

# The Red Rose of Lancaster?

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In the fifteenth century the rival houses of Lancaster and York fought the 'Wars of the Roses' for possession of the crown. When, in 1485, the new Tudor monarch, Henry VII, brought these wars to an end, he united, by his marriage to Elizabeth of York, the red rose of Lancaster and the white rose of York, to create a new emblem and a new dynasty. Thus was born the Tudor rose. So might run a popular account, and botanists, searching through the lists of medieval rose cultivars, have even proposed identifications of the red rose of Lancaster with *Rosa Gallica* and the white rose of York with *Rosa Alba*, while the bi-coloured Tudor rose is linked to the naturally occurring variegated sport of *Rosa Gallica* known as 'Rosa Mundi' (*Rosa Gallica versicolor*), or alternatively, to the rather paler *Rosa Damascena versicolor*. It should, perhaps, be observed that *Rosa Gallica*, while somewhat variable in colour, is more likely to be a shade of pink than bright red, and *Rosa Alba*, while generally white in colour, also occurs in shades of pink, so that in nature the colour distinction between the two roses is not always clear. 'Rosa Mundi' is also strictly speaking variegated in two shades of pink, rather than being literally red and white.<sup>1</sup>

The label 'Wars of the Roses' was a late invention, first employed only in 1829, by Sir Walter Scott, in his romantic novel *Anne of Geierstein*.<sup>2</sup> The story of the rose emblems might appear on casual inspection to be well-founded, for we find ample evidence of Tudor roses bespattering Tudor coinage and royal architecture, for example, at Hampton Court, the Henry VII chapel at Westminster, and at Cambridge, on the gates of Christ's and St John's Colleges, and in King's College chapel. There is also written evidence, for example the poem, *The Rose of Englande*, composed during the reign of Henry VII, as is clear from the text itself. This is too long to quote in full here, but three verses might serve to illustrate the contents:

Verse 2.                In the midst of a garden there sprange a tree  
                              Which tree was a mickle price,  
                              And there uppon sprang the rose soe redd,  
                              The goodlyest that ever sprange on rise.

Verse 4.                There came a beast men call a bore,  
                              And he rooted this garden upp and downe,  
                              By the seede of the rose he sett noe store,  
                              But afterwarde it wore the crowne.

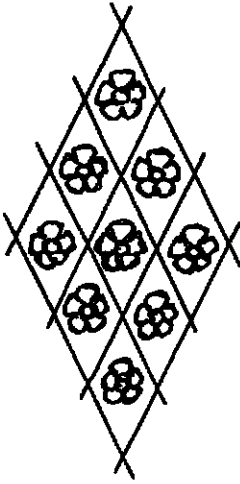
There follows the story of Henry Tudor's exile and return, and the battle of Bosworth, and the poem ends:

Verse 32.              Our King, he is the rose soe redd,  
                              That now does flourish ffresh and gay,  
                              Confound his foes, Lord wee beseeche,  
                              And love his grace both night and day!<sup>3</sup>

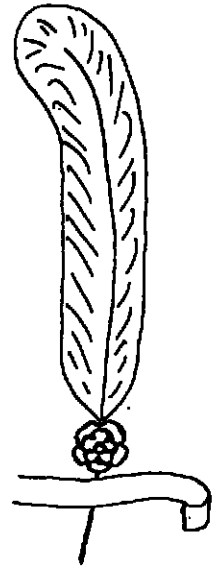
Records also survive of Henry VII's reception at York in 1486, at which a pageant was presented, showing a garden of flowers with 'a rioall rich red rose ... unto which rose shall appeyre another rich white rose,' whereupon all the other flowers in the garden were to bow to the pair of roses.<sup>4</sup> Also, Henry VII has left us his own portrait, in which he clutches in his hand the red rose of Lancaster, while a matching portrait of his queen shows Elizabeth of York, her face framed in the long gable headress fashionable at about the turn of the century, with the white rose of York in her hand.

The emblem of the white rose was certainly one of the badges of the house of York. For example, the royal window at Canterbury Cathedral shows Edward IV kneeling against a background powdered with white roses-en-soleil. Tomb effigies of Yorkist supporters show them wearing collars of roses and suns.<sup>5</sup> Fragments of glass from the York family's collegiate church at Fotheringhay also show the white rose and sunburst emblem, and roses are in evidence on the coinage and seals of the Yorkist kings, of which, more will be said below. Enamelled white roses also figure amongst the jewels in the bridal crown of Edward IV and Richard III's sister, Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, which she gave as a votive offering to the Minster at Aachen, where it is still preserved. (The marriage crown of Henry IV's daughter, Blanche of Lancaster also survives in the Treasury of the Residenz in Munich, but it bears no red roses).<sup>6</sup> The *Chronicle* thought to be by William Gregory, mayor of London, refers to the future Edward IV in 1461 as 'thys fayre whyte ros and herbe, the Erle of Marche.'<sup>7</sup>

The rose emblem was in use by members of the house of York before they gained the throne. Seals prove that both Richard, third Duke of York, (father of Edward IV and Richard III), and his uncle, Edward, second Duke of York, used a rose badge, (see figs. 1 and 2).<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately the seals do not indicate the colour of the rose. Logic might appear to suggest that it must have been white, but these



1. Detail from the decoration of the background of the seal of Edward Plantagenet, second Duke of York, 1403. British Library Department of Manuscripts, Seal no. Cott. ch. xxv. 13.

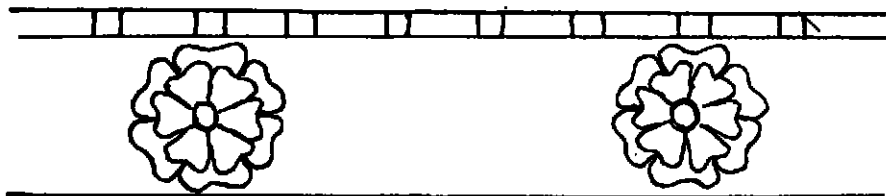


2. Double five-petalled rose on plume. Detail from the seal of Richard Plantagenet, third Duke of York, 1437. British Library Department of Manuscripts, Seal no. Add. Ch. 425.

were not the first Plantagenet princes to employ a rose badge, and the earlier users seem to have used roses of various colours. Eleanor of Provence, wife of Henry III, is the first member of the House of Plantagenet to be associated, at least in modern times, with a rose emblem, and is reputed to have used a white rose as her personal badge. Eleanor's sons, Edward I and Edmund Crouchback, are both said to have used rose badges, and Edmund's association with the rose is discussed below. Edward I seems to have been fond of what in his day were still exotic blooms, and 'after his return in 1272 from his expedition to relieve Acre' the future king 'ordered rose trees for his garden in the Tower of London, [and later he] specifically referred to the rose that we know as *Rosa Gallica* in his 1306 Bill of Medicines'.<sup>9</sup> His rose badge is said to have been gold with a green stem.<sup>10</sup> The surviving source for this information does not mention how many petals Edward I's rose had. Possibly at this early date the number was not fixed, although if Edward took the flower of *Rosa Gallica* as his model, that typically has five petals, like the later, standard heraldic depiction of a rose. Edward III may also have made

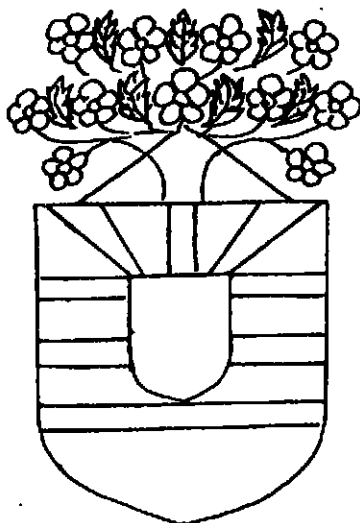
use of a rose badge. Five-petalled roses appear on his sixth seal,<sup>11</sup> but this could be mere decoration (see also below on the coinage of Henry VI) and it would be helpful if further evidence could be found from other sources. It is, of course, impossible to say from the evidence of the seal alone what colour Edward III's roses may have been.

There is also evidence that the rose emblem was used by Edward III's son, the 'Black Prince'. His tomb at Canterbury Cathedral shows double, six-petalled roses in gold on a red ground along the lowest register of the edge of the tester (fig. 3). One of these roses, that at the foot end of the tomb, on the extreme left (the south-east corner) appears to show the smaller, inner rose as red and the larger, outer rose as gold, but it seems to be unique in this respect. It may simply be the case that the original gilding of the inner rose has been lost, to reveal the red paint of the background beneath. Similar gold, six-petalled, double roses appear on the painted arcading on the underside of the tester, and the modern replica of the prince's helm, displayed above his tomb, shows on the crest a red cap of maintenance spangled with six-petalled flowers in gold which may also be meant to represent roses, though they lack the typical bifurcation of the petals which normally marks heraldic roses. Also, the prince's tomb effigy has two single, five-petalled roses on the armour at the elbow. In addition there is the use of a five-petalled rose as a spacer between the words of the obverse legend on the gold coinage issued by the prince in France in his capacity as prince of Aquitaine.<sup>12</sup>



3. Gilt, double, six-petalled roses on a red ground. Detail taken from the lower edge of the tester over the tomb of Edward, the 'Black Prince' (died 1376) in Canterbury Cathedral.

The use of the white rose badge by members of the house of York may well reflect this earlier use of rose badges by their Plantagenet ancestors. On the other hand the white rose may have been a badge of the house of Mortimer. Edmund Mortimer's seal showed his arms suspended from a rose bush in flower (see fig. 4),



4. The Mortimer arms suspended by a strap from a rose bush, from the seal of Edmund Mortimer, third Earl of March 1372. British Library Department of Manuscripts, Seal no. 1xxxviii.33.

although once again the colour of the roses in question must remain a matter for speculation. Edmund Mortimer, in using the rose badge, may himself have been asserting his Plantagenet connections, in the form of his marriage to the Princess Philippa, Edward III's granddaughter. If Edward IV did indeed derive his use of the white rose badge via his Mortimer ancestry, together with his claim to the throne, then his marrying of it with the sunburst emblem which had been a badge of Richard II, whether or not this was inspired by the triple sun phenomenon seen at the battle of Mortimer's Cross, looks very much like a powerful legitimist statement in symbolic form.

What, then, of the red rose of Lancaster? 'The tomb of ... Edmund Crouchback, Lord of Lancaster (the younger brother of Edward I) was covered with red roses,' according to Woodward and Burnett,<sup>13</sup> who also say that John of Gaunt 'bequeathed to St Paul's Cathedral his bed powdered with roses.'<sup>14</sup> These roses may again have been merely decoration and not an heraldic badge. Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Lancaster (grandson of Edmund Crouchback) during the period 1351-1362 displayed on his seal, in the background, 'on each side a small sprig of two cinquefoiled roses,'<sup>15</sup> but as usual there is no indication of the colour

of the flowers. Edmund Crouchback and his grandson, Henry, Duke of Lancaster, were, in the female line, ancestors of the Lancastrian kings, (although not of Henry VII and the Beaufort family), who might therefore be supposed to have derived from them the use of the rose emblem, as some authorities have asserted. The problem, is however, the lack of direct evidence that the three Lancastrian kings used such a badge.

The standard 'false portrait' of Henry IV, of which a number of copies exist, sometimes shows him holding a red rose in his right hand. The National Portrait Gallery has two copies of this 'portrait', one with the rose (currently in store in south London) and one without (currently on display at Montacute House). But these 'portraits' are late sixteenth or early seventeenth century products. They are based not on a lost original likeness, for as far as is known no life portrait of Henry IV was ever painted, but on a wood engraving of Charles VI of France. To this appropriate changes have been made such as the addition of moustaches (and sometimes a red rose). As evidence these portraits are quite worthless.<sup>16</sup>

The only authentic likeness of Henry IV is the effigy on his tomb at Canterbury Cathedral. This is of interest because it shows the king wearing a mantle, the morse of which is decorated with five roses (see fig. 5). These are gilded and studded with painted jewels; red at the centre of each rose and blue on the petals. They appear to represent a raised and bejewelled embroidery of gold thread. These roses may have only decorative significance as part of the costume, as is presumably also the case with the quatrefoil elements running down the narrow orphreys of the cloak, or the pattern of some of the jewels on the bordure of the crown, which also have a vaguely flower-like arrangement, although no petals are shown. It is also clear that the roses on the morse, whatever significance they may have had, are not red roses, and this is important, for their gilding and painted jewels are well preserved. Extensive areas of red pigment do survive elsewhere on the tomb, on the pillows beneath the heads of the effigies, for example, and on panels of the canopies over them. The painted tester of Henry IV's tomb, and the painted panel showing the martyrdom of St Thomas at the head of the tomb have a background decoration which includes the motto 'Soverayne' in gold lettering running in diagonal lines across the panels. The decoration of these panels now survives in a very poor condition, but there are indications that between the diagonal lines of lettering there was once additional background ornamentation in the form of small, five-petalled flowers. These flowers seem to have had very narrow petals, unlike those usually depicted when representations of roses are intended. They appear to have been white, and to have had a small red decorative pellet on each of the petals. It is possible that they were intended as roses, but this seems unlikely. Certainly they do not very much resemble the roses on the tomb effigy.



5. Tomb effigy of Henry IV, Canterbury Cathedral, with detail of roses on the morse. Charles A. Stothard, *The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain ... from the Norman Conquest to the Reign of Henry the Eighth*, London 1817, plate 102.

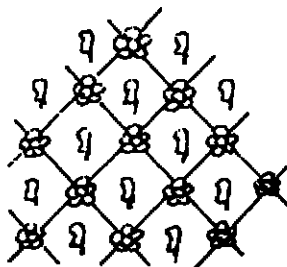
The representations of the subsequent Lancastrian monarchs, Henry V and Henry VI, held by the National Portrait Gallery, although they are Tudor copies of lost fifteenth century originals, do not show the sovereign associated with the supposed Lancastrian emblem of the red rose. The portrait of Henry V in the Royal Collection, which, like the National Portrait Gallery portrait, is a Tudor copy, likewise has no rose. Nor do any of the contemporary manuscript likenesses of Henry V show such a badge, although a Tudor representation of his marriage to Katherine de Valois does, not surprisingly, perhaps, show both roses and portcullises all around the main scene.<sup>17</sup> There are further portraits of Henry VI at Windsor, in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries and at Eton, but again, although all of them date from the Tudor period at the earliest, none of them associates a red rose with this king. There is thus no evidence from royal portraiture that the red rose was actually used as an emblem by any king before Henry VII.

The National Portrait Gallery and other portraits of Edward IV and Richard III, however, also lack roses, and this despite the fact that, as we have seen, it is certain that the Yorkist kings did use the white rose as one of their badges, so perhaps royal portraits, at least before Tudor times, are not the best places to look for evidence of the use of rose emblems.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, we also find that whereas Yorkist knights on their tomb effigies wear collars of suns and roses, Lancastrian knights wear collars of SS.<sup>19</sup> Here again, red roses do not seem to be in evidence.

This discrepancy between the genuine Yorkist white rose emblem, for the use of which there is contemporary evidence, and the more dubious Lancastrian red rose emblem, for which no contemporary evidence has so far been found,<sup>20</sup> applies also to the seal and coinage designs of the fifteenth century. With the exception of the great seal of Edward III mentioned above, no sovereign's seal displays a rose badge until the accession of Edward IV.<sup>21</sup> Neither Richard II nor any of the three Lancastrian kings displayed a rose badge on any of their great seals. In marked contrast, Edward IV, Edward V (as prince of Wales) and Richard III all make use of the rose emblem on their seals <sup>22</sup> (see fig. 6). Moreover, this tradition, once started, is maintained by Henry VII, although one must assume that the rose in his case was meant to be either red or red and white. This pattern of usage is closely paralleled in the coinage.

Henry IV maintained the coinage designs of Edward III and Richard II, changing only the king's name on the obverse and the initial letter at the centre of the reverse design of the gold noble and its subdivisions, which had naturally been *E* under Edward III and *R* under Richard II, to his own initial *H*. No roses appear on any of Henry IV's coins, even in the mint-marks, which preserved the cross designs also used by Henry's predecessors.<sup>23</sup> The coins of Henry V and Henry VI are identical in overall design to those of Henry IV, including the use of crosses as





6. Plumes and roses. Detail of the background, from the obverse of a seal of Edward V as Prince of Wales. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Seal no. Add. ch. 8526.

mint-marks. Between 1427 and 1430, Henry VI's gold coins of the so-called 'rosette-mascle' issue, replaced the full stops previously employed between the words of the legend on the reverse side with tiny rosettes, but it is unlikely that this was of any great significance, for this was merely the first of a series of such experiments. Subsequently the rosettes were in turn replaced by pine-cones, leaves, trefoils and then tiny crosses in what seems to have been a random decorative manner, devoid of any special meaning.

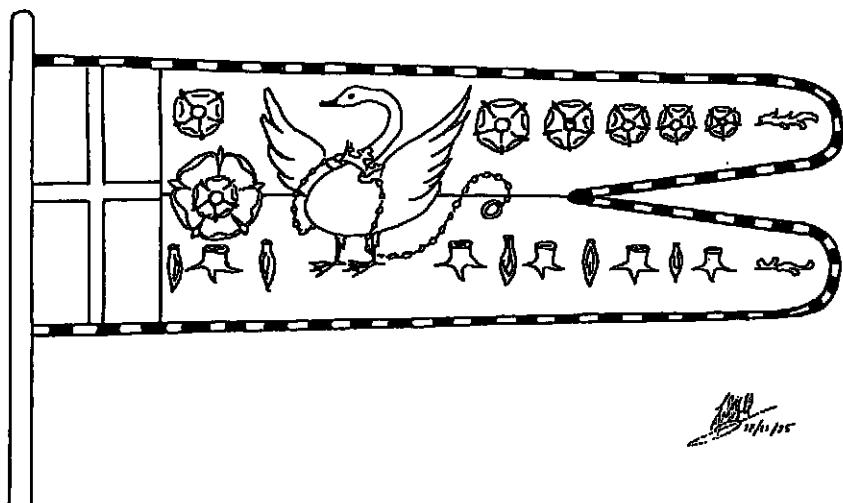
In total contrast, the advent of Edward IV saw the immediate appearance of roses on the coinage. In this context it is also of interest to observe that, as on a seal, on a coin a rose was without any indication of colour. A fact of which Henry VII would later take advantage in the reverse design of his gold 'angels' (see below). Had the red rose been a well-known Lancastrian emblem at this time, it is surely likely that Edward IV would have preferred to decorate his coinage with some more exclusively Yorkist emblem, rather than using the potentially equivocal white rose which would not, on the coinage, be clearly seen to be meant to be white rather than red. The fact that Edward at once placed roses on his coins, and that the government of the restored Henry VI subsequently removed them (see below) is the strongest possible argument for the rose being an exclusively Yorkist emblem at this period, and well-known as such to all contemporaries.

Edward's government ceased production of the gold 'noble' and its subdivisions, producing instead a new, and more valuable coin known as the 'ryal' (= 'royal') or 'rose noble'. The design of this new coin actually adhered quite closely to that of the old noble, but with the difference that the royal monogram in the centre of the reverse was replaced by the rose-en-soleil and a large rose was

also placed on the side of the ship in which the king's figure stands on the obverse. At the same time a new, smaller coin, called the 'angel', having the same value as the old noble, was also introduced. This had on its reverse a ship with a cross at the mast. On either side of the cross Edward placed separately a rose and a sunburst. Edward IV's silver coinage continued the traditional designs for the penny (dating back to the reign of Edward I) and for the groat (unchanged since the reign of Edward III), however, the rose was introduced as one of Edward IV's mint-marks. The brief restoration of Henry VI saw the production only of gold angels and silver coins, and it is interesting that the reverse design of the angel was altered during this period. Had the red rose been an acknowledged badge of the house of Lancaster at this time, there would have been no reason why the rose on the reverse design of the angel as produced under Edward IV could not have been retained under Henry VI, but in fact both the rose and the sunburst were replaced, by the initial *H* and a fleur de lis respectively.

The restoration of Edward IV led to the return of the rose to the reverse of the angel, this time accompanied by an initial *E*. This basic design plan was retained by Richard III, albeit with the substitution of his own *R* monogram for the *E* of his brother. The accession of Henry VII resulted in the issue of a new gold coin, the 'sovereign'. Both this and the ryal were issued with reverse designs based upon the Tudor rose. The reverse design of Henry VII's angel was basically the same as it had been under Richard III, but with again a change of monogram. It is particularly interesting that Henry VII retained the reverse design of the angel, which he took over from the defeated Yorkists, whereas the restored government of Henry VI, had not done so. From the evidence of the coins, as well as from the evidence of seals and royal portraits, it certainly looks as if by the beginning of Henry VII's reign the 'Lancastrian' rose did exist as a royal badge, whereas during the second reign of Henry VI such had not been the case.

So far, with the exception of the royal portraits, and references to seventeenth century and later tradition relating to the early Plantagenets, discussion has largely been confined to strictly contemporary evidence for the use (or lack thereof) of rose badges. If, however, one ventures a little into the Tudor period the picture changes very considerably. Illustrations exist, drawn by the Tudor heralds, of banners and standards which purport to be those of fourteenth and fifteenth century sovereigns (see fig. 7),<sup>24</sup> but Woodward and Burnett have warned us that 'it is not asserted that these standards were contemporary with the princes to whom they are assigned'.<sup>25</sup> All these standards bear the red cross of St George on a white ground as the main charge. The standard assigned to Edward III is blue and red and bears a lion passant gardant in gold. It is powdered with gold crowns and the sun breaking through clouds. The standard said to be of Richard II is white and green and has a white hart and a powdering of golden sunbursts.



7. Standard attributed to Henry IV, drawn from British Library Ms. Harl. 4632, f. 238, drawn by or for Sir Christopher Barker, Garter King of Arms, before 1549.

Henry IV's standard (fig. 7) is said to have been white and blue, with a white swan, red roses, gold tree stumps and white fox tails. Henry V's standard is also said to have been white and blue, and to have borne a yale or an antelope and a powdering of red roses.<sup>26</sup> Henry VI's standard is illustrated as having been identical to that of his father, but no colours are shown on the illustration. Edward IV and Richard III are both given blue and red standards, powdered with white roses-en-soleil. Edward's standard is also said to have borne a white lion, and Richard's, a gold sunburst and a white boar. *Prince Arthur's Book*, drawn up for Henry VII's eldest son, also depicts what is said to be a banner of Henry IV, which shows in pale a red rose on a white ground and a white fox tail on a blue ground.<sup>27</sup>

Here at last we find clear evidence of Lancastrian red roses, but painted and described by Tudor authorities. There is no proof of their authenticity, and it is known that Tudor sources for fifteenth century events are not always entirely to be trusted. Similarly, the hearse of Henry V, we are told, had a valance with red roses, but this information also comes from a Tudor source, namely 'a miscellaneous sixteenth century collection made for the use of officers of arms.'<sup>28</sup>

Shakespeare, in *Henry VI* part 1, act II, scene iv, in the scene in the Temple garden, when Somerset and York quarrel around the rose bushes, does not

represent the red rose as an historic Lancastrian badge. It is the head of the Beaufort family, not the Lancastrian Plantagenet king, who, in this scene, takes the red rose as his personal emblem, and that, somewhat late in the day, when battle with the house of York is already looming. Ironically, if Shakespeare was right, and the red rose was in origin a Beaufort emblem, Henry VII may have had rather more right to it than he would have had if it had truly been a royal badge of the house of Lancaster. It is not known, however, whether Shakespeare had any authority for his lively 'roses' scene, or whether the story was his own invention. There is certainly no earlier surviving written source for his account,<sup>29</sup> and we have seen that the use of a rose badge by the house of York certainly antedates the period to which Shakespeare's confrontation scene refers.

If Shakespeare was right about the red rose, it would be tempting to conclude that it was a Beaufort badge. Unfortunately, however, a careful examination of the surviving seals for members of the Beaufort family does not reveal any roses at all.<sup>30</sup> Nor does the tomb of John Beaufort, first Earl of Somerset, in St Michael's chapel at Canterbury Cathedral show any sign of heraldic roses. Recent writers have referred to 'the Beaufort livery of the red rose or portcullis',<sup>31</sup> but no evidence is cited to support this reference, and it is contradicted elsewhere by the same writers, when they refer to 'the red rose associated with Henry IV',<sup>32</sup> although again with no supporting evidence. It is clear that Lady Margaret Beaufort, like her son, Henry VII, did use the red rose badge, among others. It can be seen with her arms as displayed on the gateways of Christ's and St John's Colleges in Cambridge, and on some of the silver plate which she is believed to have presented to Christ's College.<sup>33</sup> If, however, Henry VII was actively promoting the use of the red rose badge, as he seems to have been, it is not surprising to find his mother making use of it. She is the most senior member of the Lancastrian or Beaufort families who can be proved to have used this emblem during her lifetime, and we simply do not know whence she or her son derived it.

Ironically, the only authentic, contemporary piece of evidence for the use of red roses in a fifteenth century royal context prior to 1485 relates neither to a member of the house of Lancaster, nor to a Beaufort, but to a member of the house of York. The portrait of Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, now in the Louvre Museum, shows her wearing a collar which is ornamented with the initials of herself and her husband, and also with alternate white and red roses. It has been suggested that 'Margaret was entitled, as were all her brothers and sisters, to wear both emblems because, while her father had been Richard, Duke of York, her mother, Cecily Neville, was descended from John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster'.<sup>34</sup> This, however, is to presume that either John of Gaunt or the Beauforts used the red rose badge, and for this, as we have seen, no evidence has been found, although it may perhaps be true. Cecily Neville was apparently known as the 'fair Rose of

Raby', which might imply that roses were significant in her family.<sup>35</sup> Strictly speaking, however, if those who claim that the house of Lancaster derived its red rose from Edmund Crouchback are correct, then neither Cecily Neville nor any other descendant of the Beaufort line (including Henry VII) would have had any real right to use it, since that right would have passed to the children of John of Gaunt's first wife, Blanche of Lancaster (heiress of the line of Edmund Crouchback), whereas the Beauforts were descended from John of Gaunt's third wife, Katherine Swynford.

As we have seen, there seems to be no positive contemporary evidence for the existence of the red rose as a royal badge earlier than the reign of Henry VII. None of the three Lancastrian kings can be proved to have used such an emblem, even if they were entitled to it, and this is in striking contrast to the white rose badge of York, for which ample contemporary evidence can be provided. Lack of evidence, of course, does not constitute proof that the 'red rose of Lancaster' did not exist, but if it really was an important badge of the House of Lancaster it does seem extraordinary that not a single authentic piece of contemporary evidence for its use by that house can be found prior to the advent of the Tudors. It also seems clear that the prominence accorded to the red rose by Henry VII was a deliberate act of policy and propaganda which enabled him to make a symbolic union between the red and white roses. If the 'red rose of Lancaster' had not previously existed, Henry Tudor would have had a strong incentive for inventing it, and maybe that is exactly what he did. 'Indeed, it has been maintained that the Croyland Continuator is the first to mention the red rose, which was a Tudor invention'.<sup>36</sup> On the other hand, Henry VII's interest in the remote past, which he sought to use to bolster the feeble Tudor claim to the throne, and which led him to delve into the genealogy of the Welsh princes and to ensure that his eldest son was born at Winchester and baptised Arthur, may have led him to believe that the very earliest Plantagenet lords of Lancaster, Edmund Crouchback and his family, had used a red rose badge. Despite the fact that Henry VII himself was not actually descended from these princes, he may have seen fit to resurrect and assume this emblem for the purpose of pairing it with the white rose of York.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. D. Austin, *Old Roses and English Roses*, Woodbridge 1990, p. 45, identifies *Rosa Alba semi-plena* as the white rose of York, and says 'the flowers are large, almost single, symmetrical in outline and milky white in colour, with a large boss of stamens.' A. Sinclair and R. Thodey, *Gardening with Old Roses*, London 1993, p. 21, also mentions *Rosa Alba semi-plena*, but considers that '*R. x Alba* itself was probably the emblem of the house of York.' They also assert, p. 24, that *Rosa Gallica* 'was adopted by the house of Lancaster after Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, took it as his emblem on his return to England in 1277.' No source is given for this statement.

2. Scott actually refers to 'the wars of the white and red roses', p. 65. In 1762 David Hume had written about 'the quarrel between the two roses' in his *History of England*, and as early as 1486 the writer of the continuation of the *Crowland Chronicle* quoted a current Latin poem which said that 'in the year 1485 on the 22nd day of August the tusks of the Boar were blunted and the red rose, the avenger of the white, shines upon us,' N. Pronay and J. Cox, eds., *The Crowland Chronicle Continuations 1459-1486*, London 1986, pp. 184-85.
3. G. Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 3, London and New York 1960, pp. 346-49.
4. *York Civic Records*, vol. 1, p. 156, quoted in S. Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy*, Oxford 1969, p. 24.
5. E.g. the tomb of Ralph Neville, 2nd Earl of Westmorland, cited and illustrated in J. Cherry, *The Middleham Jewel and Ring*, Yorkshire Museum, York, 1994, pp. 42-43; the tombs of Sir Nicholas Fitzherbert and Sir William Harcourt, illustrated in C. Ross, *The Wars of the Roses*, London 1986, pp. 137, 139.
6. Lord Twining, *European Regalia*, London 1967, p. 67, and plates 31a, 31b.
7. J. Gairdner, ed., *Collections of a London Citizen*, Camden Society 1876, repr. New York 1965, p. 215. I am grateful to Miss Anne F. Sutton for drawing my attention to this reference. Further written references to Edward IV as a 'rose' are cited in S. Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship*, London 1992, pp. 77, 78.
8. J. Woodward and G. Burnett, *A Treatise on Heraldry*, London 1892, repr. Newton Abbot 1969, p. 587, suggest that this badge was derived from the Cliffords, but cite no evidence for this assertion. See also S. Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship*, p. 77.
9. J. Fisher, *The Companion to Roses*, London 1986, p. 86.
10. British Library, Ms. Harl. 304, f. 12. This folio is undated, but on the basis of the style of handwriting would appear to date from about 1600. No earlier source for this information has been located.
11. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, seal no. xxxvi.4, in W. de Gray Birch, ed., *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum*, 6 vols. London 1887-1900 (hereafter referred to as *Catalogue of Seals*), vol. 1, p. 25, no. 186. This seal uses a pair of roses in the form of a colon between the words of the legend on both obverse and reverse. At the beginning of the obverse inscription is a cross, with 'a fleur-de-lis between four small roses in saltire on each side of the cross.' I am grateful to Mr D. Perry for helping me to research this and other seals.
12. Some authorities (e.g. Woodward and Burnett, p. 587; Sinclair and Thodey, p. 21) have suggested that the rose emblem, now typically associated with England, was actually brought here from France, by Eleanor of Provence or her sons. It is certainly the case that the plant *Rosa Gallica* (= 'the French rose'), while native to southern France, does not occur naturally in this country, although *Rosa Canina*, which is one of the parents of *Rosa Alba*, is native to Britain.
13. Woodward and Burnett, p. 587. Now, however, (and at least as early as the 19th century,) no such roses are visible on the tomb. They may, perhaps, have been painted.
14. Woodward and Burnett, p. 588. Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship*, p. 80, says that these were golden roses on the bed curtains.
15. *Catalogue of Seals*, vol. 3, p. 383, no. 12676.
16. Library of the National Portrait Gallery, Box file on Henry IV.
17. BL, Royal MS 20 E. vi, *Chroniques de France, ou de Saint Denis* f. 9v, dated to 1487; copy consulted in NPG, Box file on Henry V.
18. There is a portrait of Edward IV in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries which shows him holding a white rose, but like most portraits of fifteenth century royalty, it is a 16th century copy, so it is not certain that the original picture contained this feature. There is also the portrait of Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, now in the Louvre, which is a contemporary painting, and which shows the princess wearing a collar which includes white roses. (See also below, n. 34.)
19. E.g. tomb of Ralph Neville, 1st Earl of Westmorland, cited and illustrated in Cherry *The Middleham Jewel and Ring*, pp. 14-15.

20. The only artefact which I have so far discovered which purports to associate a rose badge with a Lancastrian king prior to 1485 is an illustration in J.R. Lander, *The Wars of the Roses*, Gloucester 1990, p. 105, of a leather bracer with a crowned rose emblem. This object was formerly 'said to have belonged to Henry VI'; the bracer is now in the British Museum, where it is considered to be a Tudor artefact, BM, Gallery 46; MLA 1922, 1-10-1. I am grateful to Mr Geoffrey Wheeler for his help in tracing the present whereabouts of this item.
21. Woodward and Burnett, p. 590, mention a seal with roses-en-soleil which they describe as pertaining to Henry IV, but this is a mistake. No seal of Henry IV shows roses, en soleil or otherwise, and the reference number given, (*Catalogue of Seals*, no. 301) is that of a seal of Edward IV, which does have roses-en-soleil as part of its design.
22. British Library Department of Manuscripts, Seal no. Add, Ch. 8526: seal of Edward, Prince of Wales (Edward V): 'roses on diaper work' in the background. Seal no. xxxvi.17: second seal of Edward IV: roses-en-soleil. Seal no. liii.7, 8: third seal of Edward IV 'diapered background of lozengy spaces enclosing roses'. This seal was also used by Richard III, (with the name changed in the titulary). Seal no. liiii. 9, 10: fourth seal of Edward IV: 'rose above shield and sun and rose below'. Seal no. xxxvi.5: fifth seal of Edward IV, rose details as for fourth seal.
23. The analysis of coin designs given here is based upon the descriptions and illustrations given in S. Mitchell and B. Reeds, *Standard Catalogue of British Coins - 26th Edition*, London 1990, pp. 101-43.
24. British Library, Harl. Ms. 4632, ff. 236-42. This contains material drawn by, or for Sir Christopher Barker, Garter King of Arms, who died in 1549. Also College of Arms Ms. i.2 and *Prince Arthur's Book* (see n. 27 below).
25. Woodward and Burnett, p. 589.
26. BL, Harl. Ms. 4632 appears to illustrate a yale, but this mythical beast is more usually associated with the Beauforts. Woodward and Burnett (p. 588), citing College of Arms Ms. i.2 describe the charge as an antelope.
27. I have not had the opportunity to examine *Prince Arthur's Book*, but am grateful to the current Richmond Herald, Mr Dickinson, for this information.
28. College of Arms Ms. R.36, f. 87, quoted, P.W. Hammond, Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, 'The Reburial of Richard, Duke of York, 21-30 July 1476', *The Ricardian* vol. 10 no. 127, December 1994, p. 150.
29. W. Thornbury, *Old and New London*, London n.d. [19th century], vol. 1, p. 157: '... Shakespeare, relying, probably, on some old tradition which does not exist in print ...'.
30. *Catalogue of Seals*, vol. 2, pp. 481-2.
31. M.K. Jones and M.G. Underwood, *The King's Mother*, Cambridge 1992, p. 81.
32. Jones and Underwood, p. 69.
33. Jones and Underwood, plates 11, 12, 15, 16, 17.
34. F. Hepburn, *Portraits of the Later Plantagenets*, Woodbridge 1986, p. 69. Hepburn also makes the interesting suggestion that the black and white roses on the early 16th century copy of the portrait of Edward IV, now in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, were originally also red and white, but that the Tudor copier of the painting, unable to comprehend red roses in a Yorkist context, decided to paint them black in his copy. This is certainly a plausible suggestion, but it does not explain why Margaret and Edward IV should have been wearing red roses in the first place.
35. Cecily Neville was John of Gaunt's granddaughter via her mother, Joan Beaufort. In fact the Lancastrian claim to the throne of the Yorkist kings was only slightly inferior to that of Henry VII!
36. S. Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy*, Oxford 1969, p. 36n., citing Sir James H. Ramsey, *Lancaster and York*, Oxford 1892. Anglo, however, inclines to the view that 'the rose was occasionally regarded as a Lancastrian symbol prior to 1485', and quotes the evidence of the bard, Robin Ddu, who, 'during the exile of the Tudors ... looked forward to the time when "red roses will rule in splendour"'. This may indeed indicate that Henry Tudor was using the red rose as a badge before 1485, but it does not prove that any of the three Lancastrian Kings had used it.