between ruling of right and ruling in fact. By asserting York's rightful claim to the throne he never possessed and burying him in the manner of a king, Edward was validating his own rule by emphasising his claim through lineage. The ceremony was a stage upon which Edward distanced himself from usurpation: there was admission that he had not inherited the crown, but insistence that he had inherited the right to it, and that was the focus, not the military victories securing his throne. This assertion, however, was a double-edged sword: in emphasising York's *right* to rule, it highlighted that he did not. Placing the crown above the effigy made this dynamic visual; Edward himself represented the union of ruling by right and in deed.

This was a distinctly nuanced use of a royal effigy. It was not a political statement of natural succession as in the case of Edward II's likeness, nor was it a symbolic

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[1359] Strohm, *Politique*, p. 211.

[1360] Edward IV's effigy also held the orb and sceptre, College of Arms, MS I 7, ff. 28-28v.

[1361] College of Arms, MS M 3, f. i(v).

[1362] For a discussion of the role of parliament in legitimising a monarch, see J.W. McKenna, 'The Myth of Parliamentary Sovereignty in Late Medieval England', *English Historical Review,* 94 (1979), pp. 481-506.

transmission of power as at the accession of a new king.[1363] In France, the use of an effigy within funeral ceremonies has been viewed as representing the manifestation of the public body of the king in the symbolic transference of power to the new, mortal, king.[1364] In England, however, this symbolism was less specific and representative rather of commemoration.[1365] In particular instances, such as the funerals of Edward II and Richard II, the effigy was politically charged.[1366] The duke of York's effigy was different again. This was not symbolism which represented the mortal monarch in death juxtaposed with the immortal office of kingship about to be transferred.[1367] In fact it was an inversion of that idea. Rather than individual identity submerged by the institution, York's effigy celebrated the triumph of the individual. The duke's success in proving his claim to the throne combined with Edward's ability to prosecute that claim, demonstrated by his visible magnificence at the ceremony, constituted a Yorkist victory. The effigy was not used at the ceremony to represent a transfer of power but to visually enhance the rewriting of history, York visibly a rightful king, as also occurred in record form on the parliament rolls.[1368] The rewriting of the past, visually and textually, was entirely congruous with the forward-looking Yorkist promotion of the *Arrivall*, establishing reputation and defining legacy.

[1363] Burden, 'Funeral of Edward II', pp. 13–29.

[1364] Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies,* especially pp. 314-450; R.E. Giesey, 'Inaugural Aspects of French Royal Ceremonials' in Bak, *Coronations,* pp. 38-40.

[1365] Giesey, *Royal Funeral Ceremony,* p. 85; *Reburial,* pp. 6-7; Given-Wilson, 'Exequies of Edward III', p. 258.

[1366] In Richard II's case, the lack of effigy, Burden, 'Funeral of Edward II', pp. 13–29; *idem.,* 'Funeral of Richard II', pp. 41, 51.

[1367] Burden, *Rituals of Royalty*, p. 130.

[1368] Horrox, 'Parliament of 1461', 'Introduction', items 8-13.

Conclusion

Lavish display suffused royal actions, not just in the high ceremony of coronations and funerals but in more ordinary instances of the exercise of authority, such as the embellishment of charters, and less performative arenas, for instance book ownership. Symbols made the king omnipresent; they did so by being both traditionally royal, for example the crown and coat of arms, and by being personal, through dynastic emblems. This was the fundamental dynamic of visual communication in the period: ensuring that monarchy and Yorkism entwined. Thus the establishment of the regime was illustrated with Yorkist symbols such as the white rose, Clarence bull and Mortimer lion, as well as motifs specific to Edward IV such as the sun in splendour. This unity was most clearly articulated in the genealogies produced in the early 1460s, lineage asserted and decorated with such devices. Symbolism and the claim to legitimacy were synthesised throughout royal display, indeed identification by lineage was the primary function of the use of visual motifs. This linked with the expression of monarchy afforded by the physical wearing of the crown, display of banners and royal arms. To be king required a performance of majesty and the exhibition of splendour was necessary to embody the role of monarch and demonstrate status. This was especially vital for a monarch such as Edward IV who faced competition from a rival king, the need to assert superiority and diminish Henry VI's legacy not just in royal display but also in the control of the body of the former king.

Conclusion

This thesis has explored the ways in which royal display and the performance of majesty in the period 1461 to 1485 served to underpin the Yorkist regime. Analysis has focused on both the display itself and the ways in which the monarchy publicly articulated an interconnected matrix of messages, emphasising membership and allegiance, the legitimacy of the king, the chivalric identity particularly of Edward IV, and underscored the authority of the crown. These ideas and themes were promoted both textually and visually, and synthesised with the use of royal display in order to create bonds between the monarch and his supporters. The places, people, ideas and symbolism encompassed in royal spectacle functioned to demonstrate authority, engender loyalty and promote legitimacy.

Three themes have emerged as preeminent in this study. Firstly, the significance of the regime's foundation in civil war, which fuelled the promotion of Edward IV as a warrior monarch and heightened the importance of loyalty. Secondly, the competition with Lancastrian kingship and the difficulties of dealing with a living, rival monarch in Henry VI through the 1460s; this dominated Edward IV's attitudes towards both Lancastrian foundations and Henry VI himself, presenting him with the awkward task of absorbing a regal identity while distancing himself from the previous regime. Thirdly, Yorkist royal display was driven by the complexity of fusing royal sites and symbolism with those already associated with the house of York, in order to elevate the status of the monarch and assert legitimacy.

Yorkist monarchy was not prescribed and defined wholesale in 1461, but rather evolved in reaction to circumstance and continued to adapt throughout both reigns. Above all, political crisis was the driving force in this development; the clearest indications of how Yorkist royal ideology was constructed emerge at those points where the regime was called upon to defend or assert itself. The Yorkist propensity to self-destruct dictated that this happened repeatedly throughout the period: in the calamities of 1469-71; the destruction of Clarence in 1478, and Richard III's usurpation in 1483. The invasion of Henry Tudor was the last crisis faced by a king of the house of York and the regime ended on the battlefield at Bosworth. Ultimately, Yorkist monarchy failed in 1485. Yet

the enhanced importance of public display to the expression of monarchy and the ways in which a royal identity was shaped and defined in reaction to a previous reign continued in the Tudor period.[1369]

In constructing his own monarchy, Henry VII borrowed from Lancastrian lineage in asserting legitimacy while also embracing Yorkist identity, at least in part. He supported the proposed canonisation of his half-uncle, Henry VI, for example, and famously merged Yorkist and Lancastrian symbolism in the Tudor rose, used as one of his badges as king.[1370] While he buried Richard III without ostentation at Leicester, Edward IV's sepulchre at Windsor remained, although it was not completed, and Henry VII planned his own magnificent tomb at Westminster Abbey, near to Henry V's burial place. Like Edward IV and Richard III, Henry was a monarch whose position was threatened and whose claim to rule required justification. The imperative to assert status, legitimacy, worthiness and regality was heightened, and the performance of majesty was a critical part of achieving this. The construction of Yorkist monarchy throughout the period was dictated by circumstance, but its legacy was profound, rewriting the visual symbolism of monarchy and instigating a resurgence of interest in chivalric ideals and pursuits, which would eventually find a new champion in Henry VIII.[1371]

[1369] On Tudor public monarchy, see for example K. Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth Century England* (New Haven and London, 2009), pp. 61-78; Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship*.

[1370] On the use of the Lancastrian symbol of esses and the Tudor rose by Henry VII and Henry VIII, Siddons, *Heraldic Badges,* vol 2 part 1, pp. 70, 221-26.

[1371] Gunn, 'Chivalry and Politics', pp. 107-28; *idem.,* 'Henry VIII's Foreign Policy and the Tudor Cult of Chivalry' in C. Giry-Déloison (ed.), *François Ier et Henri VIII: Deux Princes de la Renaissance (1515-1547)* (Paris, 1995), pp. 25-35; Davies, 'Henry VIII and Henry V', pp. 235-62; D.J.B. Trim, "Knights of Christ'? Chivalric Culture in England, c.1400-c.1550' in *idem.* and P.J. Balderstone (eds.), *Cross, Crown and Community. Religion, Government and Culture in Early Modern England, 1400-1800* (Frankfurt, 2004), pp. 77-112.

Appendix   Chronology of Key Events

Year	Date	Event Type	Details
1455	22 May	Battle	St Albans
1460	June	Manifesto	Warwick, Salisbury and Edward, from Calais
	10 July	Battle	Northampton
	7 Oct 1460 - 3 Feb 1461	Parliament	Henry VI's 'Yorkist' parliament
	25 October	Parliament	Act of Accord
	30 December	Battle	Wakefield
1461	2/3 February	Battle	Mortimer's Cross
	17 February	Battle	St Albans
	29 March	Battle	Towton, near York
	28 June	Coronation	Edward IV
	4 September	Civic Reception	Edward IV at Bristol
	4 Nov 1461 - 6 May 1462	Parliament	Edward IV's first parliament
1463	February	Tournament	Jousting at Westminster
	29 Apr 1463 - 28 Mch 1465	Parliament	Edward IV's second parliament
1464	1 May	Marriage	Edward IV to Elizabeth Woodville
1465	26 May	Coronation	Elizabeth Woodville
1466	February	Visit	Bohemians Leo Rozmital and Gabriel Tetzel, to London and Windsor
	Spring	Tournament	Jousting at Eltham
1467	3 June 1467 - 7 June 1468	Parliament	Edward IV's third parliament
	11-17 June	Tournament	Between Anthony, Earl Rivers and the Bastard of Burgundy, Smithfield
1468	3 July	Marriage	Margaret of York to Charles the Bold of Burgundy at Damme
1469	11 July	Marriage	George duke of Clarence to Isabel Neville, Calais
	12 July	Manifesto	Warwick and Clarence, from Calais
	18 July	Civic Reception	Elizabeth Woodville, Norwich
	26 July	Battle	Edgecote
1470	March	Manifesto	*Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire*

Year	Date	Event Type	Details
	15 July-4 August	Manifesto	*Maner and Guydyng of the erle of Warwick at Angers*
	6 Oct 1470-11 April 1471 26 November 1470 - (possibly) April 1471	Parliament	Readeption of Henry VI Readeption parliament
1471	14 April	Battle	Barnet
	4 May	Battle	Tewkesbury
	June(?)	Manifesto	*Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV*
	26 June	Creation	Edward, son of Edward IV as prince of Wales
1472	6 Oct 1472 - 14 March 1475	Parliament	Edward IV's fourth parliament
	October	Visit	Louis Gruthuyse, to London and Windsor
	13 October	Creation	Louis Gruthuyse created earl of Winchester
1474	28 April	Civic Reception	Prince Edward, Coventry
1475	July-August Treaty of Picquigny, 29 Aug	Battle	Edward IV's French campaign
1476	21-30 July	Funeral	Reburial of Richard duke of York, at Fotheringhay
1478	15 January	Marriage	Prince Richard and Anne Mowbray, St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster
	16 January - 28 February	Parliament	Edward IV's fifth parliament
	22 January	Tournament	Tournament at the marriage of Richard, duke of York, at Westminster
	18 February	Funeral	Execution of Clarence
1479	22 March	Funeral	Prince George, at Windsor
1482	27-28 May	Funeral	Princess Mary, at Windsor
1483	20 January - 18 February	Parliament	Edward IV's sixth parliament
	9-19 April	Funeral	Edward IV, at Windsor
	6 July	Coronation	Richard III and Anne Neville
	29 August	Civic Reception	Richard III at York
	8 September	Creation	Investiture of Edward of Middleham as prince of Wales at York
1484	23 January - 20 February	Parliament	Richard III's first parliament

Abbreviations

Annales	'Wilhelmi Wyrcester *Annales Rerum Anglicarum*' in J. Stevenson (ed.), *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France* (2 vols in 3 parts, London, 1861-64)
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Benet	G.L. and M.A. Harriss (eds.), 'John Benet's Chronicle for the Years 1400-1462', *Camden Miscellany,* 24 (1972)
BIHR	*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*
BL	British Library
CSPM	*Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts existing in the Archives and Collections of Milan vol 1: 1385-1618*
CPR	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*
CChR	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*
CCR	*Calendar of Close Rolls*
Chronicle of the Rebellion	J.G. Nichols (ed.), *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire, 1470* in K. Dockray (ed.), *Three Chronicles of the Reign of Edward IV* (Gloucester, 1988)
Crowland	N. Pronay and J. Cox (eds.)*, The Crowland Chronicle Continuations: 1459-1486* (London, 1986)
DNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004
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