Tudor Heraldry at Bosworth

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KENDALL, IN HIS account of Bosworth, tells of a scout coming to Richard III to point out Henry Tudor—'the figure on horseback, close by the red dragon standard'. Richard determined to end the battle through the death of his opponent: rallying the Knights of his Household he led his final charge down Ambion Hill. As he reached the enemy ranks, he found himself 'hewing his way towards the standard of the red dragon, borne by the stalwart William Brandon'. He reached it: 'down went the dragon of Cadwallader and Brandon rolled dead in the dust.' It was then, however, that Sir William Stanley intervened on behalf of the Tudor forces; and it was Richard, not Henry, who lost his life.[1]

Most modern writers on the battle make similar references to Henry's heraldry, yet to do so is to misunderstand the part played by heraldic flags in medieval warfare. The standard, the long tapering flag which bore heraldic badges like the red dragon, was intended to stand in one place, as its name implies. With a length of six to twelve feet it was too unwieldy for much else, and it acted as a rallying point for the infantry. A great man's personal flag, on the other hand, was his banner, measuring perhaps two to three feet square, and bearing his coat of arms. It accompanied him over the battlefield, borne by some champion like William Brandon.[2]

Unfortunately, not only modern historians but also medieval chroniclers tend to use the terms indiscriminately. We therefore find Polydore Vergil, our only source on this point, referring to 'William Brandon the standerd bearer'.[3] Brandon was undoubtedly a banner bearer, however, and it was by his banner that Henry was identified.

Standards were certainly present among Henry's ranks: elsewhere Vergil describes the part played by some of them. 'Therle of Oxfoord, fearing lest hys men in fyghting might be envyronyd of the multitude, commandyd in every rang that no soldiers should go above tenfoote from the standerds.'[4] The result was that Norfolk's troops, attacking, suspected a trap and held back from the fight. Clearly these were true standards, occupying a fixed position: one of them would have borne Oxford's own badges of the blue boar and silver star.

Our only descriptions of Henry's standards are to be found in Hall's Chronicle and the Great Chronicle of London. Probably based on a common source, these give slightly variant accounts of how Henry entered the capital after his victory.

'With greate pompe and triumphe,' says Hall, 'he roade through the cytie to the cathedral churche of S. Paule wher he offred his iii standardes. In the one was the ymage of S. George, in the second was a red firye dragon beaten upon white and grene sarcenet ye third was of yelowe tarterne, in the which was peinted a done kowe.'[5]

The Great Chronicle tells how 'the kyng was Ressayvid Into London . . . and soo browgth unto pawlys where at the Rode of the North dore he offryd upp thre Standardys whereof oon was of the Armys of Seynt George, The Secund a Red ffyry dragon peyntid upon whyte & Grene Sarcenet, and the third was a Baner of Tarteron bett wyth a dun Cowe.'[6]

Both refer to three standards, but the Great Chronicle calls the last a banner. This is almost certainly an error: the dun cow was a badge and would therefore be borne on a standard.[7] The reference to tartan describes the fabric, not the design: the colour of the field, as Hall says, was yellow. The dun cow is thought to have been adopted as a badge by Henry in reference to his Beaufort descent from Guy, legendary Earl of Warwick, who slew:

'A monstous wyld and cruell beast,
Called the dun cow of Dunsmore heath.'[8]

The first standard is described as bearing the image of St George by Hall, and the arms of St George by the Great Chronicle. These are, of course, very different things. The arms of St George (the familiar red cross on a white field) would be borne on a banner. English troops fought under such banners from the thirteenth century onwards, and it may be that it is to this that the Chronicle refers. However, it seems more probable that Hall is correct, and that this was a standard bearing the figure of St George as a badge.[9] As an English standard it would also carry the cross of St George in the hoist.[10]

As nothing more is known of these two standards, I have illustrated them (Figures 1 and 2) as guidons—cavalry standards which, being necessarily smaller (four to eight feet long) omitted the motto and lesser badges usually found on the true standard of the infantry.[11] Nevertheless, there is no real reason to suppose that they were not full-sized standards.

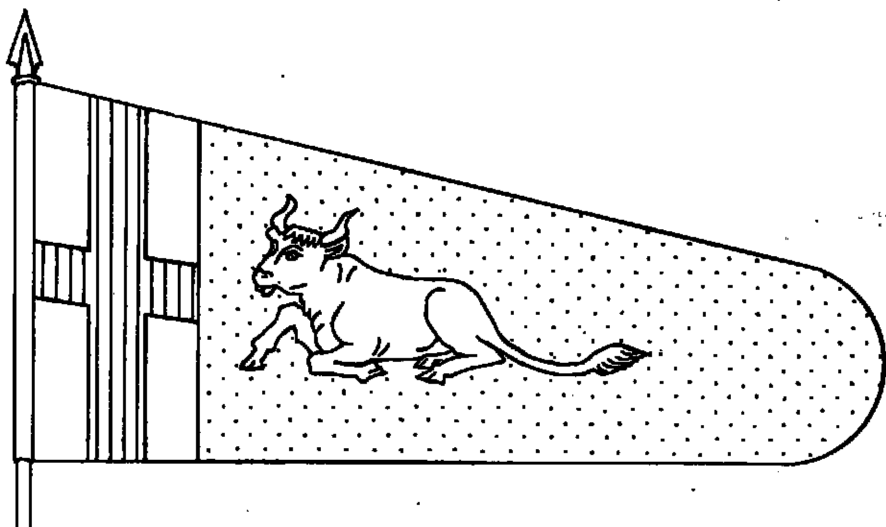
It is, however, the red dragon standard which has caught the imagination of writers and artists, a magnificent dragon standard which flies over the battlefield today. It is frequently referred to as the dragon of Cadwallader, but this is a misnomer: the attribution only emerged during the Tudor period, and has no historical basis.[12] The dragon was used heraldically by numerous members of the English royal family during the middle ages (the Yorkists bore a black dragon as a badge for the Earldom of Ulster), and by 1485 had certain associations with Wales.[13] But Henry used it as a family badge: both Edmund, his father, and Jasper, his uncle, had taken dragons as crests and supporters.[14]

The green and white livery colours, into which the field of the standard was divided, similarly had various associations with English royalty and with Wales.[15]

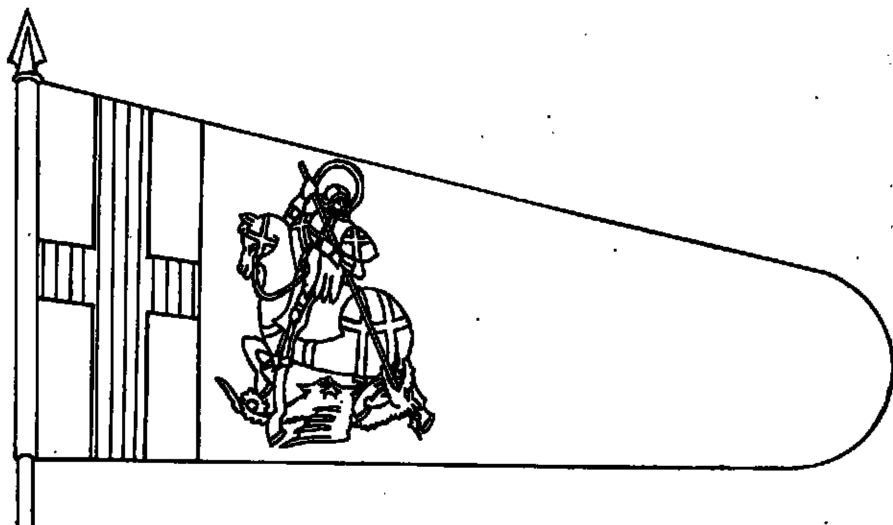
The main features of the standard—the cross of St George, the green and white field, the red dragon—are, then, fairly certain. But the lesser badges, scattered on the field, and the motto, borne on diagonal bands across it, are more open to speculation.

An unidentified source, probably nineteenth century, apparently described the field as strewn with red roses, and the motto as *'Fide et Consilio'*.[16] This has inspired several artists, but both features are somewhat suspect.

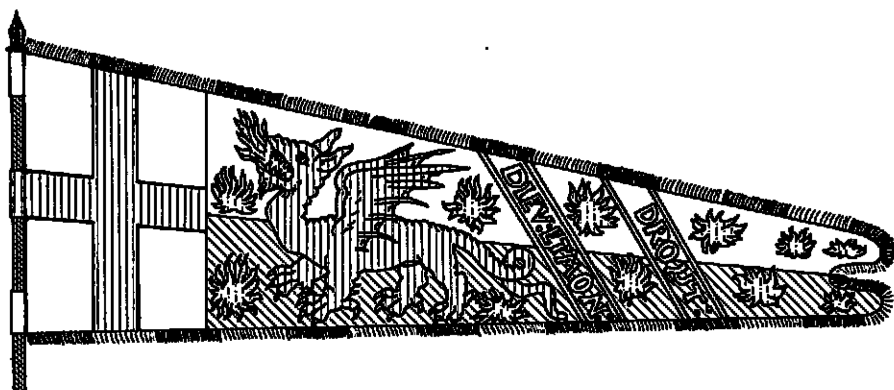
The red rose, as is now well known, was a badge used by the early Lancastrians, but not by Henry VI during the so-called 'Wars of the Roses'.[17] When Henry VII came to the throne he used red roses, white roses, and a variety of red and white 'Tudor' roses.[18] The first appearance of the two-coloured rose



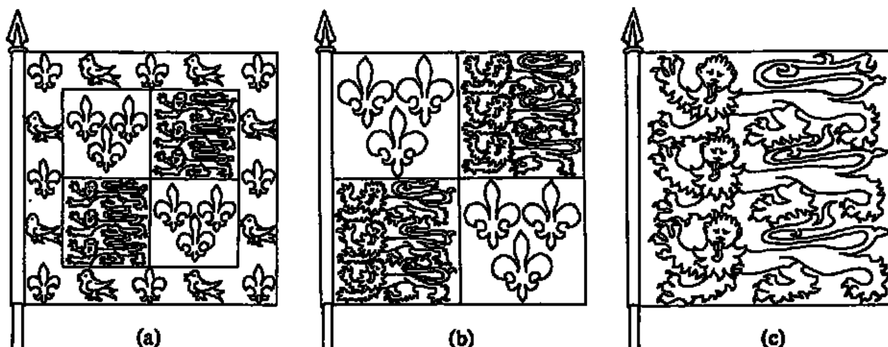
1. The Dun Cow



2. The Image of St George



3. The Red Fiery Dragon



4. Henry Tudor's Banner: Possible Designs

was during Henry's visit to York in 1486;[19] while the first reference to the resurrected red rose occurs in the poem quoted by the Croyland Chronicle: 'to avenge the White [i.e. the murdered sons of Edward IV] the Red Rose bloomed.'[20] The Song of the Lady Bessy refers to Henry himself, both before and immediately after the battle, as the Red Rose;[21] but the ballad is notorious for anachronistic details of this sort. There is, then, no evidence to support Ramsay's confident assertion that 'the red rose of Tudor first appeared on Bosworth Field',[22] although, of course, it is possible that it did so.

The motto *'Fide et Consilio'* is of still more doubtful authenticity. The only reference to its use by Henry that I have been able to find is made by Mrs Bury Palliser: she associates it with a badge of two hands united holding a caduceus.[23] Elsewhere, however, she attributes the same motto and a very similar badge to the Emperor Henry VII (1308–1313).[24] J. Dielitz attributes both badge and motto to Henry VIII of England.[25] The confusion has yet to be elucidated.

The standard flown over Henry's position at Bosworth today, the design for which was supplied by the College of Arms,[26] is based on a different source—one of five standards attributed to Henry in an early sixteenth century manuscript.[27] Here the lesser badges are flames of fire, and the dragon itself is fire-breathing—perhaps the explanation of the chroniclers' adjective 'fiery'. The fact that the flame of fire was not a common Tudor badge might also suggest that the standard dates back to Henry's early days, before his heraldry began to follow a more consistent pattern.

The motto in the manuscript is *'Dieu et mon Droit'*. On the battlefield this has been changed to *'Fide et Consilio'*, presumably on the grounds that Henry had not yet ascended the throne. However, quite apart from the suspicion attached to *'Fide et Consilio'*, Henry may well have used regal insignia at Bosworth, as I hope to demonstrate. I have therefore illustrated the standard as it appears in the manuscript (Figure 3).

We should now pass on to discuss Henry's personal banner, by which he was recognised. 'After drawing nerer, [Richard] knew yt perfytely by evydent signes and tokens that yt was Henry.'[28] It is natural to assume that 'signs and tokens' refer to the arms on his banner: identification was, after all, the prime function of heraldry. Furthermore, the fact that Richard struck down Brandon, the banner bearer, would suggest that he had aimed his charge at his enemy's flag, not at the man himself.

Technically, Henry was not entitled to use a banner at all. Following his unsuccessful invasion attempt of 1483 he had been attainted, and so had forfeited the right to arms.[29] However, his first parliament demonstrated his scorn for the attainder, and he is certain to have borne arms at Bosworth.

His ancestral bearings are well known. His grandfather, Owen Tudor, bore Gules, a chevron between three helmets argent. Legend has it that the helmets were originally three Englishmen's heads, but were tactfully altered by Owen's father, Maredudd, when he settled in London.[30]

Owen's sons, Edmund and Jasper, were granted new arms to reflect the fact that their mother was Katherine, widow of Henry V. Both took the royal arms (Quarterly, France Modern and England), differenced by a blue bordure, which was charged with alternating gold fleurs-de-lys and martlets in the case of Edmund, and with gold martlets alone in that of Jasper. The grants were probably both made in 1452, when Edmund was created Earl of Richmond and Jasper Earl of Pembroke by their half-brother, Henry VI.

Edmund died in 1456, and his son, the future Henry VII, inherited his arms. These are the arms which it is generally assumed he bore on his banner in 1485 (Figure 4a).

However, he was not fighting as plain Henry Tudor or even as Earl of Richmond. His claim was to be king of England—and history shows that heraldry could play an important part in such a claim.

In 1340, after three years of preliminaries and under pressure from the merchants of Flanders, 'the king of England bore the arms of France, quartering them with those of England. He also took the title of king of France from that day forward.'[31] Froissart, whose account this is, thus stresses the heraldic claim far more than the verbal.

In 1460, Richard Duke of York landed near Chester from Ireland and eventually set off south. His intention to claim the throne only became clear when 'he come to Habyngdon, and there he sende for trompeters and claryners to bryng hym to London, and there he gave them baners with the hole armys of Inglonde with owte any dyversyte.'[32]

Subsequently he made a more formal claim, but among the chief objections raised by the Lords was the point that although York claimed the crown through his maternal descent from Lionel Duke of Clarence (second son of Edward III), the arms he had used up to then had been those of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, his paternal grandfather and Edward's fifth son. York replied 'that trouth is, that he myght lawfully have born the armes of the said Sr Leonell herebifore, and also the same armes that Kyng Edward the third bare, that is to say, the armes of the Reaumes of Englond and of Fraunce; but he absteyned of beryng of the seid armes . . .; for though right for a tyme rest and bee put to silence, yit it roteth not ner shall not perish.'[33]

In Henry's own reign, Perkin Warbeck claimed the throne as Richard Duke of York, younger son of Edward IV. When in Antwerp he hung a version of the royal arms out of his lodgings; and he also issued a document under a seal which carried the royal arms.[34]

As king, Henry VII showed himself very much aware of the propaganda potential of heraldry: in view of these parallel cases it seems likely, therefore, that he would have borne the royal arms without difference from as early a date as possible. And the fact is that he claimed the royal title well before Bosworth.

As early as Christmas day 1483 his followers 'swore unto him homage as thowghe he had bene already created king.'[35] In December 1484, and again the following June, Richard III issued his proclamation against Henry, who, he said, 'encrocheth and usurpid upon hym the name and title of royall estate of this Realme of Englond.'[36] After Henry landed in Milford Haven, rolls of arms indicate that he knighted a number of his followers—the prerogative of a monarch.[37] The Song of the Lady Bessy has Henry acclaimed as king on his march;[38] while in the Ballad of Bosworth Field and the Saville manuscript Sir William Stanley greets the invader, 'Welcome, Soveraygne Kynge Henry'. Elsewhere before and during the battle, these last two accounts themselves refer to him in a similar fashion.[39] The Croyland Chronicle speaks of 'Henry earl of Richmond, whom they called their king, Henry the Seventh'.[40]

Henry's own words supply still firmer evidence. In the spring of 1485 he wrote to his English allies, signing himself 'HR'.[41] After his landing he sent a letter to his kinsman John ap Meredith headed 'By the King', and referring to 'this our principalitie of Wales', 'our realme of England', and to 'the odious tyrant Richard late Duke of Gloucester, usurper of our said right'.[42] Both letters conclude 'Given under our signet'. This must surely have been a royal signet, impressing the wax with the royal arms of England.

Finally comes the act attainting Richard and his principal followers for treason, for having 'the XXIst daie of August, the first yere of the Reigne of our Soveraigne Lord, assembled to theyme at Leicestre in the Countee of Leicestre a grete Hoste, traiterously intendinge, imagininge and conspireinge the destruccion of the Kinges Royall persoune, our Sovereigne Leige Lord.' Thus Henry claimed that he was already king the day before the battle. The act goes on to describe his

own followers as 'his true Subjects there being in his service and assistance under a banner of our said Soveraine Lord.'[43] The implication is obvious: he bore the royal arms (Figure 4b).[44]

One further possibility must be considered, however. In his proclamation of June 1485, Richard accuses Henry of promising Charles VIII to give up any claim to the French throne, and also to 'discevir and exclude the armes of Fraunce oute of the armes of Englond for ever'.[45] This point does not occur in the almost identical proclamation of the previous December, which might suggest that it is not mere rhetoric, that Richard did have positive information on the matter. Thus Henry could have borne the three lions of England alone (Figure 4c). However, there is no evidence that he ever did surrender the French claim—on the contrary, it was included among his titles in a circular letter sent out probably the day after Bosworth.[46] Perhaps Charles had not provided as much material assistance as had been hoped: at any rate, it seems most likely that Henry bore the royal arms with the fleurs-de-lys of France included.

Battle, particularly when fought largely hand to hand, has always presented a scene of overwhelming confusion. The situation was worse for a combatant trapped within the claustrophobic atmosphere of a steel helmet, with only a narrow slit through which to view the world, and with everyone else on the field obscured behind their own armour. The result was chaos: and the function of heraldry was to introduce some degree of order.

The system required, however, a unique coat of arms for every individual: this led to several fiercely contested legal cases between those who discovered that they had adopted identical designs. But at Bosworth, it would seem, the two leaders both bore the royal arms.

The problem was realised by the sixteenth century sculptor who created the relief carving of the battle now at Stowe.[47] Combatants can be identified by the brightly coloured shields they bear; but on the two commanders, Richard struck down, Henry triumphant, heraldry is conspicuous by its absence. There is also a figure of Henry next to the battle scene: here he has been given a shield of St George. The artist could not show Richard or Henry as sole king, nor could he show two kings, so he chose to show none at all.

Henry can hardly be blamed for not foreseeing the danger of confusion. In thirty years of warfare between York and Lancaster this was the first time that two rival claimants to the throne had faced each other across a battlefield.[48] In the event, they did more than face each other: as a result of Richard's charge, they came very close to personal combat.[49]

As we have seen, a great magnate was recognised by his banner. The shield, like the crest, was by this date obsolete; and the horse trapper was probably never used in battle. The only piece of personal equipment to bear arms was the tabard, worn over the armour.[50] It was frequently not worn, but for Bosworth we have evidence that Richard, at least, did so: the account of Diego de Valera speaks of his putting it on as he prepared for his charge.[51]

He also went into battle wearing his crown. This is one of the few facts of which we can be certain, since it is mentioned in every single early account. Yet for a king to wear some sort of crown on his helmet cannot have been so extraordinary: we know that Henry V did so at Agincourt, and numerous manuscript illustrations from this period attest to the same custom.[52] Armstrong

argues convincingly that at Bosworth it was a real crown, in the Yorkist tradition of public crown-wearing;[53] but perhaps what also made it so important was that it was only by this that Richard could be identified, because his coat of arms was identical to that borne by Henry. And then, possibly as the two forces clashed, the crown was struck from his helmet. There would be no way to distinguish king from claimant.

In Shakespeare's account of the battle, Richard cries out:

'I think there be six Richmonds in the field,
Five have I slain today instead of him.'[54]

He means that there are a number of decoys bearing the same arms as Henry so as to draw attention away from him. The playwright's staging of Shrewsbury (1403) depicts Henry IV adopting the same tactics: in this case it is based on chronicle evidence.[55] For Bosworth there is no such evidence, and so it may be that Shakespeare was relying on a vague tradition of heraldic duplication and confusion; a tradition which he misinterpreted.

Of course, Henry and Richard were not identical in appearance: they were wearing different armour, riding different horses. In this final clash, both were apparently at the head of a small group of their personal attendants. For the time being, every man presumably recognised his own commander.

The fighting was fierce—but Richard's charge had been well planned, and as William Brandon was killed and Sir John Cheney struck down, it looked as though he would succeed. To the north, however, at the head of his troops, stood Sir William Stanley. He had promised to support Henry; but (although a proclaimed traitor) he was still a subject of Richard III, and could gain considerably by proving his loyalty to the king. T. B. Pugh has traced the widespread desertion of Richard in 1485 to the fact that he had not wielded his power of patronage sufficiently during his reign:[56] but the Stanleys were exceptions, for both had reaped considerable rewards. Sir William had no reason at all to fight for Henry: he simply intended to be on the winning side. He watched the charge down Ambion Hill, with all the promise that it held. He decided to commit himself. With cries of 'A Stanley, A Stanley', his men went into battle.

Some of them, at least, had seen Henry when Sir William met him at Stafford and Atherstone, had seen him under a banner of the royal arms. And, in the middle of that wild struggle, it was a man bearing the royal arms who was killed. With his death the battle was lost.

In Valera's account it is Lord Tamorlant, probably an amalgam of Northumberland and Sir William Stanley, whose intervention brings about Henry's victory. However, it is afterwards discovered that 'despite his aid in the battle, [he] had not really intended Henry to be king.'[57] Valera claims that Tamorlant wanted to put Edward Earl of Warwick on the throne, but the comment is nonetheless worth noting.

We know that there was heraldic confusion at Barnet in 1471, in this case between livery badges: the star of the Earl of Oxford was mistaken for Edward IV's sun in splendour. As a result, Oxford found himself under attack from Warwick's troops, his allies: 'anone the Earle of Oxenforde and his menne cryed "treasoune treasoune" and fledde away.'[58] And according to Rous, Richard was struck down 'shouting again and again that he was betrayed, and crying "Treason! Treason! Treason!" '[59]

After the battle, it was probably Sir William Stanley, eager now to prove his new allegiance, who placed the crown of Richard on the head of Henry.[60] The new king was not to be taken in, however. Lord Thomas Stanley's rewards were considerably greater than those received by his brother:[61] the Earl of Derby, as Thomas became, was of course Henry's step-father, but he had probably not even been present at Bosworth and had certainly played no active part;[62] while Sir William (not even given a peerage) was the man who had supposedly won the king his throne. Sir Francis Bacon depicts Henry believing 'that Stanley at Bosworth-field, though he came time enough to save his life, yet he stayed long enough to endanger it.'[63] It might be that he suspected there had not been any intention to save his life at all. Eventually, in 1495, Sir William became the only one of Henry's close adherents to be repudiated: he was tried and executed for treason, following communication with Perkin Warbeck.

Personally, I do not believe that the Stanley forces got the wrong man. They were attacking a body of troops, not a commander; and they would be guided by more than a single tabard, however confused the situation. Nevertheless, it seems clear that both Richard and Henry bore the royal arms at Bosworth, and that the potential for confusion was present. That confusion decided the outcome of the battle remains a possibility to be considered.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. P. M. Kendall, *Richard the Third*, London (1955), pp.364–7.
2. Robert Gayre of Gayre and Nigg, *Heraldic Standards and other Ensigns*, Edinburgh (1959), pp.24–6; 51; 70.
3. Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. H. Ellis, Camden Society (1844), p.224. Gayre, pp.xvi–xvii.
4. Vergil, p.223.
5. Edward Hall, *Chronicle*, ed. H. Ellis (1809), p.423.
6. *The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley (1938), pp.238–9.
7. The badge banner was an innovation of later Tudor heralds. Gayre, p.99.
8. Thomas Willement, *Regal Heraldry: the Armorial Insignia of the Kings and Queens of England* (1821), p.61.
9. Edward III had used such a standard: *Boutell's Heraldry*, revised by J. P. Brooke-Little, London (1978), p.254.
10. Gayre, p.68. It might be thought that Henry would use a Welsh symbol instead of the red cross on at least one of his standards, but no such symbol appears to have existed. Certainly in the reign of Henry VIII the standards of Welshmen are recorded with the red cross in the hoist. Banners, Standards and Badges from a Tudor Manuscript in the College of Arms, De Walden Library, London (1904), pp.90; 132; 150.
11. Gayre, p.45.
12. Sydney Anglo, The 'British History' in Early Tudor Propaganda, *Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, Vol. 44 (1961), p.36.
13. H. Stanford London, *Royal Beasts*, East Knoyle (1956), pp.25; 43-4.
14. A. C. Fox-Davies, Is the Red Dragon Welsh after all?, *Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. VI (1902), p.235.
15. Major Francis Jones, The Colours of Wales, *Coat of Arms*, Vol. VI (1960), pp.141-4.
16. I have been unable to track down this authority, but conjecture that it exists from the following references. The late nineteenth century mural of the battle in the 'Three Tuns' at Atherstone depicts such a standard, while elsewhere in the painting the same motto appears on a long rectangular banner, divided horizontally into white and green, and supported by a pole at each end. An almost identical standard is illustrated by C. W. Scott-Giles (*Shakespeare's Heraldry*, London (1950), pp.177–8; fig. 197). Mr Scott-Giles, for whose

help I am extremely grateful, unfortunately no longer has the notes for his book, but he tells me that he has an impression of having based his drawing on a verbal description. Alfred Rodway *(The Heraldry of Shakespeare, Being the Arms, Badges, Standards, Liveries etc. of the Personages and Towns mentioned in the plays*, (1915), a manuscript book in the Birmingham Central Libraries) shows one similar, except that the lesser badges on the green portion of the field are gold portcullises. The portcullis was a badge of the Beauforts, Henry's mother's family, and so he may have used it at this early date.

17. S. B. Chrimes, *Lancastrians, Yorkists, and Henry VII*, London (1966), pp.xii–xiv.
18. C. W. Scott-Giles, *The Romance of Heraldry*, London (1929), p.145. *Banners, Standards and Badges (op. cit.)*, pp.10; 79; 80; 99; 100.
19. Charles Ross, *The Wars of the Roses*, London (1976), p.15.
20. *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland*, ed. H. T. Riley, London (1854), p.506.
21. The Most Pleasant Song of the Lady Bessy, ed. J. O. Halliwell, *Percy Society No. 69* (1847), pp.38; 42; 78. *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript (Ballads and Romances)*, ed. J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall (1868), p.363.
22. J. H. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, Vol. 2, Oxford (1892), p.48 n.
23. Mrs Bury Palliser, *Historic Devices, Badges and War-Cries* (1870), p.379.
24. *Ibid.*, p.87.
25. J. Dielitz, *Die Wahl- und Denksprüche* (1884), p.101.
26. I am indebted to the Leicestershire County Estates Surveyor for supplying this information.
27. *Banners, Standards and Badges (op. cit.)*, p.78.
28. Vergil, p.224.
29. *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, Vol. VI, Record Commission, pp.244–9. A. C. Fox-Davies, *The Complete Guide to Heraldry*, London (revised ed. 1969), p.58.
30. Francis Jones, Wales Herald Extraordinary, *The Princes and Principality of Wales*, Cardiff (1969), pp.172–3.
31. *Froissart's Chronicles*, ed. Thomas Johnes, Vol. 1 (1862), p.58.
32. W. Gregory's Chronicle, in *The Historical Collections of a London Citizen in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. James Gairdner, Camden Society (1876), p.208.
33. *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, Vol. V, p.377. Lionel bore the royal arms differenced by a white label of three points, each charged with a red canton (arms later borne by George Duke of Clarence). Edmund bore them differenced by a similar white label, but with each point charged with three red roundels. These arms were inherited by his eldest son, Edward Duke of York. His second son, Richard Earl of Cambridge, bore the same arms (including the label) but overall a white bordure charged with purple lions, in reference to his mother, Isabella of Castile and Leon. Richard son of Richard, the future claimant to the throne, was restored to the duchy of York in 1426, and with it the arms of Edmund of Langley.
34. James Gairdner, *The Life and Reign of Richard the Third*, Cambridge (1898), pp.283; 289–90.
35. Vergil, p.203.
36. *The Paston Letters 1422–1509*, ed. James Gairdner, Vol. 3, London (1875), p.316.
37. Gairdner, *Richard the Third*, pp.363–5. For further refs. see H. Stanford London, On 'The Roll of Arms A.D.1485', *Coat of Arms*, Vol. IV (1957), p.248.
38. The Most Pleasant Song of the Lady Bessy, pp.37; 74. Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript, p.357.
39. The Ballad of Bosworth Fielde, in Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript, *op. cit.*, pp.248–9; 251–6. The Saville manuscript, in W. Hutton, *The Battle of Bosworth Field*, 2nd ed. with additions by J. Nichols (1813), pp.212–4.
40. *Ingulph's Chronicle*, p.502.
41. *Letters of the Kings of England*, ed. J. O. Halliwell, Vol. 1, London (1848), pp.161–2.
42. Sir John Wynne, *The History of the Gwydir Family* (1878), p.48.
43. *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, Vol. VI, p.276.
44. It is of interest to note that the nineteenth century artist of the 'Three Tuns' mural, although showing Henry's arms with the blue bordure most of the time, depicts him in one scene with the undifferenced royal arms on his horse trapper.
45. *Paston Letters*, p.318.
46. *Letters of the Kings of England, op. cit.*, p.169.

47. Geoffrey Wheeler, Bosworth and the Artist, Part 1, *Ricardian*, No. 37 (1972), pp.3–7. Illustrated in G. W. O. Woodward, *King Richard III*, Pitkin Pictorials (1972), pp.20–1. I am also grateful to the headmaster of Stowe for confirming certain details. The battle scene includes four large flags bearing a canton of the cross of St George, but these are anachronistic and nothing can be deduced from them.
48. It is possible that Henry VI was present to oppose Edward IV at Towton, but if so he kept very much to the rear. At Stoke in 1487, Henry VII fought against 'Edward VI' (Lambert Simnel).
49. This has been dismissed by Col. A. H. Burne (*The Battlefields of England* (1950), p.154) as 'a fairy story', but it is accepted by most historians of the battle.
50. Major T. R. Davies, Heraldry in Medieval Warfare, *Coat of Arms*, Vol. IX (1966), pp.68–81.
51. In Alison Hanham, *Richard III and his early historians 1483–1535*, Oxford (1975), p.55. Elizabeth M. Nokes and Geoffrey Wheeler, A Spanish Account of the Battle of Bosworth, *Ricardian*, No. 36 (1972), p.2. The Spanish term used is 'cotta d'armas': D. Mario Penna (ed.), *Biblioteca de Autores Espanoles: Prosistas Castellanos de Siglo XV*, Vol. 1, Madrid (1959), p.33.
52. E.g. those shown in Ross, *op. cit.*, pp.38; 61; 63; 101–2; 108; 127.
53. C. A. J. Armstrong, Inaugural Ceremonies of the Yorkist Kings and their Title to the Throne, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th Series, Vol. XXX (1948), p.72.
54. *Richard III*, Act V, Scene 3.
55. *Henry IV Part I*, Act V, Scenes 3 and 4. Ramsay, Vol. 1, p.63. At Poitiers (1356), according to Froissart (*op. cit.* p.215), nineteen others bore the arms of King John of France.
56. T. B. Pugh, *The Magnates, Knights and Gentry, in Fifteenth Century England 1399–1509; Studies in Politics and Society*, ed. S. B. Chrimes etc., Manchester (1972), pp.114–5.
57. Hanham, pp.55–6. Nokes and Wheeler, p.3. See also Anthony Goodman and Angus Macky, A Castilian report on English affairs 1486, *English Historical Review*, Vol. 88 (1973), pp.95–7.
58. *Warkworth's Chronicle*, ed. J. O. Halliwell, Camden Society (1834), p.16.
59. John Rous, *Historia de Regibus Anglie*, in Hanham, p.123.
60. Vergil (p.216), whose account is usually accepted, says that Lord Thomas Stanley crowned Henry: the Great Chronicle (p.238) names Sir William. Hanham (pp.133–4), taking into account the evidence that Lord Thomas was not even present, argues that Vergil or his source tactfully altered the name because Sir William had been executed for treason. She does not use the Stanley cycle of ballads (composed as propaganda for the family by close adherents): the Ballad of Bosworth Field (p.258) and the Saville manuscript (p.218) assert that Lord Thomas delivered up the crown (although they do not say that he actually crowned Henry); but the Song of the Lady Bessy has a formal ceremony in Leicester for Henry and 'Bessy' (Elizabeth of York) at which they are crowned by Sir William (The Most Pleasant Song of the Lady Bessy, pp.42; 79), or, in the version in Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript (p.363), by the two brothers jointly.
61. S. B. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, London (1972), p.55.
62. For Lord Thomas's absence from Bosworth, see Hanham, pp.58; 133-4.
63. History of the Reign of King Henry VII, in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding, Vol. VI (1870), p.152.

References for the illustrations

The Dun Cow is based on the various bovine badges under the feet of figures in the Rous Roll. Those under George Duke of Clarence and Edward Earl of Warwick are referred to in the 1859 printed edition (ed. W. Courthope) as the Dun Cow of Warwick, although in fact they almost certainly represent the Black Bull of Clarence. The figure of St George and the Dragon is based on a miniature in a manuscript produced for Margaret of Anjou, illustrated in Ross, *The Wars of the Roses*, p.35. The Red Dragon (as indicated in the text) is taken from College of Arms MS 1.2, as reproduced in *Banners, Standards and Badges*, De Walden Library, p.78.