

Sir Robert Percy and Joyce his wife

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SIR ROBERT PERCY of Scotton is a somewhat obscure figure,¹ who, unlike his remote kinsfolk the Percies of Alnwick, was a staunch supporter of the Yorkist cause. Sir Robert was probably the son of Robert Percy of Scotton (alive in 1474) by Cecily Metcalfe.² He was a follower of the Yorkist Nevills and of the Duke of York, and was taken prisoner at the disastrous battle fought at Wakefield on 30th December, 1460, where York and Salisbury, and two of their sons were among the slain. After Edward IV's accession the widowed Countess of Salisbury made a formal appeal of murder against nine principals and thirty-nine accessories, mostly Yorkshiremen, Robert Percy accusing one of the principals, Sir William Plumpton, of having 'laboured to have his head stricken off' following his (Percy's) capture at Wakefield.³

The elder Percy having fought and suffered for York, it is hardly surprising that his son may have been educated in the household of that greatest of Yorkists, the Kingmaker.⁴ The younger Robert could not have been born much after 1445, and would therefore have been aged about sixteen when the nine- or barely ten-year-old Richard Duke of Gloucester entered Warwick's household. Said to have been brought up with Richard III 'from a child', the reverse would be more nearly true, for Robert would at sixteen have then been considered an adult, liable to be called upon as a fighting man for serious military service.

He is believed to have been in the duke's service as a squire by 1469, when 'John of Par and Perse' were among the royal party entertained to dinner by John Paston.⁵ Perhaps Robert, like the Parrs, fought under the Duke of Gloucester's banner at Barnet, two years later. There is no record of his having followed Richard of Gloucester to Scotland in the campaigns of 1481-2, where so many of Richard's northern followers were knighted, and it would seem that he had no military reputation in the sense that, for example, Sir Richard Radclyff had. He was, however, prominent in the festivities which accompanied the coronation of Richard III—having been knighted the day before—and, with Francis Viscount Lovell, served the king and queen at the coronation banquet.⁶ He was made Comptroller of the Household (replacing Sir William Parr), and it has been vaguely asserted that he was also Captain of the King's Guard (of which stout body of men no record exists), and a Privy Councillor.⁷ He may have accompanied the king to York after the coronation; he certainly attended the reception of the Scottish envoys at Nottingham, in September, 1484.⁸ Commissioned to enquire into treasons and the possessions of traitors in Essex and Hertfordshire in December, 1483, he was a commissioner of array for those counties in May and December, 1484,⁹ and sheriff there in

November.¹⁰ In December, 1484, he was also a commissioner of array for the West Riding of Yorkshire, but it will have been his son Robert who, with Philip Conyers and other northerners, was a commissioner of array for Cambridgeshire in the same month. Sir Robert served on the only commission of the Peace for Essex of Richard's reign.¹¹

If not, then, one of Richard III's great captains—and this is not to call into question his courage—Sir Robert was clearly trusted and favoured by the king, and he received numerous grants. In February, 1484, he was granted the manors of Garboldsham, Norfolk, Maldon, Walton's Hall, Flannerswick, Jakelottys, and Monden, in Essex, formerly of Elizabeth, Countess of Oxford. Associated with him—unusually—in this grant, was his second wife, Joyce.¹² In March, 1483, he also received the de Vere properties of Campes, Saxton, and Abyton, in Cambridgeshire, and, in reversion on the death of Thomas Lord Stanley, the manors of Scotton and Brearton, with other properties in Scotton, Brearton, Staveley, Steynley, Burton, and Knaresborough, in Yorkshire.¹³

At about the same time, Sir Robert, Robert his son (by his first wife, Ellinor, daughter of Sir Ralph Bewley), Robert Lampton (who will be Sir Robert's cousin, Robert Lambton, then aged about thirty-two years), and John Pulleyn, a distant kinsman, and also of Scotton and Serjeant of the Cellar to Richard III, shared an annuity of £35 out of Clitheroe, during the life of Lord Stanley.¹⁴ Pulleyn was the brother-in-law of another of Richard III's influential supporters, Sir Thomas Mauleverer. Robert Lambton's brother, Percival, was, in 1491, Serjeant-at-law and Attorney-general to John Shirwood, Bishop of Durham, and in 1494, Seneschal (until 1501) and Attorney-general to Shirwood's successor, Fox.¹⁵

According to the Croyland Chronicle,¹⁶ Sir Robert fought for the king at Bosworth, and was slain. He was not attainted, perhaps because without the grants made by Richard III his property was not great. Yet his son, Robert, like John Pulleyn, Richard Banke, Sir Thomas Mauleverer, the Lords Scrope, Kay of Halifax, and others, joined the Earl of Lincoln and Viscount Lovell in 1487, in rebellion against Henry VII. After the defeat of Lincoln at Stoke Field, Percy, Banke, and Kay, were attainted, Robert's attainder being reversed two years later.¹⁷ His wife was Elizabeth Norton. Their posterity continued at Scotton for several generations.¹⁸

Apart from the unusual inclusion of her name in the grant of 1484, and a solitary reference to her as 'Jocosa' (Jocosa or Joyce obviously being intended) in the above-mentioned pedigree, virtually nothing has been written about Sir Robert Percy's widow, and her identity has been considered a mystery. Yet her will survives, and study of this important document reveals a great deal about the lady, and about her family connections, helping us to understand Richard III's pointed provision for her, and, perhaps, Sir Robert's sudden advancement—possibly dating from their marriage—and, also providing us with the names of relatives and friends who perhaps shielded her stepson from ruin, and possibly arranged her subsequent remarriage.

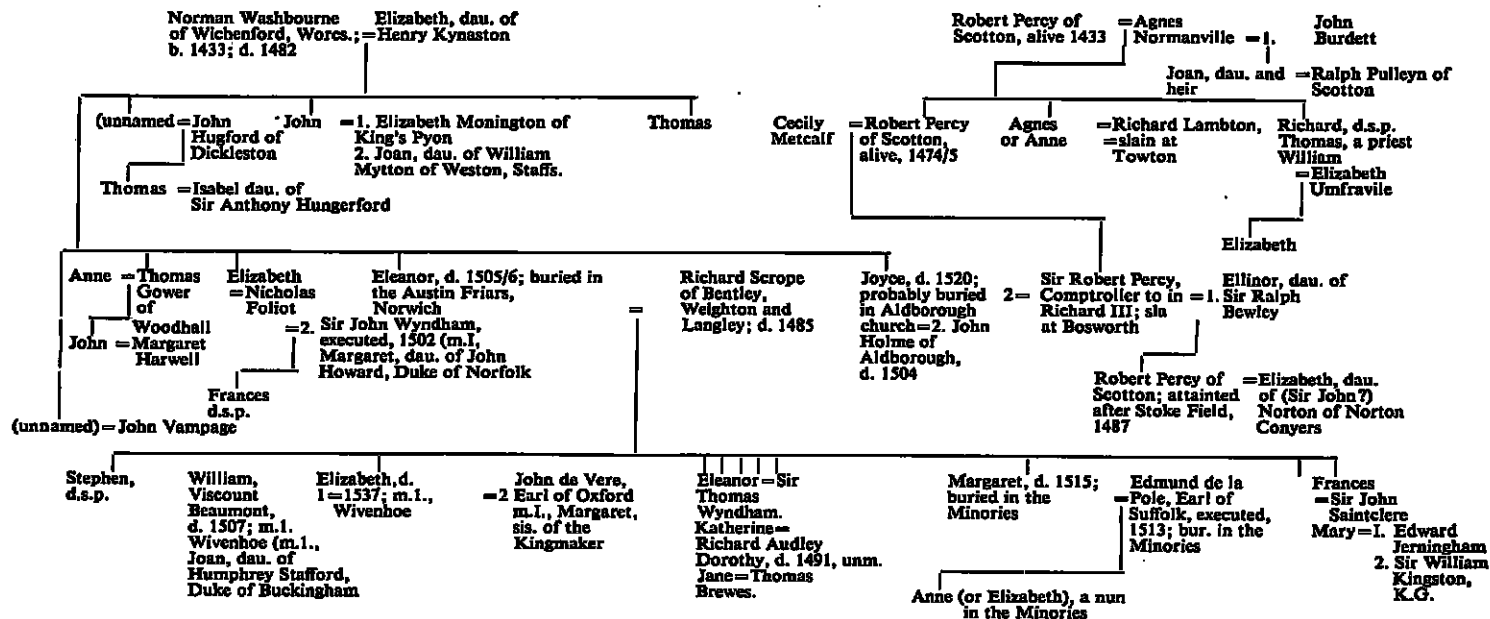
The will of Dame Joyce Percy of Auldbrough, 'late the wif of John Holme, deceased', was made on 3rd August, 1519. A bequest ('a cope of tany damas broudered with lylylly floures') to the Friars Minor of Westwood in Beverley was made with the intent that they should every Friday, when keeping chapter

and praying for their benefactors, pray for the following: Dame Joyce Percy, Norman Wasburne, and Elisabeth father and mother, Richard Serkeld, Syr Robert Percy, John Holme, Elynour Wyndam vel Croke, and Dame Anne the Countess of Shreusbury.¹⁹

She was thus daughter of Norman Washbourne by Elizabeth (Kynaston). Norman Washbourne of Wichenford, Worcestershire, born 1433, was a gentleman, best known, perhaps, for his feud with his Salway cousins over certain inheritances. He was dead by 1482, when his son John continued with Humphrey Salway a suit for the manor of Stanford in which Norman was engaged as early as 1462.²⁰ No printed pedigree of Washbourne has shown all of his daughters, but it will be seen in the accompanying table, compiled by this writer from many pedigrees, that the marriages were not only quite advantageous—indeed, he must have been a man of substance to have secured such matches—but are of considerable significance to students of the Wars of the Roses. The marriages of his Scrope grand-daughters were particularly brilliant.

He had also two sons, John—probably the John Washbourne given a life annuity of ten marks out of the lordship of Elmley Lovet, Worcestershire by Richard III, on April 26th, 1484²¹—and Thomas. John's first wife was a Mytton of Staffordshire, thus related to Richard III's sometime supporter, Thomas Mytton. John's second wife was a Monington of 'Butters'. A Monington was granted a general pardon by Henry VII not long after Bosworth. It is worth noting that Norman Washbourne's mother, Margaret, was a Power. The Power holdings were originally granted to them by Walter Beauchamp (of Elmley).²²

The order in which the daughters of Norman were born is not known. One (unnamed) daughter, married John Hugford of Dickleston, Gloucestershire, first cousin of that John Hugford of Edmonscote (Emscote), who was one of Richard III's two joint constables of Warwick Castle.²³ The other Constable, Humphrey Beaufort, his colleague's son-in-law, died at Bosworth.²⁴ Anne married Thomas Gower of Woodhall, whose grandmother was Katherine, 'daughter to the Baron of Dudley'.²⁵ Their eldest son, John Gower, married Margaret, daughter of Roger Harwell of Besford, Worcestershire (Hugford of Dickleston's nephew). Roger Harwell, the Abbott of Tewkesbury (John Streynsham), and one John Tapton, a clerk, were, c.1477, requested by the Duke of Clarence to place a child, 'in likeness' of Clarence's son and heir, in Warwick Castle, and to convey the duke's son to Ireland or Flanders, to obtain assistance against Edward IV. Harwell and Tapton failed to comply. John Hugford of Emscote was one of the three Justices of the Peace, who, at Clarence's instigation, sentenced the unfortunate Ankarette Twynyho of Cayford, Somerset, to death at Warwick in 1477.²⁶ These associations with Warwick—and links with Beauchamp and with Clarence—would appear to indicate the probable allegiance of Norman Washbourne and of some of his sons-in-law. That is, to the kingmaker and to Clarence. It should be noted that Sir Robert Percy's grandmother was the widow of one John Burdett. The Yorkshire Burdets as their heraldry reveals, were related to Thomas Burdett of Arrow, Clarence's servant, executed in 1477 for having 'imagined and compassed' the death of Edward IV, having been named as accomplice by the astronomer—or sorcerer—John Stacy. Burdett's eldest son by his second wife married a daughter of Harwell.



Among other crimes Stacy was accused of having made images to procure the death of Richard Lord Beauchamp, at the request of his adulterous wife.²⁷ This wife was Elizabeth, Lady Beauchamp, sister of Richard III's ardent supporter—Humphrey Stafford of Grafton, in Worcestershire with whom Thomas Burdett was associated in the 1450s and 1460s.

Another unnamed daughter was married to John Vampage.²⁸ Whether the brass at Minster Lovell (the Oxfordshire home of Francis Viscount Lovell) to John Vampage, '*ad Regis causas attornatus*', d.1502, and his wife, Elizabeth, commemorates them is uncertain. Another daughter, Elizabeth, was married to Nicholas Foliot.²⁹ Eleanor, the 'Elynour Wyndam vel Croke' of Joyce Percy's will (and the only one of her sisters named in that document), married in 1467, in the Earl of Warwick and Salisbury's chapel within the castle of Sheriff Hutton, Richard Scrope³⁰ of Bentley, and Weighton, in Yorkshire, and of Langley, in Co. Durham, second son of Henry Lord Scrope of Bolton, and brother of John, Lord Scrope of Bolton, K.G., a most influential Yorkist peer. The two Scrope brothers supported Warwick and Clarence in 1470, Lord Scrope submitting to Edward IV on 22nd March, while in April Richard was one of those (including Warwick and Clarence) whose goods were to be seized, as rebels. He received a general pardon on 21st April, 1471.³¹ His death occurred early in 1485. Eleanor afterwards married a widower, Sir John Wyndham, whose first wife was Margaret, daughter of John Howard, Duke of Norfolk. Wyndham was executed with Sir James Tyrell in 1502. Eleanor died in December, 1505, or in January, 1506, and was buried in the church of the Austin Friars, Norwich. By Scrope she had a son, Stephen, who died without issue, and nine daughters. By Wyndham she had one child, Frances. Her daughters' marriages were excellent, two being brilliant—and tragic. The eldest daughter, Elizabeth (by this marriage, incidentally, the aunt of Francis Viscount Lovell), was first married, in April, 1486, to William Viscount Beaumont (a widower), a determined Lancastrian, whose mind did not long survive the Tudor conquest, for in 1487 he went mad, his person, wife, and possessions being placed in the care of his old associate (both men were besieged in St. Michael's Mount, by William Fetherston, in 1473–4), the famous 13th Earl of Oxford, John de Vere. The earl cared for them until Beaumont's death in 1507, then married the still young widow, she died in 1537, and was buried beside Beaumont. Her will, an interesting one, refers to many of her relatives.³²

The second daughter, Eleanor, married her stepbrother, Sir Thomas Wyndham; the fourth, Margaret,³³ married the unfortunate Edmund de la Pole, duke, then earl, of Suffolk, younger brother of John, Earl of Lincoln, and heir to the Plantagenets. Suffolk, imprisoned by Henry VII in 1506, after five precarious years as a fugitive in Europe, was executed by that monarch's less squeamish son, Henry VIII, in 1513. Suffolk's second flight from Henry's court, in 1501, brought about the ruin of Sir James Tyrell, and of his own wife's stepfather, Sir John Wyndham. Accused of aiding Suffolk, Tyrell was most dishonourably tricked into surrendering Guisnes by a promise of safe-conduct, given under the Privy Seal, and subsequently broken. Both men were executed on Tower Hill on 6th May, 1502, and were buried in the west wing of the church of the Austin Friars in London. With them was arraigned one Wellesbourne,³⁴ a servant of Sir James. This man's possible significance appears to have been

overlooked, for in 1483, Christopher Wellesbourne, a 'gentleman-servant' to Sir James, was employed by Tyrell in an attempt to secure the person of Edward Stafford, son and heir of the Duke of Buckingham.

At what date Joyce, the remaining daughter of Norman Washbourne, married Robert Percy is not known. Assuming Sir Robert's son to have been born c.1465, Ellinor Bewley's death can not have occurred much before that approximate date, and we may also assume that Joyce, like her sister Eleanor, was of marriageable age in 1467. The will of her last husband, John Holme, 'of Alburgh, Yorks.', was proved in 1504.³⁵ In her will, dated 22nd November, 1503,³⁶ Katherine, Lady Hastings, daughter of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, and widow of William, Lord Hastings (and cousin of Richard III and aunt of Queen Anne Nevill) left to one of her sons, William, among other bequests, 'all such plate as was in the hands of John Holme, with that he pay unto the said John, at the feast of St. Andrew next coming, fifteen pounds, in part payment of a greater sune'. Among the executors of her will were her daughter, Cecily (Bonville), Marchioness of Dorset, George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, and his wife, Anne (Hastings), another of Katherine's daughters. The Earl of Shrewsbury may have been with Richard III at Bosworth (although his retainers, led by his uncle Gilbert Talbot, fought there for Henry Tudor), he is reported by one source to have been captured after the Battle by Henry's men.

Katherine's home, Kirby Muxloe, lies not far from Leicester. In fact, the royal army before Bosworth, and the victorious rebel army afterwards, will have passed close by. The bulk of the royal army must have been billeted beyond the walls of Leicester (certainly not within the walls) and perhaps the Comptroller and his wife (and the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury) spent those last two days before the march to Bosworth at Kirby. Certainly memories of past anxieties shared, and perhaps of support received, would explain the inclusion of the Countess among those for whose souls' welfare Joyce wished to provide. The probability is strong that Dame Joyce's last husband was the John Holme of Katherine Hastings' will, but we can only speculate as to whether or not the marriage was brought about through Hastings or Talbot influence.

Joyce Percy also made provision in her will for several members of her immediate family. Unfortunately, as the naming of family relationships was then far from precise, they could be either Holmes or Percies. The bulk of her possessions went to her daughter Mary and to her 'sonne More' (John More, her son-in-law), and 'should they depart' this was to go to her godson, Thomas More, and after him, to her godson Robert. Her godson, Thomas More, and her son Robert (Percy?) received twenty marks, Frances and John, ten. 'If God sende hir a daughter yt to have my name and xx markes', must refer to her daughter Mary. Edward Holme, apparently intended for the priesthood, was to have her 'ferme of Lenwyke according to the indenture betwix ny Lord Hastings and me, with the stocke thereuppon'. Her daughter, Mary More, and another godson, John Thorpp, were two of the four executors.

It will be noted that her godson, Thomas More, was well provided for in the will. Richard III's first biographer, Thomas More, was then about forty-one years of age. Although there were several men of that name then active,

and Sir Thomas More's much debated pedigree cannot here be examined at length, there is in fact evidence that the family of Sir Thomas was linked with the Scropes.

Sir Thomas inherited lands in North Mimms, Hertfordshire. A family named Holmes lived there by 1552.³⁸ In 1484, Richard III gave the manor of South Mimms, in Middlesex but nearby, to Richard Scrope's brother, Robert,³⁹ who died c.1500, and was buried at Hambledon, Buckinghamshire. Sir Thomas' son, John, married Anne Cresacre, whose grandfather had held Barnburgh, in Yorkshire, part of Lord Scrope's manor of Stainton, and also held lands of George Hastings.⁴⁰ A prisoner in the Tower at his father's death, John More returned to settle in Yorkshire. His son, Thomas More, married Mary Scrope of Hambledon, granddaughter of John Lord Scrope of Bolton. The Constable of the Tower during Sir Thomas More's imprisonment, who personally assisted Sir Thomas to mount the scaffold, was Sir William Kingston, K.G., second husband of Joyce Percy's niece, Mary Scrope, another of Richard Scrope's daughters.

Such evidence, if less than overwhelming, cannot be dismissed, and the possibility of a connection between Joyce Percy, the Scropes, and More, must be considered in any future evaluation of More's reliability as an historian of Richard III's reign. More's history, abruptly discontinued c.1515 and posthumously published, was not, it should be remembered, begun until 1513, the year in which Edmund de la Pole Earl of Suffolk, the last serious Yorkist claimant, was executed.

The pedigree of Holmes of Hampole records the marriage of John Holmes of North Mimms (living in 1552) to Frances Tyndall of Brotherton, and that of Moore of Moore, Oxfordshire,⁴¹ contains several of the christian names which occur in Joyce's will, but the Mary Holme, wife of John More, is there shown as daughter of John Holme of Paull Holme, and nowhere is it shown that Joyce's husband, John Holme of Aldborough, was of this family. A John Holme was one of the legatees in the will of Matilda (d.1492), widow of Miles Metcalfe, a supporter of Richard III, and a kinsman of Sir Robert Percy.⁴²

Joyce also provided for the Guilds of the Virgin, and of St. Peter, an Aldborough church, particularly for that of the Virgin, and left money for the making of the Rood Loft. In addition to the bequest made to the Friars of Beverley, she willed one shilling to each of the four mother churches of York. She left her body to be 'buried in the parish church where it shall please Almighty God to calle me unto his mercy before the image of our Ladye'.

Aldborough, where Joyce and John Holme resided, lies less than one mile to the east of Boroughbridge. The east end of the north aisle of the parish church of St. Andrew, now called the Aldburgh Chapel, formerly contained a chantry of our Lady (perhaps of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, another to our Lady, being perhaps at the east end of the north aisle). Here, then, in all probability, lies the widow of Sir Robert Percy. Sepulchral slabs survive, including one commemorating William Aldburgh, d. 15th April, 1475 (he married Anne Kye of Woodham) whose father, Sir Richard, d.1476, was among those accused by the Countess of Salisbury after Wakefield, and a large stone with indents of a cross and six shields, and another, very large and without markings,

which was, in 1885-6, partly covered by pews.⁴³ Aldborough is, in fact, quite near those manors of Scotton, Staveley, Brearton, and Burton Leonard, which were granted to Sir Robert Percy in 1484. Staveley is barely three miles away.

It can thus be seen that the shadowy Sir Robert Percy and his wife were in fact related to some of the most powerful men in the land. We have also seen that many of the men who were in some way related to the family of Nesfield, and who continued to resist Henry VII after Bosworth, were also associated with Sir Robert Percy and his son, and the alliances with de la Pole and Wyndham connect them with the doom of Sir James Tyrell. These, and the connections with the family of Scrope, the head of which, John Lord Scrope of Bolton, was the virtual viceroy of the south-west in the reign of Richard III, go some way to explain the hitherto inexplicable eminence of Sir Robert Percy, the King's Comptroller.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Very briefly dealt with in *Ricardian* No. 30 (September, 1970), pp.19-20, by Howard Shearring.
2. The otherwise preferable pedigree of Percy of Scotton in *Familiae Minorum Gentium*, edited by J. W. Clay, Vol. 3, Harleian Society (1895), p.873, appears to contain a generation too many.
3. R. L. Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster*, London (1966), p.194, note. It was probably this Robert Percy who was made collector in the port of Kingston-upon-Hull, 23rd March, 1466 (*Calendar of the Fine Rolls 1461-71*, pp.178-9), but Robert Percy, made Escheator in Yorkshire, 5th November, 1476, may have been the son (*Cal. F.R.* 1471-85, p.128).
4. P. M. Kendall, *Richard III*, London (1955), p.46. Kendall cites Davies (*York Records*, p.194), which, in fact, contains no reference on pages 194-5 to Robert Percy's service at Middleham: this is an assumption only.
5. James Gairdner (Ed.), *The Paston Letters*, London (1910), Vol. 2, p.358.
6. Kendall, *Richard III*, p.230.
7. *Familiae Minorum Gentium*, p.873; *York Records*, p.194; each citing Hopkinson's Yorkshire Pedigrees (Leeds MS., Vol. 2, p.266, according to York Records).
8. James Gairdner (Ed.), *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, London (1861-3), Vol. 1, pp.59-63.
9. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls 1476-85*, H.M.S.O. (1901), p.393; pp.399-400; p.489. Percy was not commissioner for Hertfordshire in May, but Richard Scrope was in May and December.
10. *Calendar of the Fine Rolls 1471-85*, H.M.S.O. (1961), p.300, No. 859.
11. *C.P.R. 1476-85*, p.492; p.488; p.560.
12. *Calendar of Close Rolls 1476-85*, H.M.S.O. (1954), No. 1168.
13. *C.P.R. 1476-85*, pp.434-5.
14. British Library Harleian MS. 433, f.43. Robert Lambton was the son of Sir Robert Percy's sister Agnes (or Alice) and Richard Lambton of Harrogate and Nunthorpe, whose elder brother Robert was killed fighting for Lancaster at Towton on the 29th March, 1461. Richard Lambton (born 1425) was held at the font by Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, Thomas Langley, Bishop of Durham, and the Earl's mother Joan Beaufort, Countess of Westmorland. Richard's widow was granted the wardship of their 11-year-old son Robert on the 12th September, 1462, see Robert Surtees, *History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, Vol. 3, London (1816), p.62.

15. Surtees, *Durham*, Vol. 3, p.574. Percival Lambton was married to Richard III's kinswoman Elizabeth, daughter of Marmaduke Clervaux of Croft. Robert's son and heir, Thomas Lambton, married Isabel, daughter of John Slingsby of Scriven.
16. H. T. Riley (Ed.), *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland*, London (1893), p.574.
17. *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, Vol. 6 (1783), p.397; p.424.
18. Scotton Old Hall (not open to the public), dated seventeenth century by Pevsner, was once the home of Guy Fawkes, and there he first met the Gunpowder Plot conspirators, led by Robert Catesby, who was sixth in descent from the supporter of Richard III. In 1490 Henry VII granted an annuity of 20s to 'the beloved Margaret Fawkes for her relief and sustentation' out of the issues of Knaresborough.
19. *North Country Wills*, Vol. 1, 1383-1508, Surtees Society (1908), pp.104-6.
20. *The Genealogist*, New Series, Vol. 19 (1903), p.23; Vol. 20 (1904), p.94.
21. *C.P.R. 1476-85*, p.440.
22. F. W. Weaver (Ed.), *Visitation of Hereford 1569*, Exeter (1886), pp.72-3.
23. *C.P.R. 1476-85*, p.502.
24. *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem 1485-1509*, Vol. 1, H.M.S.O. (1898), No. 131. Hugford, whose daughter Joan was Beaufort's wife, died on 26th November, 1485, which suggests, perhaps, that he may have been wounded at Bosworth. His wife was Nicholas Metley's daughter, Margaret. The Raulf Medley, witness to Joyce's will, could be of this family, but this cannot be proved.
25. W. P. W. Phillimore (Ed.), *Visitation of Worcestershire 1569*, Harleian Society, London (1888), p.60.
26. *Rot. Parl.*, Vol. 6 (the Attainder of George, Duke of Clarence), p.194; pp.173-4.
27. J. R. Lander, *The Wars of the Roses*, London (1965), p.219, quoting the *Croyland Chronicle*.
28. *Visitation of Worcestershire*, p.69.
29. John MacLean and W. C. Heane (Eds.), *Visitation of Gloucestershire 1569*, Harleian Society, London (1885), p.54.
30. *Testamenta Eboracensia*, Vol. 3, 1395-1491, Surtees Society (1865), p.338. Licence to marry, 27th November, 1467.
31. *C.P.R. 1467-77*, p.218; p.260. His will appears in *Testamenta Eboracensia*, Vol. 4 (1869), p.298.
32. Her will appears in the *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, Vol. 20, New Series (1933), pp.9-15.
33. *North Country Wills*, p.84. The will of 'Margaret Suffolk,' proved 15th May, 1515. Many pedigrees omit this unfortunate lady, who survived her husband by barely two years. Her will also appears in *Testamenta Vetusta*, Vol. 2, London (1826), p.530 (from Dugdale's extract). N. Harris Nicolas, the editor, is unsure of her identity; Dugdale is mistaken. Of her identity there is no doubt whatever. She refers to her sister, the Countess of Oxford—to whom she left an image of St Michael, adorned with pearls and precious stones. The will locates the burial place of her unjustly executed husband, for she requested burial in the house of the Minorettes without Aldgate, London, 'with my husband.' Her daughter, Suffolk's only child, was a nun there in the Minories, her blood—in Tudor eyes too criminally royal—apparently condemning her to a life of seclusion, yet another of the Yorkist ladies who found shelter in the Minories after the death of Richard III and the ruin of the House of York. When did this innocent girl die?
34. See the excellent article by W. H. Sewell, *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, Vol. 5 (1886), pp.8-180, and his article in *Royal Archaeological Institute Journal*, No. 109 (1871), p.23.
35. Index of Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Vol. 1, Index Library, London (1893), p.279. 1504 John Holme, Alburgh, Yorkshire, 22 Holgrave.

36. *Testamenta Vetusta*, Vol. 2, pp.450-6.
37. J. C. Nichols (Ed.), *Chronicle of Calais*, Camden Society (1846), p.1.
38. J. Foster (Ed.), *Visitation of Yorkshire 1584 and 1612*, London (1875), p.361.
39. *C.P.R. 1476-85*, p.376. His brass remains at Hambledon.
40. *Cal. Inq. P.M. 1485-1509*, Vol. 3, H.M.S.O. (1956), No. 433. Richard Scrope sold Ambrose Cresacre four manors in Kent, 1468-9. *C.C.R. 1468-76*, H.M.S.O. (1953), Nos. 323-4.
41. *Familiae Minorum Gentium*, Vol. 3, p.105.
42. *Testamenta Eboracensia*, Vol. 4, p.9. A John Holme also appears in the will of Henry Savile, Yeoman of the Chamber to Richard III, died February-March, 1484, son of Sir John Savile of Thornhill.
43. See *Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal*, Vol. 9 (1885-6), pp.167-88. William Ward, probably of the family of Warde of nearby Givendale, was Vicar of Aldborough, 1473-87. He resigned on 14th May, 1487, exchanging the vicarage for that of Weighton, one of Richard Scrope's properties. Sir Christopher Warde, one of Richard III's lieutenants in the south, was related to Sir Robert Percy's son through the wife of the latter.