

Gerhard von Wesel's Newsletter from England, 17 April 1471

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From the perspective of the modern scholar, one of the more fascinating aspects of the political crisis of 1470-71 is the existence of a number of closely contemporary 'eye-witness' accounts of events in England. Several of these accounts take the form of letters sent by diplomats or private individuals to the European continent or the English regions to transmit news of the latest developments.¹ The best known of these newsletters were commissioned by the restored Edward IV himself,² but others contain the independent (if sometimes badly informed) observations, which their authors reported – we must assume – in good faith. One of the most interesting of these accounts, not least because of its distinctive perspective, is that sent to the authorities of the German city of Cologne by Gerhard von Wesel, a merchant of the Steelyard, the Hanseatic headquarters in London. It was first printed in the German original by Goswin, Freiherr von der Ropp, in 1890,³ and an English translation by Donald White was published by John Adair in the *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* in 1968.⁴

The newsletter's author, Gerhard von Wesel,⁵ was born in about 1443 as the second of three sons of Hermann von Wesel (died 1484), a Cologne merchant trading in England from the later 1420s.⁶ It is possible that the boy's parents initially intended him for a clerical or academic career, since he received a degree of formal education and by the age of about fourteen had enrolled at the university of Cologne. Certainly, Gerhard seems to have acquired a grounding in Latin, and by the end of his life owned several books in that language, but rather than making a formal career of his learning, he instead followed in his father's footsteps.⁷ Like his elder brother Peter he entered the family business,⁸ and by the mid 1460s both were among the merchants trading in the London Steelyard.⁹

Throughout the fifteenth century, English relations with the towns of the Hanseatic league were frequently troubled by commercial rivalry and reciprocal acts of piracy, but few clashes were as serious as the crisis which arose from the murder of the Danish governor of Iceland and his family by a group of merchants from Bristol and Bishop's Lynn in the autumn of 1467.¹⁰ In retaliation for the seizure of six English ships by King Christian of Denmark, Edward IV ordered the arrest of all Hanseatic merchants in England and the impounding of their goods. Yet, on account of the importance of the Hanseatic trade to the English, the merchants of Cologne, who dominated this trade, were soon formally exempted from the

¹ I am grateful to Dr. Livia Visser-Fuchs for her comments on a draft of this paper.

² For examples of such letters see e.g. James Gairdner, ed., *The Paston Letters*, 5 vols., London 1904, repr. Gloucester 1986, vol. 5, pp. 99-101; *Calendar of State Papers, Milan*, vol. 1, 1385-1618, London 1912, nos. 209, 210, 312, 220; L.M.E. Dupont, ed., *Anchiennes Croniques d'Engleterre par Jehan de Wavrin*, 3 vols., Paris 1858-63, vol. 3, pp. 210-15. The fullest discussion of these newsletters is found in Livia Visser-Fuchs, 'Edward IV's memoir on paper to Charles, Duke of Burgundy', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, vol. 36, (1992), pp. 167-227, and see also Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, vol. 2: *c.1307 to the early Sixteenth Century*, London 1982, pp. 249, 261-65, 481-84, 487-89.

³ Goswin von der Ropp, ed., *Hanserecesse, 1431-1476*, Leipzig 1890, vol. 6, pp. 415-18.

⁴ John Adair, 'The newsletter of Gerhard von Wesel, 17 April 1471', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, vol. 46 (1968), pp. 65-69.

⁵ The most recent biography of Gerhard von Wesel is that by Professor Stuart Jenks in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. For von Wesel's role during the Anglo-Hanseatic crisis of 1468-74 see J. Deeters, 'Gerhard von Wesel – ein Kölner Kaufmann im Londoner Hansekontor', in V. Henn and A. Nedkvitne, eds., *Norwegen und die Hanse*, Frankfurt a. M. *et al.* 1994, pp. 161-76. An earlier (and fuller) account of his career is Paula Ullrich, 'Gerhard von Wesel, ein Kölner Kaufmann und Bürgermeister', Diss. Phil., Marburg, 1918.

⁶ Deeters, 'Gerhard von Wesel', p. 163; Ullrich, 'Gerhard von Wesel', pp. 5, 7.

⁷ Deeters, 'Gerhard von Wesel', p. 163; Ullrich, 'Gerhard von Wesel', p. 7; Hermann Keussen *et al.*, eds., *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln*, 7 vols., Bonn, Düsseldorf 1928-81, vol. 1, 1389-1475, no. 273 (33).

⁸ Stuart Jenks, *England, die Hanse und Preußen: Handel und Diplomatie 1377-1474*, 3 vols., Cologne 1992, vol. 3, p. 976.

⁹ Deeters, 'Gerhard von Wesel', p. 163; Jenks, *England, die Hanse und Preußen*, vol. 3, p. 976.

¹⁰ For what follows see Deeters, 'Gerhard von Wesel', pp. 162-68; Jenks, *England, die Hanse und Preußen*, vol. 2, pp. 710-31; *idem*, 'Gerhard von Wesel', *passim*; *idem*, 'Die Hansen in England: Die wirtschaftliche und politische Bedeutung ihres Handels (1380-1474) und ihre Versuche zur Bewältigung der Krise von 1468', in Henn and Nedkvitne, eds., *Norwegen und die Hanse*, pp. 129-31. I am grateful to Professor Jenks for providing me with a copy of the latter article.

reprisals. Gerhard von Wesel was involved in the negotiations with the English crown from the start. In late July 1468 he was chosen speaker of a committee of six entrusted with the Hansards' representation before the king's council, and at Michaelmas he was formally elected alderman of the Steelyard. Von Wesel's position in his negotiations with the English was a difficult one, requiring him to balance the interests of the Hanseatic merchants as a body with the increasingly intense clamour of the Cologne authorities for a separate settlement for their citizens. Such a settlement became tangible in the spring of 1469, after the Hanseatic diet had ordered a complete break with England, and the Steelyard, previously the trading base of all Hansards, was reconstituted as the sole preserve of the men of Cologne. It is probable that the intense negotiations that von Wesel had to conduct served to sharpen his already detailed knowledge of the great men of England, and gave him a personal acquaintance with many of the leading players on the political stage.¹¹ A decade later, in 1479, he proudly claimed 'that even today I have the ear of Kings, lords and princes in England, and that several great lords in those parts hold me in high regard',¹² and a detailed knowledge of the names and titles of these lords is already evident in the reports that he sent back to Cologne during the crisis years of 1469-71, not least in the one that he dispatched within a few days of the battle of Barnet. It is unlikely that von Wesel was himself present at Barnet, and we may assume that he based his account of events away from the city on eye-witness reports that he picked up in the immediate aftermath.¹³ By contrast, he witnessed events in London with his own eyes, and could thus provide first-hand details that few other letter-writers were able to supply.¹⁴

II

In his description of events in London, von Wesel's extensive knowledge of the English peerage came into play. No other contemporary account provides a similar amount of detail regarding the nobles supporting Edward IV in the final stages of Henry VI's Readeption, and their whereabouts. Lists of the casualties of the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury and of the prisoners taken circulated in England and on the continent within a few days of the battles,¹⁵ and a description of Edward IV's triumphal entry into London on 21 May 1471 drafted not long after the event named the nobles accompanying the king at that time,¹⁶ but von Wesel's letter is unique in providing detailed information on the lords, knights and bishops in prison or sanctuary on the eve of Edward's return from exile. Of the most closely contemporary chronicles, the *Arrivall* names only the peers in Edward's immediate company and the captains of the Lancastrian army, and Warkworth's chronicle is even less informative.¹⁷

Von Wesel's account agrees with the *Arrivall* that during Lent 1471 the earl of Warwick rounded up the lords and gentlemen whom he suspected of harbouring Yorkist loyalties, by summoning them to

¹¹ The details of these negotiations, including von Wesel's personal contacts, are illustrated by Jenks, 'Die Hansen in England', esp. pp. 137-52.

¹² Deeters, 'Gerhard von Wesel', p. 175; *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 10, 1471-1485, ed. Walther Stein, Leipzig 1907, no. 761.

¹³ Peter Watson has recently discussed von Wesel's newsletter as a source for the battle of Barnet and compared it with the other main accounts: P.J. Watson, 'A review of the sources for the battle of Barnet, 14 April 1471', *The Ricardian*, vol. 12 (2000-02), pp. 50-71.

¹⁴ Several of the surviving letters describing the events of April 1471 were based on the reports of purported eyewitnesses, who are in few cases identified by the letter writers. Thus, for instance, Margaret of Burgundy derived her knowledge from a Norfolk man who had been captured at sea by a Flemish ship, and the Milanese ambassador variously relied on 'very trustworthy persons arrived from England', a herald from the king of England, and 'an English fellow ... having recently come from England': Dupont, ed., *Anchiennes Croniques*, vol. 3, pp. 210-15; *Calendar of State Papers, Milan*, vol. 1, nos. 209, 214; *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, vol. 1, 1202-1509, London 1864, no. 434.

¹⁵ A casualty list for Barnet was circulating in the Low Countries not long after Barnet (A.J.V. Le Roux de Lincy, ed., *Chants Historiques et Populaires du temps de Charles VII et de Louis IX*, Paris 1857, pp. 174-5). Variants of this list were copied into the registers of the mayor and aldermen of Dijon (Livia Visser-Fuchs, 'A Ricardian riddle: the casualty list of the battle of Barnet', *The Ricardian*, vol. 8 (1988-90), pp. 9, 11) and of the sovereign bailiff of Namur (*Compte Rendu des Séances de la Commission d'Histoire de Belgique*, 2nd ser., vol. 7 (1855), p. 51; Dupont, ed., *Anchiennes Croniques*, vol. 3, p. 214), and also by Jean de Haynin into his *Mémoires* (J.R.H.G. Chalon, ed., *Les Mémoires de Messire Jean, Seigneur de Haynin et de Louvegnies, chevalier, 1465-1477*, 2 vols., Mons 1842, vol. 2, pp. 191-2), and Adrien de But into his chronicle (C. Kervyn de Lettenhove, ed., *Chroniques relatives à l'histoire de Belgique sous la domination des Ducs de Bourgogne*, 3 vols., Brussels 1870-76, vol. 1, pp. 507-8, 512). The lists are discussed in some detail by Visser-Fuchs, 'A Ricardian riddle', pp. 9-12; *eadem*, 'Edward IV's memoir', p. 204.

¹⁶ C.L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, Oxford 1913, pp. 374-75.

¹⁷ John Bruce, ed., *Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV in England*, London 1838, pp. 2-21; L.M. Matheson, ed., *Death and Dissent: Two Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, Woodbridge 1999 pp. 107-12.

London by letters of privy seal and there imprisoning them. Of these detainees, the *Arrivall* names only the duke of Norfolk.¹⁸ According to von Wesel, Warwick had arrested not only King Edward's Bourghier relatives, Henry, Earl of Essex, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Humphrey, Lord Cromwell, but also William Gray, Bishop of Ely, Walter Blount, Lord Mountjoy, Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, and John Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire. Those who had avoided capture by taking sanctuary, but were thus nevertheless effectively interned, included Edward IV's chancellor and keeper of the privy seal, Robert Stillington, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Thomas Rotherham, Bishop of Rochester, as well as the earl of Essex's heir, William, Lord Bourghier, John, Lord Howard, and one of the brothers of William, Lord Hastings (the latter two in sanctuary at St John's Abbey at Colchester).

On the eve of Edward's arrival in London, the captives in the Tower overthrew their guards, and took the Tower for the king;¹⁹ when Edward entered the city, those in sanctuary emerged. The most spirited initiative had already been shown by the duke of Norfolk who, according to von Wesel, slipped away during the high mass on Palm Sunday and began to rally men on his East Anglian estates. Warwick's policy of locking potential Yorkist supporters in the Tower now played against him, as the freed captives were immediately able to join with Edward and the lords in his retinue, who apart from the king's brothers Richard of Gloucester and George of Clarence included Earl Rivers and Lords Maltravers, Grey of Ruthin, Hastings, Say, Duras and Ferrers. Already, London was effectively denuded of Lancastrian lords: John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, William, Viscount Beaumont, Henry Holand, Duke of Exeter, and John Neville, Marquess of Montagu, were with the earl of Warwick's army marching south to meet Edward's forces, while Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, his brother John Beaufort, Marquess of Dorset, and John Courtenay, Earl of Devon, had left the city three days before Edward's arrival to meet Queen Margaret, the Prince of Wales and Lord Wenlock who had sailed from France on 13 April. This left the ancient Ralph Boteler, Lord Sudeley, as the only secular lord in attendance on the person of Henry VI in London.²⁰

When the victorious Edward IV returned from Barnet, von Wesel saw him welcomed back to London by an impressive gathering of prelates. Apart from Archbishop Bourghier and Bishops Gray, Stillington and Rotherham, who had taken sanctuary during the Readeption, five other bishops awaited the king's return. These were the two Bishops Booth of Durham and Exeter, and Bishops Story of Carlisle, Chedworth of Lincoln and Tully of St David's. The two most prominent Lancastrian supporters among the bishops, Archbishop George Neville, the earl of Warwick's brother, and John Hals, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, were already in the Tower, where they had replaced Bourghier and Gray immediately after Edward's return from exile.²¹ The casualty lists circulating on the continent not long after named Tully and Chedworth (both of whom secured royal pardons later in the year) among Edward's prisoners, and the evidence of Chedworth's register supports this, indicating that he spent much of the winter of 1470 and spring of 1471 in London, and only returned to his diocese in July 1471.²² Several versions of the continental casualty lists appear to suggest that John Booth, Bishop of Exeter, was also in captivity after Barnet,²³ but it seems likely that the copyists had simply been confused by the reference to the bishop of Chester, a title by which the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield was colloquially known.²⁴

¹⁸ Bruce, ed., *Arrivall of Edward IV*, p. 2. Curiously, Charles Ross interpreted von Wesel's list of prisoners as referring to the men arrested in the autumn of 1470 immediately after Henry VI's restoration: C. D. Ross, *Edward IV*, London 1974, p. 155 and n. 1.

¹⁹ The *Arrivall* dates the seizure of the Tower by Edward's supporters to the night between 9 and 10 April (Bruce, ed., *Arrivall of Edward IV*, p. 17); Margaret of Burgundy's letter to Isabella of Portugal places it in the morning of 10 April (Dupont, ed., *Anchiennes Croniques*, vol. 3, p. 211).

²⁰ Sudeley's exact age cannot be determined, but he must have been born in or before 1398, the year of his father's death: *Complete Peerage*, vol. 12, pt. 1, pp. 418-19.

²¹ George Neville was the first prelate to secure a full pardon from the restored Edward; Hals had to wait until 30 July: *CPR 1467-77*, p. 267.

²² *CPR 1467-77*, p. 261; Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 184; C.L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland*, 2 vols., London 1923, vol. 1, p. 576. Bishop Chedworth's register suggests that he spent much of the autumn of 1470 and spring of 1471 in London, and did not return to his diocese until July 1471: Lincolnshire Archives, REG/20 (Register Chedworth), ff. 194v, 321-321v.

²³ Dupont, ed., *Anchiennes Croniques*, vol. 3, p. 214. For a discussion of the variant readings of the different versions of the casualty lists see Visser-Fuchs, 'A Ricardian riddle', p. 11; the author erroneously identifies the arrested prelate as the bishop of Chichester.

²⁴ Note, e.g., von Wesel's description of Hals as 'bishop of Chester', below, p. 79. It would in any case seem surprising if John

III

Perhaps as interesting as the prelates and peers named by von Wesel are those of whose movements he has nothing to say. At least five peerages were held by minors too young to play any part in the events of early 1471. These were George Neville, Duke of Bedford, the heir of the marquess of Montagu, who had been sent to Calais for safety,²⁵ Edward Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, John, Lord Zouche of Harringworth, and Richard Neville, Lord Latimer. Francis, Lord Lovel, and William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (stripped of this title in favour of Jasper Tudor by the restored Lancastrians), were of approximately the same age as the duke of Buckingham, but were apparently not deemed sufficiently dangerous to be interned before Edward's landing. Herbert joined Edward either before the battle of Tewkesbury or shortly after, for he was with the king at the time of his triumphal entry into London on 21 May, and by August was considered old enough to assume all his father's former offices in Wales and the marches. Lovel's whereabouts are uncertain. What of the rest? Pembroke aside, the duke of Suffolk, the earls of Northumberland and Shrewsbury, and Lords Audley, Dinham, Grey of Ruthyn, Grey of Codnor, Berners, Dacre, Cobham, Maltravers, Dudley, Scrope of Bolton, Stanley and Ferrers had all joined Edward's army before his return to London from the Tewkesbury campaign.²⁶ Of these, the movements of Northumberland, Shrewsbury and Stanley are most clearly documented: although all three were openly sympathetic to the earl of Warwick's cause in 1470, by early 1471 they were deemed sufficiently unreliable supporters of the Readeption regime to be watched by the duke of Clarence's spies.²⁷ Northumberland, indeed, repaid Edward for his restoration to the family title and estates in 1470 by doing nothing to prevent his landing at Ravenspur or his march south. Equally, John, Lord Scrope of Bolton, had only in March 1470 been among the leaders of one of the northern rebellions, and a year later had been charged with keeping the east coast for the Readeption regime, but once King Edward had landed, did little to join forces with Warwick and the Lancastrian lords, and evidently rejoined Edward at the earliest opportunity.²⁸ The duke of Suffolk, who had been summoned to London by letters under the privy seal on 14 January 1471, probably returned there for the second session of parliament, but disappears from sight thereafter.²⁹ By Henry VII's reign, John Sutton, Lord Dudley, was believed by the compiler of the Great Chronicle of London to have gone into exile with Edward IV, but although he was among the barons exempted from the summons to the Readeption parliament, no contemporary source suggests that he accompanied Edward to the Low Countries.³⁰

Several peers had been busy gathering armed support. The earls of Arundel and Kent and John Bourghier, Lord Berners, were represented by their heirs in Edward's camp even before Barnet, and it is probable that the two earls, like Berners and the earl of Essex, were hastily rallying men for the Yorkist cause in the days before the battle.³¹ On the Lancastrian side, Jasper Tudor, restored to the earldom of Pembroke, probably accompanied by his young nephew Henry, Earl of Richmond, was doing likewise in Wales.³² Others are harder to locate. John, Lord Dinham, and Fulk Bourghier, Lord Fitzwarin, nephew of the earl of Essex, had been dispatched to the south-west in March 1470, to deal with the sabre-rattling cadet branches of the formerly comital Courtenay family, who had occupied the city of Exeter with armed might.³³ They reached Exeter, but found themselves trapped there, when the city was besieged by

Booth, a former secretary to Edward IV, had been imprisoned at this time. Unfortunately a gap in Booth's register for the period from 19 February 1470 to 8 July 1472 makes it impossible to trace his movements during the Readeption: A.C. Reeves, 'Bishop John Booth of Exeter (1465-78)', in D. Biggs, S. D. Michalove and A. C. Reeves, eds., *Traditions and Transformations in Late Medieval England*, Leiden *et al.* 2002, p. 142.

²⁵ Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 182.

²⁶ Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, p. 375.

²⁷ *HMC 12th Report (Rutland mss)*, App., pt. 4, London 1888, repr. 1911, pp. 3-4.

²⁸ J.G. Nichols, ed., 'Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire, 1470', in *Camden Miscellany*, vol. 1, London 1847, p. 12; *Complete Peerage*, vol. 11, p. 544; CPR 1467-77, p. 252.

²⁹ C.L. Kingsford, ed., *The Stonor Letters and Papers*, 2 vols., Camden 3rd ser., vols. 29-30, London 1919, vol. 1, no. 113; M.A. Hicks, *False, Fleeting, Perjur'd Clarence: George, Duke of Clarence, 1449-1478*, Gloucester 1980, p. 92.

³⁰ A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley, eds., *The Great Chronicle of London*, London 1938, p. 211.

³¹ For Berners and Essex see Matheson, ed., *Death and Dissent*, p. 109.

³² H.T. Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*, Cambridge 1915, repr. Stroud 1995, pp. 113-14; Bruce, ed., *Arrivall of Edward IV*, p. 24.

³³ CPR 1467-77, p. 217.

Sir Hugh Courtenay of Boconnoc between 22 March and 2 April 1470.³⁴ Their subsequent fate is unclear. In May the Milanese ambassador at the French court reported that the ‘Lord of Inam and Lord Bossier’ had been taken together with three other lords and handed over to Warwick, but if this was so, it is likely that they regained their liberty after Warwick’s flight to France and Edward’s arrival in the south-west in mid April.³⁵ Neither Dinham nor Fitzwarin were summoned to the Readeption parliament, and although Dinham, who took the precaution of drawing up a brief will on 5 July 1470, secured a general pardon under Henry VI’s seal in February 1471, it is evident that his accommodation with the restored rulers was merely temporary.³⁶ The identity of the lords purportedly captured alongside Dinham and Fitzwarin in March 1470 is uncertain, but it is possible that the rumour the Italian had heard related to Anthony, Earl Rivers, and John Tuchet, Lord Audley, who are said by another account to have been taken captive about then and imprisoned in Wardour Castle pending execution at a more convenient time, but were rescued within hours by a Dorset gentleman called John Thornhill.³⁷ Unlike Dinham, Audley was summoned to Parliament in October 1470, but thereafter disappears from view.³⁸ William, Lord Berkeley, played host to Queen Margaret on the eve of Tewkesbury, and even if he did not personally accompany her to the battlefield, he evidently considered it prudent to lie low after Edward’s victory, especially in the light of the presence in the king’s retinue of the earl of Shrewsbury, whose nephew, Viscount Lisle, he had killed at Nibley Green in the previous year.³⁹ Henry, Lord Fitzhugh, may have found himself in a position not dissimilar to that of Berkeley. His uprising in the summer of 1470 had set the scene for Warwick’s return from France, and although summoned to parliament in November 1470, he is not heard of subsequently.⁴⁰

Of the remainder, it is difficult to be certain. Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, who notably failed to play any active part in the campaigns of the Wars of the Roses was by 1470 in his mid-60s, and may indeed, as Sir Charles Oman believed, have been an invalid.⁴¹ John, Lord Beauchamp of Powick, was at the time only about fifty-six years old, but had secured a formal exemption from attending parliament on grounds of age and debility some eight years earlier. He seems to have played no part in the events of 1469-71 himself, although his son and heir, Richard, held Gloucester and its castle against Queen Margaret in May 1471.⁴² Edward Neville, Lord Abergavenny, and John, Lord Strange, had arrived in London by July 1471, when they were among the peers swearing allegiance to the succession of the young prince of Wales.⁴³ Owen, *de jure* Lord Ogle, had succeeded his father in 1469, but does not appear to have been recognised as a baron until the final years of Edward IV’s reign.⁴⁴ John, Lord Clinton, was not summoned to parliament in October 1470, as he was serving in the Calais garrison, and he may have remained there throughout the Readeption.⁴⁵ Richard West, Lord de la Warre, was implicated in the Bastard of Fauconberg’s uprising in May, but it is unclear where he spent the preceding months.⁴⁶ Nothing is known of the movements of Lords Grey of Wilton, Stourton, Greystoke, Lumley, Morley, and Scrope of Masham.

Of the English and Welsh prelates, ten are unaccounted for in von Wesel’s letter, but the movements of several of them can be at least partly traced with the aid of their registers. Bishop Thomas Kemp of London, in whose palace the restored Henry VI had been installed, spent much of the Readeption at the hospital of St. James in the Fields near Charing Cross. He is last recorded there in mid February 1471. On

³⁴ Hicks, *Clarence*, pp. 59, 61.

³⁵ *Calendar of State Papers Milan*, vol. 1, 1385-1618, London 1912, no. 185; Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 146.

³⁶ Cornwall Record Office, Arundell mss, AR37/31/1; CPR 1467-77, pp. 235-36; PRO, C67/44, m. 4.

³⁷ Thomas Hearne, ed., *Thomae Sprotti Chronica*, Oxford 1719, p. 305.

³⁸ J.C. Wedgwood, *The History of Parliament: Register of the Ministers and of the Members of both Houses 1439-1509*, London 1938, p. 380.

³⁹ Peter Fleming and Michael Wood, *Gloucestershire’s Forgotten Battle: Nibley Green 1470*, Stroud 2003, pp. 86-87. Berkeley did not receive a full pardon until 20 Jan. 1472: CPR 1467-77, p. 303.

⁴⁰ Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 151; CPR 1467-76, pp. 214-16; Wedgwood, *Register*, p. 381. In view of FitzHugh’s summons to parliament, the Great Chronicle of London’s improbable claim that he went into exile with Edward IV is evidently wrong: Thomas and Thornley, eds., *Great Chronicle*, p. 211.

⁴¹ Charles Oman, *The History of England from the Accession of Richard II. to the Death of Richard III. (1377-1485)*, London 1920, p. 357.

⁴² CPR 1461-67, p. 213; Bruce, ed., *Arrivall of Edward IV*, pp. 26-27.

⁴³ CCR 1468-76, no. 858.

⁴⁴ *Complete Peerage*, vol. 10, p. 32.

⁴⁵ Wedgwood, *Register*, p. 380; CPR 1467-77, pp. 271-72, 290.

⁴⁶ Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 183. De la Warre secured a royal pardon on 15 Oct. 1471: CPR 1467-77, p. 275.

1 March he set out further afield into his diocese and by 9 April he was at Bishop's Wickham in Essex. On 10 May Kemp was back in his London palace from which Henry VI had in the interim been removed to the Tower, but he had to wait until 10 July before he was granted a full pardon, although a week earlier he was among the prelates taking the oath to Prince Edward's succession at Westminster.⁴⁷ William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, had been entrusted with the task of fetching Henry VI from his confinement in the Tower of London and taking him to the palace of Westminster in the autumn of 1470. He spent much of the winter of 1470-71 at his manor of Southwark, and he may have remained there out of sight at the time of Edward's arrival, although the lists of prisoners circulating in the Low Countries after Barnet believed him to be under arrest. If so, he did not remain in prison for long, for he was attending to his diocesan business at Southwark on 19 April 1471, and in the days after Edward's return from Tewkesbury rapidly negotiated a royal pardon, which was granted on 30 May. He was fully rehabilitated by 3 July, when he was among the ten prelates who took the oath to the succession of the prince of Wales.⁴⁸

The movements of Bishop Stanbury of Hereford in the first three months of 1471 cannot be reconstructed from his register, but on Easter Saturday (13 April) that year he was personally conducting ordinations in his cathedral church.⁴⁹ Bishop Beauchamp of Salisbury dated his acts at his house in Chelsea from 16 October 1470 to 9 February 1471; he subsequently returned to his diocese, arrived in Salisbury on 22 February and subsequently took up residence at his palace of Sonning in Berkshire, where he remained until July, travelling to Westminster early in that month to take the oath to the young prince of Wales's succession.⁵⁰ A few weeks later, Bishop Hunden of Llandaff, of whom nothing is heard in the preceding months, was declared to have forfeited his bishopric, but he subsequently came to terms with Edward IV and was granted a full pardon the following February.⁵¹ The ageing Lancastrian loyalist Bishop Lyhart of Norwich came to London for the duration of parliament in 1470-71, but by the end of March was sufficiently frail to take the precaution of making his will.⁵² The whereabouts of Bishops Arundel of Chichester, Carpenter of Worcester, Knyght of St. Asaph and Edenham of Bangor are unknown.⁵³

IV

Perhaps the most striking point illustrated by von Wesel's account is the narrowness of the base not only of Warwick's régime, reliant exclusively on a small group of exiles and malcontents, but also of Edward IV's cause, which found support chiefly among his Bourghier relatives and the new peers whom he himself had created in the first decade of his reign. A majority of the English lords and prelates preferred to lie low and join the victor once the outcome of the armed struggle had become apparent.

Significantly, Edward's narrow support base found its reflection in the group of peers and prelates gathered at Westminster on 3 July 1471. Apart from the two archbishops and the new prior of St. John, just eight bishops attended. Of the twenty-six secular lords present, eight were accounted for by the king's brothers and brothers-in-law, his uncles, Lord Abergavenny and the earl of Essex, and his other

⁴⁷ Guildhall Library, London, MS 9531/7 (Bishop's Register, Kemp); *CPR 1467-77*, p. 267; *CCR 1468-76*, no. 858.

⁴⁸ Virginia Davis, 'William Waynflete and the Wars of the Roses', *Southern History*, vol. 11 (1989), pp. 13-14, 21; *CPR 1467-77*, p. 259; *CCR 1468-76*, no. 858; Le Roux de Lincy, ed., *Chants Historiques*, p. 174. Davis questions the evidence for Waynflete's arrest contained in Le Roux de Lincy's version of the list of casualties and prisoners of Barnet used by Scofield, pointing out that this list refers to the bishop of 'Wircestre', but at least two other editions of the list clearly read 'Vincestre' or 'Vincester' (L.M.E. Dupont, ed., *Mémoires de Philippe de Commynes*, 3 vols., Paris 1840-47, vol. 3, p. 291; *eadem*, ed., *Anchiennes Croniques*, vol. 3, p. 214; [Chalon], ed., *Mémoires de Haynin*, vol. 2, pp. 191-2; and also see Visser-Fuchs, 'Ricardian riddle', *passim*); the Latin version of the list included in Adrien de But's chronicle makes no mention of Waynflete (Kervyn de Lettenhove, ed., *Chroniques de Belgique*, vol. 1, pp. 507-8).

⁴⁹ J.H. Parry and A.T. Bannister, eds., *Registrum Johannis Stanbury Episcopi Herefordensis A.D. MCCCCLIII-MCCCCLXXIV*, London 1919, p. 166. Stanbury was granted a full pardon on 26 October 1471: *CPR 1467-77*, p. 294.

⁵⁰ Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office, Register Beauchamp, vol. 1, ff. 155v-159; *CCR 1468-76*, no. 858.

⁵¹ *CPR 1467-77*, pp. 287, 299. Cora Scofield believed Hunden to have been placed in the Tower on Edward's return from exile: Scofield, *Edward IV*, vol. 1, p. 576.

⁵² R.J. Schoeck, 'Lyhart, Walter (d. 1472), Bishop of Norwich', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 60 vols., Oxford 2004, vol. 34, p. 863; PRO, PROB11/6, f. 52.

⁵³ No episcopal registers are known to survive for Arundel, Edenham, Hunden and Knyght: D.M. Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers of England and Wales*, London 1981, pp. 26-27, 46-47, 134, 180. Arundel and Knyght were granted royal pardons in September and October 1471 respectively (*CPR 1467-77*, pp. 280, 294), and for Arundel, whom Scofield believed to have been placed in the Tower when Edward entered London (Scofield, *Edward IV*, vol. 1, p. 576), also see n. 21 above.

Bourghier relatives. A further ten peers owed their titles to Edward. This left just the young dukes of Norfolk and Buckingham, the earl of Arundel and Lords Audley, Dudley, Duras, Strange and Scrope, of whom only Scrope (if it was Scrope of Bolton, rather than his namesake of Masham) had given cause for suspicion during the preceding two years.⁵⁴

Appendix

The following text has been re-translated from the original as printed in G. von der Ropp, ed., *Hanserecesse, 1431-1476*, vol. 6, Leipzig, 1890, pp. 415-18, and corrects a few minor errors and omissions found in Adair's edition.

Anno etc. 71, Wednesday after Easter, 17 April.

My humble and willing service. Honourable, welbeloved etc. I am, God be praised, strong and well, as I hope you and all our friends are also. As you know how the country has for a time been under the regiment of King Henry and Warwick, so it has happened that King Edward came from Zeeland and landed in the Humber, in a place called Holderness, with 2,400 men or thereabouts, and has from there come through the country towards London, the people along the way joining him; but how and in what manner would take too long to write etc.⁵⁵ When Warwick, being at the time in London, heard of this landing, he set out from here with such force as he could raise and to meet King Edward rode as far as the town of Coventry, where the earl of Oxford,⁵⁶ the duke of Exeter,⁵⁷ Lord Beaumont⁵⁸ and the marquess of Montagu,⁵⁹ his own brother, came to him with many followers, even though King Edward drew away and killed many of the earl of Oxford's people on the way.⁶⁰ Finally, about Monday before Palm Sunday,⁶¹ King Edward arrived before Coventry and challenged the lords within to battle, who would or dared not come out to him.⁶² King Edward laid siege to Warwick and Kenilworth castles, being eight and four miles from Coventry; there he lay still for about eight days.⁶³ None of the aforesaid lords in Coventry dared or would come out of the town, even though King Edward's people frequently displayed their banners outside. In this aforesaid time of eight days or thereabouts the duke of Clarence came with many people from the west to King Edward, his brother, to help him, which aid Warwick with his party had hoped for; it was to be assumed that Clarence's own people also did not know otherwise when they set out.⁶⁴ So King Edward altogether had some 15,000 men. Then King Edward, seeing that nobody would leave the town and that the great number of people had consumed what victuals there were around for men and horses, moved towards London with his people. Item on Wednesday after Palm Sunday⁶⁵ King Henry rode through London with the archbishop of York⁶⁶ and Lord Sudeley⁶⁷ to comfort the

⁵⁴ CCR 1468-76, no. 858.

⁵⁵ The *Arrivall* gives the combined retinues of King Edward, the duke of Gloucester, and Earl Rivers as 1,000 men (Bruce, ed., *Arrivall of Edward IV*, pp. 2-3); Wavrin has 1,200 (Dupont, ed., *Anchiennes Croniques*, vol. 3, pp. 99-100); Warkworth's Chronicle says Edward sailed with 900 Englishmen and 300 Flemings (*Death and Dissent*, p. 107).

⁵⁶ John de Vere (1442-1513), 13th Earl of Oxford.

⁵⁷ Henry Holand (1430-75), Duke of Exeter.

⁵⁸ William, Viscount Beaumont (1438-1507).

⁵⁹ John Neville (c. 1431-1471), Marquess of Montagu.

⁶⁰ According to the *Arrivall*, Exeter, Montagu and Oxford joined Warwick at Coventry during the time when King Edward lay at Warwick: Bruce, ed., *Arrivall of Edward IV*, p. 12.

⁶¹ 1 April 1471.

⁶² The *Arrivall* dates Edward's first arrival before Coventry to 29 March, but indicates that the king repeated his challenge to Warwick for three successive days, before withdrawing to Warwick. According to the same source, Edward renewed his challenge to the lords in Coventry on 5 April before marching south: Bruce, ed., *Arrivall of Edward IV*, pp. 9, 13. Wavrin dates the challenge to 30 March (Dupont, ed., *Anchiennes Croniques*, vol. 3, p. 111). Warkworth's chronicle explains Warwick's reluctance to accept Edward's challenge by a letter from the duke of Clarence urging Warwick not to fight the king until he had come to his aid: Warkworth, p. 14; *Death and Dissent*, p. 108.

⁶³ According to the *Arrivall*, Edward was 'recevyd as Kyng' at Warwick: Bruce, ed., *Arrivall of Edward IV*, p. 9.

⁶⁴ This view is borne out by the successive letters sent by Clarence to his retainer Henry Vernon in March and early April 1471, summoning him to joined the duke with his armed retainers. Unlike the letters sent out by the earl of Warwick at the same time, even the last of Clarence's letters, dated 2 April, gives no indication of the purpose of the force being assembled. *HMC 12th Report*, App., pt. 4, pp. 3-4.

⁶⁵ 10 April 1471.

⁶⁶ George Neville, Archbishop of York 1465-76.

people etc.⁶⁸ On Maundy Thursday⁶⁹ in the morning the ragged staff and other liveries were worn in London; on the same day King Edward entered London,⁷⁰ and with him the duke of Clarence, [the] duke of Gloucester, Earl Rivers, Lord Scales,⁷¹ the son of the earl of Arundel,⁷² the son of the earl of Kent,⁷³ Lord Hastings,⁷⁴ Lord Saye,⁷⁵ Lord Duras,⁷⁶ Lord Ferrers⁷⁷ and other knights and esquires, and in the same hour the sanctuaries were opened, and the bishop of Bath, chancellor,⁷⁸ the bishop of Rochester, privy seal,⁷⁹ the Lord Bourgchier⁸⁰ and other knights and esquires emerged. When the king arrived, within the hour he rode through Cheap to St Paul's, where he offered, and from there went to the bishop of London's palace and arrested King Henry. Then were arrested the bishop⁸¹ of York and the Lord Sudeley and the bishop of Chester⁸² and taken to the Tower.⁸³ Item there were under arrest in London on Warwick's orders the archbishop of Canterbury⁸⁴ and the bishop of Ely⁸⁵ as prisoners, the earl of Essex,⁸⁶ the Lord Cromwell,⁸⁷ the Lord Mountjoy,⁸⁸ the Lord John of Buckingham and Lord Harry Buckingham, the earl of Wiltshire⁸⁹ and Sir Thomas Bourgchier⁹⁰ etc., who were set free in the hour of the king's arrival. Item the duke of Norfolk,⁹¹ also being under arrest in London, hearing of King Edward's arrival, secretly stole away to Norfolk on Palm Sunday⁹² during high mass, to raise men. During this Lententide many prisoners were made of King Edward's party and taken into the Tower of London, which prisoners on Tuesday after Palm Sunday⁹³ rose up, captured their keepers and porters, and placed them in the prisons of the Tower, and took the Tower itself and held it by force in King Edward's name. Item on Monday after Palm Sunday⁹⁴ the duke of Somerset,⁹⁵ his brother,⁹⁶ and the earl of Devonshire⁹⁷ rode

⁶⁷ Ralph Boteler, Lord Sudeley (d. 1473).

⁶⁸ The purpose of Henry's procession is variously given as '[to desire] þe peple to be trewe onto hym' (*Death and Dissent*, p. 109), to 'have provokyd the citizens, and th'enhabitants of the citie, to have stonde and comen to them, and fortified that partye' (Bruce, ed., *Arrivall of Edward IV*, p. 16), or 'to cawse the Cytyzynes to bere theyr more ffavour unto kyng henry' (Thomas and Thornley, eds., *Great Chronicle*, p. 215).

⁶⁹ 11 April 1471.

⁷⁰ According to Warkworth's chronicle, Edward arrived 'in dyner tyme' (*Death and Dissent*, p. 109).

⁷¹ Anthony Woodville (ex. 1483), 2nd Earl Rivers and Lord Scales.

⁷² Thomas Fitzalan (d. 1524), Lord Maltravers, later earl of Arundel.

⁷³ Probably Anthony Grey, Lord Grey of Ruthyn (d. 1480), rather than one of his younger brothers.

⁷⁴ William, Lord Hastings (c. 1431-83).

⁷⁵ William Fiennes (c. 1428-71), Lord Say and Sele.

⁷⁶ Gaillard de Durefort, Lord Duras.

⁷⁷ Walter Devereux (c. 1428-71), Lord Ferrers of Chartley.

⁷⁸ Robert Stillington, Bishop of Bath and Wells, Edward's chancellor since 20 June 1467. George Neville, Archbishop of York, had served as Henry VI's chancellor from 29 Sept. 1470.

⁷⁹ Thomas Rotherham, Bishop of Rochester 1468-72, keeper of Edward IV's privy seal from 24 June 1467. John Hals, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, served as keeper of Henry VI's privy seal from 24 Oct. 1470.

⁸⁰ William, Lord Bourgchier (d. 1482), eldest son of the earl of Essex.

⁸¹ *Recte* archbishop.

⁸² John Hals, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield 1459-90.

⁸³ Margaret of York's letter to Isabella of Portugal has details of Archbishop Neville's profuse apologies: Dupont, ed., *Anchiennes Croniques*, vol. 3, p. 211.

⁸⁴ Thomas Bourgchier, Archbishop of Canterbury 1454-86.

⁸⁵ William Gray, Bishop of Ely 1454-78.

⁸⁶ Henry Bourgchier (c. 1404-83), 1st Earl of Essex.

⁸⁷ Humphrey Bourgchier (d. 1471), Lord Cromwell.

⁸⁸ Walter Blount (c. 1420-74), Lord Mountjoy.

⁸⁹ Von Wesel appears to be confused: John Stafford (died 1473), a younger son of Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham (died 1460), had been created earl of Wiltshire in 1470. Henry Stafford (1456-85), the young Duke of Buckingham, was at this time in the custody of his grandmother and her second husband, Lord Mountjoy, and may have been rounded up with his guardian. Interestingly, Sir John Paston had also named the two Staffords as 'the Lordes Harry and John of Bokyngham' eighteen months earlier (before Wiltshire's elevation), when describing their entry into London alongside Edward IV to his mother: *Paston Letters*, vol. 5, p. 62. Michael Hicks believed 'Lord Harry Buckingham' to be Sir Henry Stafford, husband of Lady Margaret Beaufort: Hicks, *Clarence*, p. 94.

⁹⁰ Sir Thomas Bourgchier (d. 1491), 5th son of the earl of Essex.

⁹¹ John Mowbray (1444-76), 4th duke of Norfolk.

⁹² 7 April 1471.

⁹³ 9 April 1471.

⁹⁴ 8 April 1471.

⁹⁵ Edmund Beaufort (c. 1439-71), Duke of Somerset.

westward out of London and to date they have not done battle with King Edward. Item on Good Friday⁹⁸ King Edward remained in London and was joined by the Lord Howard⁹⁹ and Lord Hastings' brother,¹⁰⁰ who had been in sanctuary at St John's in Colchester,¹⁰¹ with many people; also on the same day came from Kent to London the son and heir of Lord Berners,¹⁰² his brother¹⁰³ and many people. On Easter Eve¹⁰⁴ at midday, when King Edward heard that the aforesaid lords were coming from Coventry towards London in all haste with their people, meaning to set upon him there, King Edward mustered in St John's field, near Smithfield, with his aforesaid lords and knights etc. to the total number of 20,000 men¹⁰⁵ and towards evening at four o'clock he rode out towards St Albans and took King Henry with him; and King Edward had the Lady York,¹⁰⁶ the queen and prince,¹⁰⁷ the bishop¹⁰⁸ of Canterbury, the chancellor etc. taken to the Tower for their safety and greater security.¹⁰⁹ Item on Easter Eve around seven o'clock in the evening, as King Edward marched away from here and came into the vicinity of Hornsey Park, six miles from London, Warwick's vanguard encountered him and they had a skirmish thereabouts and they chased each other in the dark as far as a village called Barnet, ten miles from London. Item Warwick and his lords and companions who had been in Coventry pitched their battle a mile beyond the said village, just beside the highway to St Albans on a broad green plot, and King Edward's people, not really knowing in the night where the opposing parties were, also in the night rode onto the same plot and set up their camp on the other side of the aforesaid highway, just opposite Warwick, in a hollow and marsh. Item Warwick set up his ordnance of arquebuses and serpentines up the way towards Barnet, and the arquebuses carried over all night long and did not reach King Edward's people. In the morning at dawn around four o'clock they made each other out, but then a very thick fog came, which was also in London, so that they could not see the other side well. At last the guns on King Edward's side overcame Warwick's ordnance, but the others fought so manfully that their shooting was a marvel, so that in truth more than 10,000 arrows still lie there broken, and they fought so manfully that around 3,000 of King Edward's people fled from the rear, yet neither party noticed because of the fog; and they took well 7,000 horses from King Edward's people, and spirited King Henry away, and took him half way between Barnet and St Albans, but King Edward's people chased after them and recaptured Henry, as they say. At last, about eight o'clock on Easter Day,¹¹⁰ King Edward won the field, and Warwick and the Marquess Montagu, his brother, were both killed along with many knights and gentlemen; and on King Edward's side was killed the Lord Cromwell, and he was one of [the earl of] Essex's sons, item the Lord Saye, item the Lord Berners's son and heir, and many others knights and gentlemen, so that on both sides about 1,500 men were left dead,¹¹¹ God keep their souls. And with all many of the commons were wounded, and mostly in the face and in the lower part of the body, a very pitiable spectacle, God improve it. Item and Exeter was badly wounded and still managed to steal away, item the earl of Oxford with his two brothers¹¹² and Lord Beaumont escaped; the duke of Gloucester and

⁹⁶ John Beaufort (d. 1471), Marquess of Dorset.

⁹⁷ John Courtenay (d. 1471), Earl of Devon.

⁹⁸ 12 April 1471.

⁹⁹ John, Lord Howard (d. 1485), later duke of Norfolk.

¹⁰⁰ Probably Sir Ralph Hastings, rather than one of his two other brothers, Richard or Thomas (Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 167; *Complete Peerage*, vol. 6, p. 370).

¹⁰¹ The Benedictine abbey of St. John the Baptist, Colchester.

¹⁰² Sir Humphrey Bourghier.

¹⁰³ Sir Thomas Bourghier (d. 1512).

¹⁰⁴ 13 April 1471.

¹⁰⁵ According to Margaret of Burgundy's informant, Edward had 12,000 men (Dupont, ed., *Anchiennes Croniques*, vol. 3, p. 212); Warkworth's chronicle gives just 7,000 (*Death and Dissent*, p. 110).

¹⁰⁶ Cecily, Duchess of York.

¹⁰⁷ Queen Elizabeth Woodville and Prince Edward of York, the later Edward V.

¹⁰⁸ *Recte* archbishop.

¹⁰⁹ The removal of the royal family to the Tower was also reported by Margaret of Burgundy's informant: Dupont, ed., *Anchiennes Croniques*, vol. 3, p. 211.

¹¹⁰ 14 April 1471.

¹¹¹ According to Philippe de Comynes King Edward's side alone counted 1,500 dead ('Mémoires de Philippe de Comines' in *Mémoires à l'Histoire de France*, 4 vols., Paris 1836-37, vol. 4, p. 66); Warkworth's chronicle says that a total of 4,000 men were killed on both sides (*Death and Dissent*, p. 111).

¹¹² Probably George and Thomas de Vere. The youngest brother, Richard de Vere, was training for the priesthood at Oxford. I am grateful to Dr. James Ross for his comments on this point.

Lord Scales were severely wounded, but they had no [lasting] harm from it, God be praised.¹¹³ Item and there were well 3,000 or 4,000 men more on Warwick's side than on King Edward's side. Item in the morning during mass on Easter Day, when every good Christian should be concerned with God, news came to London that Warwick had won the field, and that King Edward had been captured and Clarence and Gloucester were dead, etc. At this many were dismayed and many rejoiced inwardly, so that many knaves rose up in London and began to fight, whereby all the German nation might well be scared, and was. But eventually the true news came, as is aforewritten, that King Edward had won the field, and the same Easter Day King Edward came and brought King Henry home with his people. Those who went out with good horses and sound bodies brought home sorry nags and bandaged faces without noses etc. and wounded bodies, God have mercy on the miserable spectacle, but all men say that there was never in a hundred years a fiercer battle in England than this last Easter day as is aforewritten, may God henceforth grant us His eternal peace. Item on Easter Day in the afternoon, when King Edward returned to London from the battle, he rode to St Paul's, where he was received by the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Bath, the bishops of Lincoln,¹¹⁴ Durham,¹¹⁵ Carlisle,¹¹⁶ Rochester, St David's,¹¹⁷ Dublin,¹¹⁸ Ely and Exeter,¹¹⁹ and he brought his two banners, badly torn by missiles and offered them at the rood at the north door, and *Salve festa dies* etc.¹²⁰ was sung.¹²¹ Item on Monday after Easter¹²² around seven o'clock in the morning the bodies of the earl of Warwick and the marquess of Montagu were brought in two chests, and were set upon the stones in the body of the church of St Paul's, lying therein naked, except for a cloth tied around the private parts of either, so that everyone in London and others might see them, which many thousands did. Item on Tuesday after Easter¹²³ news came that Margaret, the old queen, with her son, whom they call Prince Edward,¹²⁴ had landed at Falmouth in Cornwall with seventeen ships, with the Lord of St John¹²⁵ and Wenlock,¹²⁶ so that yesterday King Edward with all his might strove there, to set upon his enemies, that is true. So may God grant us all his eternal peace and rest, amen, and preserve the good community and welfare of the land, for when the community of this land fares well and has peace, all foreign nations who reside therein prosper.

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¹¹³ Adair's edition gives 'The Duke of Gloucester and Lord Scales were slightly wounded' (Adair, 'Newsletter', p. 69. In retranslating, I have followed Livia Visser-Fuchs, 'A Ricardian riddle', p. 12, n. 13. The implication here is evidently that the two men's wounds appeared more serious than they proved to be; after all, within a few weeks Gloucester was in a position to command the vanguard at Tewkesbury. It is, however, noteworthy that Margaret of Burgundy made no mention of her brother's injuries in her letter to Isabella of Portugal (Dupont, ed., *Anchiennes Croniques*, vol. 3, pp. 212-13).

¹¹⁴ John Chedworth, Bishop of Lincoln 1452-71.

¹¹⁵ Laurence Booth, Bishop of Durham 1457-76.

¹¹⁶ Edward Story, Bishop of Carlisle 1468-78.

¹¹⁷ Robert Tully, Bishop of St David's 1460-82.

¹¹⁸ Michael Tregury, Archbishop of Dublin 1450-71.

¹¹⁹ John Booth, Bishop of Exeter 1465-78.

¹²⁰ An Easter hymn ascribed to St Venantius Fortunatus, a 6th-century bishop of Poitiers.

¹²¹ Edward's reception by Cardinal Bourghier and other lords and prelates is mentioned by the *Arrivall*, but the peers and prelates are not named: Bruce, ed., *Arrivall of Edward IV*, p. 21.

¹²² 15 April 1471.

¹²³ 16 April 1471.

¹²⁴ Queen Margaret of Anjou and Prince Edward of Lancaster, son of Henry VI.

¹²⁵ John Langstrother, Prior of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England 1468-71

¹²⁶ John, Lord Wenlock (c. 1400-71).