

3. *Concise Dictionary of National Biography*, 1939, p.832.
4. P. Harvey, *Oxford Companion to English Literature*, 1953, p.489.
5. G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History*, 1944, p.58.
6. Kendall, pp.246-7.
7. Josephine Tey, *Daughter of Time*, 1954, pp.96, 97.
8. Julian Franklyn, *Shield and Crest*, 1960, p.113.
9. Kendall, pp.421-3.
10. V. B. Lamb, *The Betrayal of Richard III*, 1968, pp.82-92.
11. Alison Hanham, *Richard III and his Early Historians 1483-1535*, 1975, pp.152-190.

Research Notes and Queries

P. W. HAMMOND

OPPOSITION TO HENRY TUDOR AFTER BOSWORTH

The following note has been received from W. E. Hampton:

Although several historians maintain that England quickly accepted the verdict of Bosworth as that of trial by battle, there is in fact much evidence of unrest immediately after Bosworth, and continuing until, and after, Stoke Field. Let us briefly examine some of this evidence.

In September 1485 Robert Throckmorton was appointed Sheriff of Warwickshire and Leicestershire (Richard's Sheriff, Richard Boughton, having been killed on his way to Bosworth—either in resisting Henry's forward troops or, perhaps through treachery—an incident strangely ignored) and was replaced in November. He petitioned for a pardon of fines and arrears touching his office, 'which sheriffwik your said liege occupied but by space of one month or full little more, and in which time of occupation was within this your realm such rebelloun and trouble, and your lawes not stablysshed' that he could not execute his office to the King's profit (William Campbell, *Materials for a History of Henry VII*, Vol. 1, 1873, pp. 282-3).

We have Henry's own testimony. On 17th October, 1485, he wrote to Henry Vernon of Haddon (one of Richard's esquires of the body) telling of his 'knowledge that certeyne our rebelles and traitours being of litell honour or substance confedered with our auncient ennemyes the Scottes (against their allegiance, etc.) . . . made insurreccion and assemblies in the north portions of our realme, taking Robin of Riddesdale, Jack St Thomalyn at Lath, and Maister Mendall for their capteyns, entending if they be of power the fynall and abversion . . . of our realme'. Vernon is urged to come with his attendance and assistance in all haste, the letter being under the King's sign-manual (Henry Kirke, *Sir Henry Vernon of Haddon*, Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, Vol. 41, 1919, pp. 11-12). Such pseudonyms as 'Maister Mendall' and 'Robin of Redesdale' must have seemed to Henry ominously reminiscent of the forces

which overthrew Edward in 1469-70. Was Sir John Conyers involved? Lathes (West Lathes) in Cumberland was held by Sir John's son, Henry. John Thomslynson (whose sister was married to Edmund, son of Miles Metcalfe) was a beneficiary in the will of Sir John's brother, Christopher, all of which could point to Sir John and his widely spread and influential family. On 25th September Sir John had been one of those ordered to array troops in the north to resist the Scots, with Lord Strange's forces available if required.

Until pardoned in August 1486, a group of Richard's supporters, escaped from Bosworth—Harringtons, Huddlestons, Middletons, Franks—remained unsubdued on 'Furneys Fells'. Christopher Urswick was sent to James Harrington and others in Hornby Castle, with letters under the Privy Seal, and Milo Childe was sent not only to Sir Richard Tunstall (who was early reconciled to the new order) but to Richard Duckett of Giltwhayterigg, Westmorland, father-in-law of Ralph Brackenbury, Sir Robert's nephew and heir male (Campbell, *Materials*, Vol. 2, pp. 100, 98). Many of the Furness Fell 'rebels' died at Stoke Field. Edward Franke survived and continued to work against Henry.

In the spring of 1486, during Henry's visit to Yorkshire, an attempt was made by Viscount Lovell to seize the King (and one would like to know if the death, on 28th March, of Lovell's brother-in-law, Sir Brian Stapleton, was connected with these events), and the Earl of Northumberland is said to have personally saved Henry's life in York itself (Edward Barrington Fonblanque, *The Annals of the House of Percy*, Vol. 1, 1887, p. 300, quoting Drake's *Eboracum*. Henry's escape occurring on St George's day). During the visit Lincoln was reported as wanting to go 'over the walls' to join Robin of Redesdale.

The rebellion of Humphrey Stafford, his brother Thomas and their adherents Giles and Christopher Wellesbourne, may have been less political than part of the struggle for the inheritance of Humphrey Stafford Earl of Devon, and a continuation of the feud with the Harcourts. Giles had married the widow of John Harcourt, her daughter Margery being married to Humphrey Wellesbourne. Yet the Staffords were sheltered by John Sante, Abbot of Abingdon, friend of Lovell and of Edward Franke.

Limited space prevents discussion here of the virtual imprisonment (until 1488, when restricted to a twenty mile radius of London) of Lord Scrope of Bolton, the similar watch on Lord Scrope of Masham, the arrests of the Northumbrian James Lilbourne (he escaped at the beginning of 1487) and others, or of the resistance of Sir Henry Bodrugan in Cornwall. Oxford University's reluctance, like York's earlier, to deliver up Bishop Stillington in 1487 has been described in these pages. When, probably under duress, he ordered Treasurer Sugar to install Richard Worthington as Provost of Wells, Dean Gunthorpe and his Chapter objected to this 'unjust and furtive' induction. Even after a letter from Archbishop Morton the installation was allowed only after Worthington's abject submission, apology—and a fine. He died soon after. Then Sugar was prosecuted over a lighting contract. He was dead by 1489 (*Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells*, Vol. 2, 1914, pp. 102-114).

LADY DESMOND

As a corollary to the note on Lady Desmond in *The Ricardian* (No. 53, June 1976, p. 30) Isolde Wigram has reminded me that Walpole, in the Supplement to his *Historic Doubts (Collected Works, Vol. 2, 1798, p. 216)* states that 'the Earl of Shaftesbury was so good as to inform me that his ancestor the Lady Ashley, who lived to a great age, had conversed with Lady Desmond, and gave from her the same account that I have given, with the strong addition that Perkin Warbeck was remarkably like Edward IV'. This provides us with yet another informant of the handsome appearance of Richard of Gloucester. The Lady Ashley referred to is presumably Anne Ashley, daughter of Sir Anthony Ashley, married c. 1615 to Sir John Cooper, father of the first Earl of Shaftesbury. It is just possible for Anne Ashley to have known the Old Countess, who died in 1604, but it must be said that far from strengthening the traditional story of her dancing with Richard it weakens it. Lady Desmond is unlikely to have told her story to so many people, all of whose descendants told it to Walpole, which makes the truth of the legend less, rather than more, likely.

Book Reviews

CROWN AND NOBILITY 1450-1509 by J. R. Lander, Edward Arnold, 1976, p. 340. £9.95.

Between 1956 and 1973, Professor Lander's essays in the *Bulletin of Historical Research*, *History Journal*, *English History Review*, etc., established him as a founding father of modern fifteenth century studies. Lander's knowledge, and his ability to cope with an infusoria of detail without losing a true scholar's penetration, have enabled him to pronounce authoritatively within our field of interest. The publication of some of his major articles in one volume must therefore be thoroughly welcomed by fifteenth century enthusiasts.

Included in *Crown and Nobility* are his well known treatises on the Duke of York's second protectorate, and Yorkist council and administration. The reinterpretation of Clarence's death is of especial interest whilst his short article on Edward IV is worth reading again for comparison with Ross's fairly recent biography.

In a newly written introduction, Professor Lander deals somewhat ruthlessly with Victorian medievalists, and without acquitting the fifteenth century of its guilt of violence and disorder, he shows it to be no worse than preceding or succeeding periods: indeed better if only because strife accelerated the destruction of complacency which barred attempts at reform.

In addition, Lander appends five of his painstakingly compiled tabulations dealing with various details of the peers involved in the dynastic disputes of the later fifteenth century. The section on the councillors of the Yorkist Kings and Henry VII is singularly comprehensive and for those of us who are frequently flummoxed by the maze of attainders and reversals, Professor Lander provides a set of statistics in Appendix C.