THE FATE OF ‘THE PRINCES’

DATE OF DEATH OF EDWARD V

The Death of Edward V – New Evidence from Colchester
ASHDOWN-HILL, John
Description: From Essex Archaeology and History, Vol. 35, pp. 226-230
Date of publication: 2004
Synopsis: Discussion of an entry in the Colchester Oath Book referring to Edward V as deceased.

A Requiem for King Edward
DAVIES, C. S. L.
Description: From The Ricardian, Vol. 9, No. 114
Date of publication: September 1991
Synopsis: Discusses the implications of a requiem mass for ‘King Edward’ celebrated at the Vatican on 23 September 1483.

Notes and Documents: Early Tudor Dates for the Death of Edward V
GUNN, S. J.
Description: From Northern History, Vol. 28
Date of publication: 1992
Synopsis: Discusses the likely origin of the note added to the Anlaby Cartulary to the effect that Edward V was murdered on 22nd June.
[LIBRARY NOTE: Filed under Biographical: Kings & Queens: Edward V]

Did Edward V Outlive His Reign or Did He Outreign His Life?
HICKS, Michael
Description: From The Ricardian, Vol. 8, No. 108, pp. 342-345
Date of publication: March 1990
Synopsis: Sceptical discussion of the claim made in the Anlaby Cartulary that Edward V died on 22nd June.
[LIBRARY NOTE: Filed under Biographical: Kings & Queens: Edward V]

The Death of Edward V and the Rebellion of 1483
MORGAN, Philip
Description: From Historical Research, Vol. 68
Date of publication: 1995
Synopsis: On the significance of the king list in the Middleton Collection at Nottingham University library, according to which Edward V reigned until 26th June, and was killed and his body sunk.

The Death of Edward V
RICHMOND, Colin
Description: From Northern History, Vol. 25
Date of publication: 1989
Synopsis: Argues for the acceptance of 22nd June 1483 as the date of Edward V’s death, as per the note added to the Anlaby cartulary.
[LIBRARY NOTE: Filed under Biographical: Kings & Queens: Edward V]
Note: For a different view, see articles in this section by Steven Gunn, Michael Hicks and J. A. F. Thomson.

The Death of Edward V; Dr. Richmond’s Dating Reconsidered
THOMSON, J. A. F.
Description: From Northern History, Vol. 26
Date of publication: 1990
Synopsis: Reviews Colin Richmond’s evidence for the date of Edward’s death (see above) and concludes that 22nd June is not probable.
GENERAL DISCUSSION

The Mystery of the Princes in the Tower
ALEXANDER Marc
Description: From Majesty, Vol. 1, No. 4
Date of publication: August 1980
Synopsis: A summary of the mystery, but offering no solutions.

The Majesty of Britain, No. 22: The Princes in the Tower
ALEXANDER Marc
Description: From Majesty, Vol. 7, No. 9
Date of publication: January 1987
Synopsis: Brief illustrated account of Richard’s life and the mystery of the Princes, revisionist in tone.
[LIBRARY NOTE: Filed under Biographical: Richard III]

From ‘Pearl’ Maiden to Tower Princes: Towards a New History of Medieval Childhood
ATTREED Lorraine
Description: From Journal of Medieval History, Vol. 9
Date of publication: 1983
Synopsis: Suggests that medieval society placed a high value on the lives of children, and that Richard III earned opprobrium for his supposed treatment of his nephews.
[LIBRARY NOTE: Filed under Social History]

The Bones in the Abbey: Are They the Murdered Princes?
BRAMWELL Nigel H.
BYARD Roger W.
Description: From American Journal of Forensic Medicine and Pathology, Vol. 10, No. 1
Date of publication: 1989
Synopsis: Summarises the Tanner and Wright examination of the bones in 1933 and suggests that improved scientific dating methods could now provide more accurate results.

Richard III and the Princes in the Tower
CUNNINGHAM Elaine
Description: From Renaissance Magazine, Issue 36, pp. 48-53
Date of publication: 2004
Synopsis: A summary of the cases for and against Richard III, Henry VII and the Duke of Buckingham.

De Prinsen van de Tower
DIRKX Marja
Description: From Spiegel Historiael (with English translation)
Date of publication: May 1975
Synopsis: Dutch article on the mystery of the Princes.

Mysteries of History (extracts)
FRY Plantagenet Somerset
Description: Typed copy of Chapter 8 plus extract from the Introduction of the above book
Date of publication: 1957
Synopsis: Revisionist discussion of the crimes attributed to Richard III.
[LIBRARY NOTE: Filed under Biographical: Richard III]

The Sons of Edward IV: A Re-examination of the Evidence on their Deaths and on the Bones in Westminster Abbey
HAMMOND P. W.
WHITE W. J.
Description: From Richard III: Loyalty, Lordship and Law, ed. P. W. Hammond
Date of publication: 1986
Synopsis: A review of the written evidence for the disappearance of Edward V and his brother, and a re-assessment by osteo-arqueologist Bill White of the 1933 Tanner & Wright study of the bones discovered in the Tower in 1674.
Hidden Assassin: A Medieval Tragedy (The Disappearance of the Princes)
INGHAM    Susan
Description: Booklet
Date of publication: Undated
Synopsis: Aims to give a taste of the mystery and suspicion that surrounds the disappearance of Edward V and Richard Duke of York.

Richard III and the Princes in the Tower
LANGDON-DAVIES    John (ed.)
Description: Jackdaw folder No.4
Date of publication: 1971
Synopsis: Collection of facsimiles of documents, etc., relating to Richard III and the mystery of the Princes.

Regarding the Bones Found in the Tower
LYNE-PIRKIS    Dr. R. H. G.
Description: Notes from a lecture given at Church House, Westminster
Date of presentation: 27th February 1963
Synopsis: A modern anatomist questions the findings of the Tanner and Wright investigation of 1933.

McKelvie    Gordon
Description: From Royal Studies Journal, Vol 3, No 1
Date of publication: 2016
Synopsis: The reference to Edward V as a bastard in the inquisitions post mortem carried out in 1484 into the lands of the late Lord Hastings indicates that Richard’s justification for taking the throne had gained traction in the provinces.

Bones in the Tower: A Discussion of Time, Place and Circumstance
MAURER    Helen
Description: From The Ricardian, Nos. 111 & 112
Dates of publication: December 1990 & March 1991
Synopsis: A two-part study of the bones found in the Tower in 1674 that now reside in the urn in Westminster Abbey. Part 1 deals with the location of the lodgings of Edward V and his brother within the Tower in 1483, and the alleged discoveries of children’s bones in the Tower earlier in the seventeenth century. Part 2 deals with the 1674 discovery and the history of the buildings in that part of the Tower.

Whodunit: the Suspects in the Case
MAURER    Helen
Description: From Ricardian Register, Vol. 18, No. 3
Date of publication: Summer 1983
Synopsis: Identifies ten possible murderers of the Princes and examines the evidence against them.

Have the Princes’ Bones Been Found in the Tower?
MORGAN    John
Description: Typescript
Date: 1962
Synopsis: ‘An annotated summary of the contemporary accounts of bones discovered in the Tower of London and alleged to be those of Edward IV’s two sons.’

The Princes in the Tower and Their Doctor
RHODES    D. E.
Description: From EHR, Vol. 77
Date of publication: 1972
Synopsis: On the identity of the Princes’ doctor.
The Riddle of Richard III
RICHARDS Jeffrey
Description: Article from History Today, with subsequent correspondence
Dates of publication: August 1983 and January 1984
Synopsis: Rejects most crimes attributed to Richard but concludes he probably did order the murder of the Princes.
[LIBRARY NOTE: Filed under Biographical: Richard III]

Skeletons of the Two Murdered Princes
ROBINSON John
Description: From Notes and Queries, 7th Series, Vol. 8
Date of publication: 1889
Synopsis: Notes on various children’s skeletons allegedly found in the Tower.

Murder Foul and Royal – a Reply
STONE Dr. P. T.
Description: From History For All, Vol. 2, Issue 4
Date of publication: August/September 1999
Synopsis: Response to an article in the previous issue suggesting that Richard probably murdered the Princes. Phil Stone shows More’s account to be an implausible fiction and suggests other possible explanations for the boys’ disappearance.
[LIBRARY NOTE: Filed under Biographical: Richard III]

Why the Princes in the Tower Are Staying Six Feet Under
TRAVIS Alan
Description: From The Guardian
Date of publication: Wednesday 6th February 2013
Synopsis: Newspaper article on the release of correspondence from the 1990s relating to the Society’s unsuccessful request for DNA testing of the bones in the urn. Also includes a small summary of the mystery of the Princes’ disappearance.

The White Rose Dies
TUDOR Miles
Description: Booklet
Date of publication: 1991
Synopsis: An investigation by a retired police inspector into ‘The disappearance of the Princes in the Tower; the most baffling mystery and fascinating Royal murder mystery of all time.’

Bones From the Tower – A Reprise
VARIOUS
Description: Typescript
Date: 1999
Synopsis: A compilation of views from different authors on the bones from the Tower of London.

Princes, Cuttings about
VARIOUS
Description: Cuttings from The Sphere, The Illustrated London News, The Times and The British Medical Journal
Dates of publication: 1933, 1989 & 1991
Synopsis: Assorted brief articles on the question of the Princes.

The Princes in the Tower
WHITE Geoffrey H.
Description: Appendix J of The Complete Peerage, Vol. 12, Part 2
Date of publication: 1959
Synopsis: Useful summary of the evidence against Richard III and Henry VII.
The Princes in the Tower
WIGRAM        Isolde
Description: Typescript
Date: 1964
Synopsis: Defence of Richard III.

The Mystery of the White Tower
WILLIAMSON    Audrey
Description: From *Sunday Times Magazine*
Date of publication: 11 March 1973
Synopsis: Re-examines the evidence but comes to no conclusions.

Richard III: Murderer or Scapegoat?
WILSON        Colin
Description: From Wilson’s *Unresolved Mysteries*
Date of publication: 1995
Synopsis: Explores the mystery of the Princes’ disappearance.
[LIBRARY NOTE: Filed under Biographical: Richard III]

Who Killed the Little Princes in the Tower? A Ricardian Murder Mystery
WOOD          Charles T.
Description: From *Harvard Magazine*, Vol. 80, No. 3, with subsequent correspondence
Dates of publication: January/February, March/April and May/June 1978
Synopsis: A not entirely serious review of the possible murderers.

BUCKINGHAM AS POSSIBLE MURDERER

Richard III and the Princes in the Tower
CUNNINGHAM    Elaine
Description: From *Renaissance Magazine*, Issue 36, pp. 48-53
Date of publication: 2004
Synopsis: A summary of the cases for and against Richard III, Henry VII and the Duke of Buckingham.

Who Murdered the ‘Little Princes’?
KENDALL       Paul Murray
Description: Appendix I of Kendall’s *Richard the Third*
Date of publication: 1955
Synopsis: Detailed overview of the evidence then available regarding the boys’ disappearance.

HENRY VII AS POSSIBLE MURDERER

Did Henry VII Murder the Princes?
GAIRDNER      James
Description: From *EHR*, Vol. 6, No. 23
Date of publication: July 1891
Synopsis: A defence of the traditional view, answering Markham’s article in the previous issue (see Biographical: Richard III: General).
[LIBRARY NOTE: Filed under Biographical: Kings & Queens: Henry VII]

The Princes in the Tower
GRIFFLE       Leonard
Description: Chapter 6 of Gribble’s *Famous Historical Mysteries*
Date of publication: 1969
Synopsis: Suggests Henry VII may have had the Princes murdered.
The Fate of the Princes: a Re-assessment of the Known Facts
JESPERS   Gilberte Van der Steen-
See under Steen-Jespers.

The Fate of the Princes: A Re-assessment of the Known Facts
STEEN-JESPERS   Gilberte Van der
Description:  Bound text of a lecture
Date of presentation:  1985
Synopsis:  Highly conjectural – suggests that Edward V died of natural causes in 1484 and that Richard Duke of York was murdered on Henry VII’s orders in 1486.

The Princes in the Tower
WILLIAMSON   Hugh Ross
Description:  Chapter 3 of Williamson’s Historical Whodunits
Date of publication:  1955
Synopsis:  Suggests Henry VII may have murdered the Princes.

HOWARD AS POSSIBLE MURDERER

The Princes in the Tower
BINDOFF   S. T.
Description:  Typed résumés of lectures given at the Folger Library and the National Portrait Gallery
Dates of presentation:  22 April 1961 (Folger) & 24 July 1973 (NPG)
Synopsis:  Suggesting that John Howard may have murdered the Princes.

The Princes in the Tower
BLAKENEY   T. S.
LAMB   V. B.
Description:  Typed copies of article by Blakeney from Amateur Historian, with a rejoinder by Lamb
Date of publication:  Spring 1960 (Blakeney) & Autumn 1961 (Lamb)
Synopsis:  Blakeney suggests that John Howard may have murdered the Princes, whilst Lamb points out that, once the errors in Blakeney’s article are corrected, Howard is left with no motive.

John Howard, Duke of Norfolk: A Possible Murderer of the Princes?
CRAWFORD   Anne
Description:  From Richard III: Crown and People, ed. J. Petre
Date of publication:  1985
Synopsis:  Article first published in The Ricardian, Vol. 5, No. 70, September 1980. Argues that none of the evidence that has been put forward in favour of Howard’s murder of the Princes stands up to scrutiny.

Whether Richard’s Granting away the Princes’ Titles Indicates that They Were Dead
Description:  From Richard III: Crown and People, ed. J. Petre
Date of publication:  1985
(1) Bastardy and the Princes
EDE-BORRETT   S. L
(2) Bastardy and Prince Richard of York
PETRE   J. G.
Synopsis.  A note first published as a note in The Ricardian, Vol. 4, No. 63, December 1978, plus a revised version of a further note published in Vol. 5, No. 64, March 1979. The authors discuss whether Richard III’s grant of the duchy of Norfolk to Lord Howard is proof that Richard, Duke of York, was dead before that date.

Did John Howard Dispose of the Princes in the Tower? A Further Detailed Elaboration of the Theory
NEWMAN   P. R.
Description:  Bound typescript
Date:  Undated but probably early 1960s
Synopsis:  Highly speculative essay, contending that Howard murdered the Princes in the Tower between 10th and 30th October 1483.
Extract on John Howard’s Possible Connection with the Murder of the Princes
RYAN G. H.
REDSTONE L. J. F.
Description: From Ryan & Redstone’s Timperley of Hintlesham
Date of publication: 1931
Synopsis: Extract from the chapter dealing with the Timperleys’ relations with the House of Norfolk, in which the authors discuss the theory that Howard killed the Princes.

Rise and Fall
TUCKER Melvin J.
Description: Extract from Chapter 2 of Tucker’s Life of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey and Second Duke of Norfolk, 1443-1524
Date of publication: 1964
Synopsis: Tucker’s speculations as to the roles of Thomas Howard and his father in the deaths of Hastings and the Princes.

RICHARD III AS MURDERER/ TRADITIONAL ACCOUNT

The Little Princes in the Tower
BROOKE-HUNT Violet
Description: Chapter 8 of Brooke-Hunt’s Prisoners of the Tower of London
Date of publication: 1901
Synopsis: Takes the traditional approach.

The Murder of the Princes
COLLIS Louis
Description: Typed copy of extract from Collis’ Seven in the Tower
Date of publication: 1958
Synopsis: The traditional story

Did Henry VII Murder the Princes?
GAIRDNER James
Description: From EHR, Vol. 6, No. 23
Date of publication: July 1891
Synopsis: A defence of the traditional view, answering Markham’s article in the previous issue (see Biographical: Richard III: General).

Did Edward V Suffer from Histiocytosis X?
HARGREAVES A. S.
MACLEOD R. I.
Description: From The Journal of Royal Society of Medicine, Vol. 87
Date of publication: February 1994
Synopsis: Argues that the bony pathological changes observed in the mandible of the elder skeleton in the urn are consistent with the effects of histiocytosis X, an infiltrative and destructive disease that affects bone and soft tissue.

The Mystery of Richard III
HARRISS Gerald
Description: Hatfield House booklet No. 3
Date of publication: 1952?
Synopsis: Brief account of Richard’s life, concluding that ‘there is strong presumption that they (the Princes) died in 1483-4.’

[LIBRARY NOTE: Filed under Biographical: Other: Howard]

[LIBRARY NOTE: Filed under Biographical: Kings & Queens: Henry VII]

[LIBRARY NOTE: Filed under Biographical: Kings & Queens: Edward V]

[LIBRARY NOTE: Filed under Biographical: Richard III]
Murder in the Tower
MEGAN Charles P.
Description: Text of talk given to the Chicago Literary Club
Date of presentation: 1 May 1939
Synopsis: The story of the Princes, with quotations from literature from 15th to 20th centuries; accepts Tanner and Wright’s conclusions.

Anne Mowbray and the Princes in the Tower: a Study in Identity
MOLLESON Theya
Description: Article from London Archaeologist, Vol. 5, No. 10
Date of publication: Spring 1987
Synopsis: Suggests that the skeletons examined by Tanner and Wright are male, related to each other and to Anne Mowbray and about the right ages to be the Princes, with a death date in 1484.

PETTIGREW F. J.
Description: From Chronicles of the Tombs: A Select Collection of Epitaphs
Date of publication: 1888
Synopsis: Epitaph inscribed on the urn in Westminster Abbey that holds the bones found at the Tower in 1674, plus an undated epitaph, presumably predating this, which assumes their remains to have been first buried in the Tower and then exhumed and thrown into the sea ‘at Tems mouth.’

The murders of Edward of Lancaster, Henry VI and Edward V (extracts)
RASTELL William
Description: Typed extracts from Rastell’s Pastyme of People
Date of publication: 1529
Synopsis: Account of the murders of the Princes, based on More.

The Princes in the Tower
TANNER L. E.
Description: Chapter 13 of Tanner’s Recollections of a Westminster Antiquary
Date of publication: 1969
Synopsis: Tanner’s personal reminiscences of the 1933 examination, and his views of the controversy.

Recent Investigations Regarding the Fate of the Princes in the Tower
TANNER L. E.
WRIGHT William
Description: From Archaeologia, Vol. 84
Date of publication: 1934
Synopsis: Official report of the 1933 examination of the bones in Westminster Abbey.

Letter from an Official of the Duckworth Laboratory of Physical Anthropology, Cambridge
TREVOR J. C.
Description: Typed letter in response to an enquiry from a Mr. Kellock
Date of letter: 25 March 1964
Synopsis: Lists published sources of information on the Tower bones.

Who Killed the Little Princes in the Tower?
WOOD Charles T.
Description: Text of an address given at the University of Vermont
Date of presentation: 26 April 1976
Synopsis: Concludes Richard ‘had sufficient motive’ for the murder.

The Princes in the Tower
WRIGHT Prof. William
Description: Text of Cavendish Lecture from West London Medical Journal, Vol. 41
Date of presentation: 4 June 1936
Synopsis: Outlines More’s story of the fate of the Princes, and summarises the exhumation of the bones of two children at the Tower in 1674 and the conclusions of the examination of these in 1933.
Note: Less detailed than the official report in Archaeologia (see Tanner & Wright above).
SURVIVAL THEORIES

Will DNA Prove the Princes Lived?
FERRIMAN Annabel
Description: From The Independent on Sunday
Date of publication: 6 August 1995
Synopsis: A newspaper article looking at the late Jack Leslau’s quest for DNA testing of the skeleton of John Clement, whom he believed to have been Richard Duke of York in disguise.

The Fate of the Princes: a Re-assessment of the Known Facts
JESPERS Gilberte Van der Steen-Jespers.
See under Steen-Jespers.

Did the Sons of Edward IV Outlive Henry VII
LESLAU Jack
Description: From Ricardian, Vol. 4, No. 62, with subsequent correspondence from Nos. 64 & 65 and a further article by Leslau on the same subject from The Ricardian Bulletin.
Synopsis: On Jack Leslau’s theory that the Princes both survived into the reign of Henry VII.

Did the Two Princes Survive Tudor
LESLAU J.
Description: Booklet
Date of publication: Undated
Synopsis: A re-assessment of the disappearance of the Princes, examining why Elizabeth Woodville did not report them missing.

John Clement, His Identity, and His Marshfoot House in Essex
MERRIAM Thomas
Description: From Moreana, No. 97, pp. 145-152
Date of publication: March 1998
Synopsis: Biography of Dr Clement, the protégé of Thomas More believed by Jack Leslau to have been Richard Duke of York.

The Hidden Rebus in Hans Holbein’s Portrait of the Sir Thomas More Family
MERRIAM Thomas V. N.
Description: From Phillips Exeter Bulletin
Date of publication: Summer 1983
Synopsis: The author describes meeting Jack Leslau and hearing from him his theory about the coded message in the Nostell Priory painting.

Unveiling of the More Family Portrait at Nostell Priory
MERRIAM Thomas
Description: From Moreana, Vol. 20, No. 79-80, pp. 111-116
Date of publication: November 1983
Synopsis: The author describes the unveiling of the newly restored painting following the problematic radiocarbon testing, which had dated the canvas to between 1400 to 1520 AD, thus (if accurate) making the painting a candidate for the lost Holbein original (painted 1530/1532). The article then goes on to explain Jack Leslau’s theory that the unique features of this particular copy represent a coded reference to the Princes.

How Holbein Hid a Royal Secret
NORMAN Geraldine
Description: From The Times, ‘Spectrum’
Date of publication: 25 March 1983
Synopsis: Newspaper articles on Leslau’s theory of the ‘covert rebus’ in the Nostell Priory portrait of Sir Thomas More’s family. Includes follow-up letters.
The Fate of the Princes: A Re-assessment of the Known Facts
STEEN-JESPERS  Gilberte Van der
Description: Bound text of a lecture
Date of presentation: 1985
Synopsis: Highly conjectural – suggests that Edward V died of natural causes in 1484 and that Richard Duke of York was murdered on Henry VII’s orders in 1486.

Leslau, Jack, Theory of
VARIOUS
Description: Folder containing loose items
Dates of publication: 1983 & 1991
Synopsis: Newspaper clippings on Leslau’s theory inside a folder containing a colour photograph of the Nostell Priory portrait.

The Princes in the Tower
WILLIAMSON  Audrey
Description: From Popular Archaeology, Vol. 1, No. 4
Date of publication: October 1979
Synopsis: Survey of the mystery, mentioning a family tradition that the Princes had lived with their mother at Sir James Tyrell’s house in Suffolk.