

Lady Katherine Gordon: A Genealogical Puzzle

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It is a curious quirk of history that the descent of Lady Katherine Gordon, the wife of Perkin Warbeck, is as questionable as the identity of her husband. The controversy of Lady Katherine's descent stems from the question of who was her mother? Was Lady Katherine the daughter of the Earl of Huntly's second wife, Princess Annabella Stewart (a daughter of James I) or his third wife, Lady Elizabeth Hay (a daughter of the first earl of Erroll)?

Lady Katherine married the pretender to the English throne a few weeks after Warbeck had arrived in Scotland. He was welcomed as Richard, Duke of York and granted a generous pension by the Scottish king. James IV sealed their friendship and alliance by providing one of his own cousins as Warbeck's bride. The consequence of Elizabeth Hay being Lady Katherine's mother, as opposed to the Stewart princess, has been described as 'dramatically diminish[ing] the significance of James' [IV of Scotland] gesture by seriously reducing the status of his proffered bride, and thus of the level of his own support of Perkin.'¹ Elizabeth Hay should not be dismissed too hastily, however, as she was descended from two daughters of King Robert II.

As well as being politically advantageous for Warbeck, the marriage may well have been a love match. A letter has survived in the Spanish archives which is now attributed to Warbeck and written to his future wife, 'I shall, perhaps, be the happiest of all your admirers, and the happiest man on earth, since I have reason to hope you will think me worthy of your love.'² On 6 July 1497 Warbeck left Scotland and sailed for Ireland accompanied by his wife who chose to share the precarious adventure upon which her husband was about embark.

The adventure was short lived. The couple stayed in Ireland for only a few weeks before leaving with a hundred or so men for Cornwall to join the local

rebels who were challenging the authority of Henry VII. The campaign, from the rebels point of view, was inglorious. Following Warbeck's capture at Beaulieu Abbey, Henry VII arrested Lady Katherine and she was brought before the king at Taunton. Although confronted by her husband's confession of imposture, she was kindly received by Henry who sent her to London to join the court of Queen Elizabeth of York. Warbeck soon followed Lady Katherine to London. Initially his imprisonment was little more than house arrest at court and the couple were allowed to meet though the Venetian ambassador noted that they were not allowed to live together in case Lady Katherine should conceive a child.³ After Warbeck's attempt to escape from Sheen he was confined in the Tower and following the alleged conspiracy with Edward, Earl of Warwick, he was tried and executed in 1499. Lady Katherine stayed at the Tudor courts throughout the remainder of Henry VII's reign, serving first the queen and ultimately the widowed princess of Wales, Katherine of Aragon. In 1509 she was granted manors in Berkshire and in 1512 Lady Katherine re-married, her husband being a gentleman usher, James Strangeways. This marriage was comparatively short lived and within a few months of Strangeways death Lady Katherine married again, her new husband being the earl of Worcester's deputy in south Wales, Sir Matthew Craddock. Finally, having being widowed for the third time, she married another gentleman usher and future Marian conspirator, Christopher Ashton, and spent the remaining years of her life on her Berkshire estates, dying in 1537.

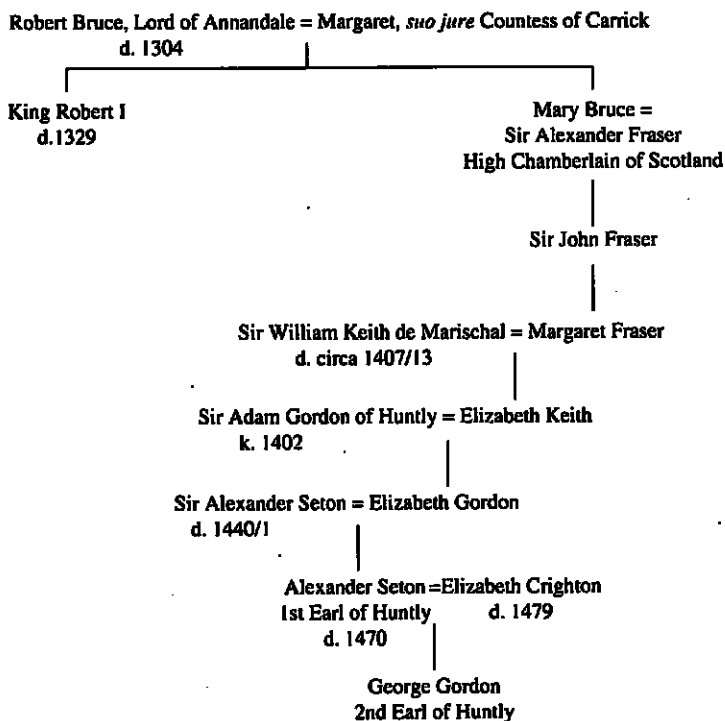
An item in Lady Katherine's will prompted some very useful observations about her descent that were made in the March 1994 issue of the *Ricardian*.⁴ The thesis of the article centred on the bequest Lady Katherine made in her will to 'my cousin', Mistress Margaret Kyme. Margaret Kyme was the daughter of the disgraced Princess Cecily, a daughter of Edward IV, who married beneath her status and removed from court to the Isle of Wight where she died in 1507. It was suggested that the relationship between Lady Katherine and Margaret could indicate not only that the former was the daughter of the Lady Annabella and, therefore, the grand-daughter of Joan Beaufort but, what is more important, that these ladies were first cousins by marriage and that Lady Katherine believed her first husband was Richard, Duke of York.⁵

The evidence available to ascertain who really was Lady Katherine's mother is arguable but the purpose of this article is to rehearse fully the background, known facts and development of Lady Katherine's historiography in order to offer a solution to the identity of her mother and to comment on the impact of any 'reduced status' if Lady Katherine were the daughter of Elizabeth Hay. The genealogy that follows is complicated and there are many references to church dispensations. The church controlled inter-marriage between family members by means of granting dispensations to the rules which governed such marriages.

Marriages within the first degree of affinity, such as between mother and son, brother and sister, were, of course, always forbidden but requests for marriage within the second or remoter degrees were considered. Affinity within the second degree included full or first cousins, that is, both parties shared a common set of grandparents and affinity within the third degree were children of first cousins. A number of pedigrees to illustrate the relationships between the various parties are included.

Background

The difficulties of assigning the children of George Gordon, second Earl of Huntly, to either his second or third wives has plagued genealogists for many years and, as will be seen, errors have further clouded the issue. George Gordon was the second son of Alexander Seton who was created earl of Huntly circa 1455. George's elder half-brother, Sir Alexander, retained the name Seton whilst the future earl and his siblings of the full blood assumed the surname of their grandmother, the heiress Elizabeth Gordon, a descendant of the earls of Carrick.⁶



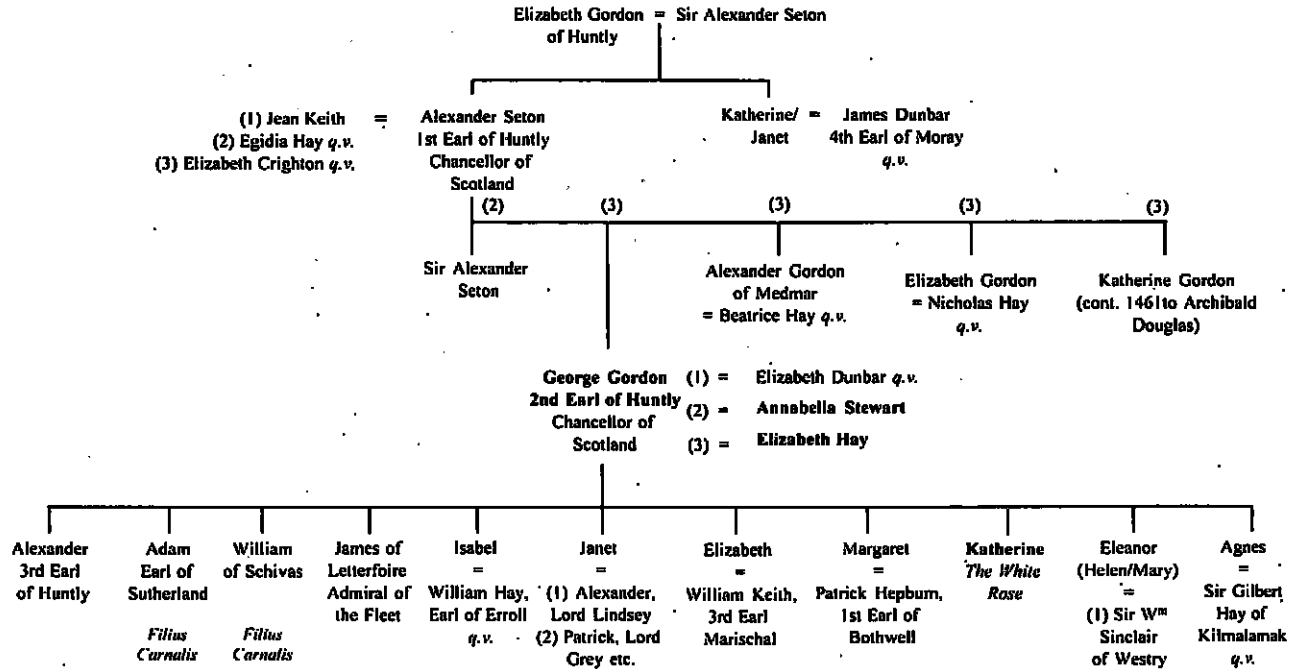
George's mother, Elizabeth Crichton, was the eldest daughter of the lord chancellor of Scotland, William Lord Crichton, and the creation of George's father, Alexander Seton, as earl of Huntly in 1449 may have owed something to the connection. The succession to the earldom was settled by charter on the issue of Alexander's marriage to Elizabeth Crichton overlooking any prior claim by his son born to Egidia Hay.⁷

The family of Seton/Gordon held lands mainly in Aberdeenshire and Berwickshire, which included Strathbogie, Cluny and the forests of Enzie and Boyne.⁸ George, in his own right, began to acquire lands, such as those resigned by the Maitland heiresses in 1467 and two years later lands forfeited by Robert, Lord Boyd. In the first half of the 1460s George was the keeper of the castles of Kildrummy, Kindrocht and Inverness. A few years later George was locked in a feud with the traitorous earl of Ross and their activities were brought to the attention of the king in 1473. By 1475, however, Huntly acted on behalf of the king against Ross and the following year was thanked 'maist heertlie' for his efforts. In 1479 George was appointed justiciary north of the Forth, a job that required the holder to suppress the feuds between Highland families.⁹

In 1484 George was one of the commissioners for a peace treaty following Richard of Gloucester's invasion of Scotland.¹⁰ Three years later he was embroiled in Scotland's internal problems when he raised an army in defence of James III against a group of rebellious nobles. George attempted a reconciliation between the king and the nobles but James proved obstinate and in frustration the earl retired to his estates.¹¹ In 1488 matters came to a head and George rode south to Sauchieburn. There appears to be some disagreement whether George fought for his king or failed to join the battle in time but shortly after James IV's succession George became a privy councillor and was appointed lieutenant of the North on 13 May 1491.¹² By 1498 George had been appointed high chancellor of Scotland, the role once granted to his grand-father, William Crichton.¹³ George was succeeded as chancellor by George, Duke of Orkney, in 1501 and he died at Stirling in June of that year.¹⁴ His widow, Elizabeth Hay, then married Andrew, Lord Grey, to whom she had originally been contracted to marry in 1457.¹⁵

George, known as the Master of Huntly or Lord Gordon before his father's death in 1470, first contracted marriage on 20 May 1455 to the widowed Elizabeth Dunbar, Countess of Moray, sometimes called the 'Dow of Dunbar'.¹⁶ Elizabeth Dunbar's first husband, Archibald Douglas, had been killed at Arkinholme just nineteen days earlier whilst in rebellion against James II. Elizabeth's haste to re-marry and form an alliance with the Gordons was due to the threat of her departed husband being attainted and she required strong support from the Gordons who would defend her with 'all thair gudely power ... and tak upright part with her agayne all and sundrie others that would invade her wranguisly'. The master and

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his father were in turn attracted by the lady's considerable property. In order for the marriage to take place a dispensation was required but in the meantime the contract stated that the master 's[h]all not constrenzie the said lady to carnal copulation but of her f[r]ee will'. It would appear the lady's will was free and that their union was consummated although the necessary dispensation was not obtained.¹⁷ In due course the deceased Douglas was attainted, Elizabeth lost her possessions and in consequence her newly acquired husband, though when and where the formal marriage ceremony took place is unknown. By this time George and his father had decided the match was no longer desirable. Elizabeth was conveniently divorced on the grounds of affinity within the prohibited degrees as her elder sister Mary was married to George's maternal uncle, James, Lord Crichton.¹⁸

The master of Huntly's second marriage was to the Princess Annabella Stewart, youngest daughter of King James I and his English queen, Joan Beaufort.¹⁹ In 1444, when still a child, the Lady Annabella had been contracted in marriage to Count Louis of Geneva, the son of the duke of Savoy and she left Scotland for the continent in 1455.²⁰ For an unknown reason the marriage was formally broken off in the presence of King Charles VII of France and the bishop of Galloway at Gannat in Bourbonnois. The Lady Annabella received a *solatium* of 25,000 crowns for the breach of contract and in the company of her deaf and dumb sister, the Lady Joanna, she returned to Scotland in the spring of 1458. By 11 March 1460 she was married to George, Master of Huntly.²¹

At some stage the marriage proved unsatisfactory to George and he formed an attachment with Elizabeth Hay, the sister of the earl of Erroll. On 12 May 1466 an extraordinary event took place. George swore on the gospels that he would have no 'actual delen' with Elizabeth until he could have her to 'wife lawfully'.²² It took him over five years to obtain a divorce from the Lady Annabella but it was finally granted *a vinculo* on 24 July 1471, also on the grounds of affinity within the forbidden degrees.²³ The offending relationship was that between the Lady Annabella and George's former wife Elizabeth, who were second cousins once removed. If George had consummated the union with the latter he then assumed the same relationship that his first wife had with his second. This brought George into the same degree of affinity making the marriage between himself and the Lady Annabella illegal without a dispensation from the church. The fate of the Lady Annabella is unknown and she disappears from the records, perhaps ending her days in a religious establishment.²⁴ The banns between George Gordon and Elizabeth Hay were proclaimed at Fyvie in August 1471.²⁵ It can be accepted that the marriage took place shortly afterwards though no record of the ceremony is extant. There has, however, been considerable confusion about the date of their union due to an error by the nineteenth-century Scottish advocate, John Riddell,

when he transposed the year of the gospel oath from 1466 to 1476.²⁶ This error has misled some historians who believed the marriage could not have taken place until 1476 despite the 1471 banns.²⁷

The Family of George Gordon, Second Earl of Huntly

By his second and third wives, the Lady Annabella and Elizabeth Hay, George fathered eleven children who reached adulthood, four sons and seven daughters.²⁸

It first needs to be considered, though, if Perkin Warbeck's wife was the Katherine fathered by George Gordon or if she was his sister, a daughter of Earl Alexander. Holinshed, Grafton and Buck all stated that Katherine was the daughter of Alexander, Earl of Huntly.²⁹ All that is known of Earl Alexander's daughter is that she was contracted on 30 September 1461 to marry the seven-year old Archibald Douglas, the future fifth Earl of Angus, who became known as 'Bell the Cat'.³⁰ The marriage did not take place, possibly due to the death the following year of Archibald's father. No further trace of this Lady Katherine has been found but the possibility of her being the wife of the pretender is remote because she was at least thirteen years (and probably more) his senior. The first mention of Katherine the younger is also in a marriage contract, dated 1491, which provided that either she or her sister Margaret would marry Patrick Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell.³¹ In the event Bothwell chose Margaret as his wife.

A survey of the Gordon children provides information, though sometimes contradictory, and particularly in the case of the heir Alexander, which helps to establish which child was mothered by which wife. In 1485 Alexander sat in parliament and was one of the Lords of the Articles.³² If Alexander was the son of Elizabeth Hay, and born in wedlock, he was still a minor in 1485. He was named as her son by Elizabeth Hay when she petitioned him for a payment of £50 in 1505.³³ A possible explanation could be that Elizabeth was emphasising her relationship with him, be it natural mother or step-mother, due to her having to resort to a formal procedure to obtain money. Alexander's contract of marriage to Jean, daughter of John Stewart, Earl of Atholl, was signed on 20 October 1474 and his brother Adam was named as his successor as bridegroom if he should die and if Adam died the next son (unnamed) would take his place and so forth. Could the naming of Alexander and Adam, therefore, indicate that these were the only two sons alive at the time?³⁴ Alexander married Jean Stewart before 1482 and Adam did not marry until *circa* 1500.³⁵ At most, Alexander would only have been two years old at the time of the contract and a bridegroom of ten, if he were Elizabeth's son. Further support for Alexander being a young man in the early 1480s, and therefore the son of the Lady Annabella, is to be found in an Instrument of Resignation that was signed on 10 December 1482 which he witnessed, together with his father-in-law, the earl of Atholl.³⁶ However, it is his activities immediately

following the death of King James III which clearly indicate that Alexander was a mature young man when in 1489 he led the rebellion in the north-east against the new government.³⁷

In the divorce papers of the fourth earl of Bothwell and his first wife, Jean Gordon, drawn up in 1567, Alexander was described as the brother *germane*, that is sharing the same mother, of Elizabeth and Margaret, the Countess Marischal and Countess of Bothwell respectively.³⁸ Are the mother(s) of these daughters known? Contracted in 1482 to William Keith, son of the second earl marischal, Elizabeth Gordon probably married him shortly afterwards. The earl marischal was undoubtedly ailing during this period as his son, William, represented him in the parliament of 1481-82 and he died in 1483. In arranging his son's marriage it seems unlikely that the earl would have chosen a child bride when the conception of a new heir would have been of some importance to the family. Thus, Elizabeth may well have been the Lady Annabella's daughter. If this was the case and if Margaret was Elizabeth's sister *germane* and they were both the daughters of the Lady Annabella, then Margaret would have been at least twenty-five years old when she married the earl of Bothwell in 1491 and a dispensation would have been necessary. This was because the mother of Bothwell's first wife was the deaf and dumb Lady Joanna, daughter of James I, thus the couple would have been first cousins and related in the second degree, that is within the forbidden degrees of affinity. There is no extant record of a dispensation for the marriage³⁹ (though this does not mean it did not exist) but it could be an indication that the daughters named in the Bothwell contract belonged to Elizabeth Hay and that the term *germane*, indicating that both Margaret and Elizabeth were Alexander's sisters of the full blood, in this instance is one upon which little reliance can be placed, as suggested in *The Complete Peerage*.⁴⁰

Another daughter, named Janet, married Alexander, Lord Lindsay, but by 1489 she was widowed, though she continued to be known as Lady Lindsay throughout her subsequent matrimonial career.⁴¹ The circumstances of her husband's demise were suspicious and it was rumoured that Janet was involved in his death.⁴² If she was the daughter of Elizabeth Hay, Janet could have been only seventeen years of age, at most, when widowed. Although this is entirely possible, the likelihood is that she was the daughter of her father's second wife, the Lady Annabella.⁴³ Lady Lindsay was sued, in 1509, by her second husband's step-mother, Elizabeth Hay (now Lady Grey), a woman 'who was rather fond of litigation'.⁴⁴ Is it, perhaps, more likely that Elizabeth Hay would have sued her step-children rather than her own offspring?

The only daughter who can indisputably be accepted as the Lady Annabella's child is Isabel. She married Elizabeth Hay's brother William, third Earl of Erroll and was dead before October 1485 when he contracted to marry Elizabeth Leslie.⁴⁵

Of the remaining daughters of George Gordon, second Earl of Huntly, Eleanor and Agnes, little is known and the dates of their nuptials have not been established.⁴⁶ In 1504 a marriage between Eleanor and John Crichton of Invernyte appears to have been considered, but did not take place, and her husbands are believed to be Sir William Sinclair of Westry and David Hepburn.⁴⁷ Agnes married a cousin, Sir Gilbert Hay of Kilmalamak, and they were both alive 1510.⁴⁸

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of the whole conundrum revolves around the description of George Gordon's sons Adam and William who are both called *filii carnales* in a charter of 1490.⁴⁹ The use of this phrase indicates that these sons of George Gordon were the issue of a union that had not been sanctified by marriage or that the legality of the marriage was questionable. Consequently this status could affect their rights of inheritance. This is, however, an ambiguous term and has been used to describe legitimate offspring, such as John Stewart, Earl of Atholl and half-brother to the Lady Annabella.⁵⁰

The term could have been applied in each of three circumstances. First, if they were the sons of George and Annabella and there was a question of their legitimacy as the marriage of their parents had been annulled. Second, if they were born out of wedlock to George and Elizabeth. It can, perhaps, be safely assumed that George would not have reneged on his gospel oath and begun a family with Elizabeth whilst still married to the Lady Annabella, as this would have jeopardised the legitimacy, and inheritance of any issue. In fact it was unlikely that George would have been given any opportunity to behave improperly as a record of his oath, in which he promised to refrain from entering upon a relationship with Elizabeth Hay until she was his wife, was kept in the Erroll charter chest. From the wording it would appear that it had been made to allay the fears of Elizabeth's brother, Earl Nicholas, and 'other tender friends' as to George's intentions towards Elizabeth.⁵¹ Thirdly, the word may indicate that if Adam and William were George and Elizabeth's sons, born after 1471, that there was some doubt about the validity of the marriage as the sons legitimacy was being questioned.

John Riddell, the advocate who caused so much confusion with his dating of George's gospel oath, raised the issue of whether the principles of *bona fides* and *ignorantia* could be applied to any family of George's marriage to the Lady Annabella.⁵² Simply, these principles were, that if one party in a flawed union is unaware or ignorant of an impediment to the union and has married in good faith, then subsequent children of the union should be deemed legitimate. In 1455 the Lady Annabella left her homeland and was unlikely to have known of the Gordon/Dunbar contract and subsequent divorce.⁵³ She would have therefore entered her own, presumably arranged, marriage as an innocent party. If Adam and William were her sons by this marriage then the possibility of them being illegitimate might be raised. In 1492, Alexander requested that the date of the

divorce of his father from the Lady Annabella together with the dates of the banns between George and Elizabeth, were entered into the records of the consistory court of Aberdeen.⁵⁴ Obviously he took this step to reinforce the validity of his father's third marriage. What is not obvious, is why the place and date of the actual ceremony were not recorded, and does this omission suggest that there was no formal marriage? Alexander's action has been interpreted as an indication that he and his brothers were Elizabeth Hay's offspring.⁵⁵ The only alternative interpretation is that the heir acted out of altruism towards his 'half-brothers' by his father's third wife and that he was concerned to defend their legitimacy. It should be noted that the purpose of the 1490 charter in which Adam and William are called *fili carnalis* was to enable them to exchange the lands of Aboyne and Schivas. The lands of Aboyne had been resigned, with others, by Alexander first Earl of Huntly and his wife in 1458 and re-granted to the earl by James II 'for his lifetime with remainder to George de Gordon his son and the lawful heirs of his body'.⁵⁶ It was, therefore, imperative that there should be no question regarding the legitimacy of these sons or of any other offspring of George and Elizabeth's union.

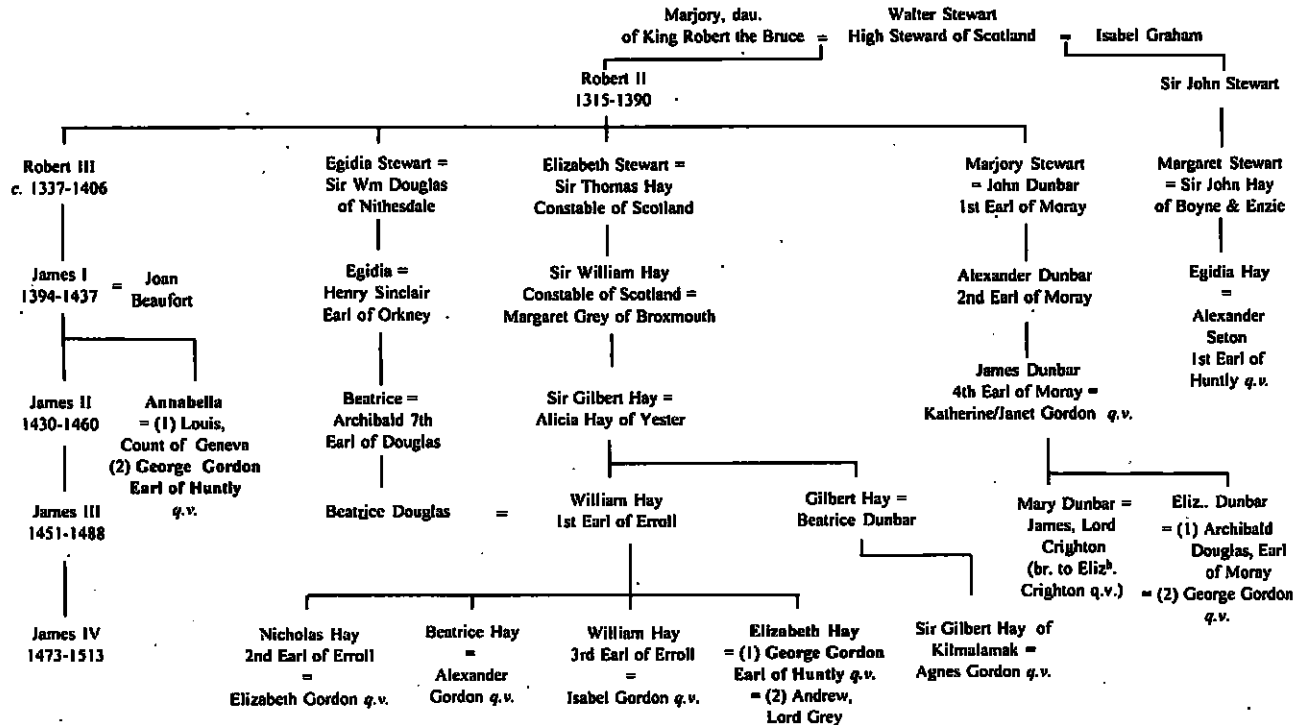
The legal status of the Gordon brothers, though interesting in Scottish peerage genealogical terms, does not further the case either way for Lady Katherine's mother being the Lady Annabella or Elizabeth Hay and further study is needed to establish her mother. With regard to the rest of the family, the view of the present author based on the facts presented above, combined with a little common sense, is that Alexander, Isabel, Janet and Elizabeth were the offspring of the Lady Annabella and that Adam, William, James, Margaret, Eleanor and Agnes were probably the children of Elizabeth Hay.

The Historiography of Lady Katherine Gordon

It is perhaps useful to examine how the marriage of Lady Katherine and the Pretender was understood by contemporary or near contemporary commentators, mainly resident in England, and to compare their reports with the development of the history of the Gordon family in Scotland.

The Sanuto Diaries record in 1496 that 'the Duke of York, then in Scotland, whose king meant to assist him and had given him a niece of his in marriage'.⁵⁷ Bernard André wrote of Warbeck's marriage with an illustrious lady, but leaves a blank for her name.⁵⁸ Although the lady is unnamed her *consanguinitate propinquis* with the King [James IV] is noted. Polydore Vergil wrote that King James gave Warbeck 'a relative as wife' and the tradition of a royal bride continues in later histories when both Sir George Buck and Sir Francis Bacon describe Lady Katherine as a 'near kinswoman' of the Scottish king.⁵⁹ Thomas Gainsford in 1618 described Katherine as 'nigh kinswoman to the crown' and in 1747 John Pinkerton wrote of Lady Katherine 'who united to her connection with the royal blood the

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praise of eminent merit and beauty'.⁶⁰ The legend of a royal connection was now established, south of the Border at least.

The earliest known history of the Gordon family was written by John Ferrerius in 1544, just seven years after the death of Lady Katherine in England.⁶¹ Although Ferrerius' history influenced later historians, the veracity of his work can be questioned as, for example, he fails to mention the union with Elizabeth Dunbar and buries George Gordon at Cambuskenneth a few months ahead of time. The history was published (by the New Spalding Club) in 1908 and is primarily based on the manuscript, dated 1613, preserved in the Advocates Library in Edinburgh.⁶² Four other surviving transcripts, including two at Gordon Castle, were consulted in the preparation of the published work and there are notes indicating differences in the text. Four of the five transcripts tell us that George Gordon had only one daughter (who was married to the earl of Erroll) by the Lady Annabella, who was repudiated. He had many children of both sexes by Elizabeth Hay.⁶³ A second transcript in the Advocates Library, with a preface, annotated at Southampton and dated 1 January 1626 tells a different story. This manuscript version belonged to the Aberdeen-born Alexander Ross (1591-1654), chaplain to Charles I and master of the Free School in Southampton in 1626. In this version there is no reference to a daughter marrying the earl of Erroll or of the divorce from the Lady Annabella and both wives are described as having many children of both sexes. This last statement, however is contradicted later in the text where the passage relating to the daughters is identical in all five versions of the history. The daughters are ranked, presumably by age, as Katherine, Janet, Elizabeth, Margaret, Eleanor and Agnes and one mother only is named, Elizabeth Hay, except in the 1626 copy when the mother is given as *Joanna*, the Lady Annabella's alternative name.⁶⁴

Lady Katherine's descent, as part of the history of the Gordon family, develops over the centuries in a series of histories. John Lesley, writing in 1568-70, introduced a new note when he describes Lady Katherine, at the time of her marriage to Warbeck, as one of the queen's maids and kin to the queen.⁶⁵ In 1496 there was no living queen of Scotland. James IV's marriage to Margaret Tudor was not to take place until 1503 and his mother and grandmother had died in 1486 and 1463 respectively.⁶⁶ The sixteenth-century historian, Robert Lindsay of Pitcottie, follows Ferrerius by giving one daughter to the Lady Annabella and the others to Elizabeth Hay as does Robert Gordon of Straloch in his *Origo et progressus familiae Gordoniorum de Huntley in Scotia* written between 1655 and 1661.⁶⁷ The ranking of the sisters is changed in the latter history with Lady Katherine becoming Elizabeth Hay's fifth daughter. Straloch's work became the model for David Burnet's *Pourtrait of True Loyalty* (1691) which was in turn used by William Gordon in his *History of Gordon* (1726).⁶⁸ William Gordon, however, rebelled at what appears to have become an accepted genealogy, that is, that Elizabeth Hay

was the mother of the majority of the children. Gordon's sources, apart from Burnet, were Ferrerius, Straloch and *The Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland* by the historian and statesman Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun (1580-1656).⁶⁹ William Gordon states 'By Lady Jean [Annabella] Stewart he had four sons and six daughters as is asserted by all the Manuscript Histories of that Family'.⁷⁰ From this statement, as no other sources than those given above are mentioned, the reader can assume that William Gordon is relying on Gordonstoun's work which assigns ten children to the Stewart princess, named Jane in this instance, particularly as Gordon censures both Burnet and Straloch's works as being 'defective' and specifically sites Ferrerius as being 'mistaken' with his reporting of George Gordon's family. Gordonstoun also includes Ferrerius in his bibliography, but could he have consulted the 1626 manuscript, mentioned above, which offers the alternative genealogy of the Lady Arabella being the sole mother of George's children? This is possible. Gordonstoun and Alexander Ross were probably personally acquainted and the latter dedicated his *Sutherlandiae Comitum Annales* to Gordonstoun who had encouraged Ross to write the history. The manuscript of *Sutherlandiae*, with the dedication to Gordonstoun, is bound with Ross' own copy of Ferrerius (dated 1626) now held in the Advocates Library.⁷¹ Was this the dedicated manuscript Ross sent to Gordonstoun? Sir Robert Douglas' *Peerage of Scotland*, first published in 1764, stated that Elizabeth Hay had no issue at all.⁷² In the early nineteenth century Riddell wrote that 'By the Princess Lord George is commonly said to have had several sons (independently of daughters)'.⁷³ From these last two sources it appears that William Gordon's genealogy (based on Gordonstoun) had now prevailed and the tradition of the Gordon brood belonging to the Lady Annabella now converges with the English tradition of a royal bride for Warbeck. If Gordonstoun did have access to the 1626 version of Ferrerius, then the point at which the story changes, and Elizabeth's family is transferred to Annabella, is established. The remaining mystery as to how the alternative version of Ferrerius came about remains unsolved. Perhaps a simple copyist's error?

Later writers such as Thomas Dickson, the editor of *The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, wrote in the preface to volume 1 that James IV 'gave him [Warbeck] his cousin' in marriage.⁷⁴ George Burnett's introduction to *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* described Lady Katherine as a near kinswoman and 'grand-daughter through her mother of James I'.⁷⁵ George Gordon's biographer in the *Dictionary of National Biography* using William Gordon's *History*, Douglas' *Peerage*, Riddell's *Tracts and Inquiry* as sources assigns all of George's family to the Lady Annabella, with Lady Katherine as the eldest daughter. This in turn influenced Pitscottie's nineteenth-century editor Mackay.⁷⁶ The marquess of Huntly in his *Records of Aboyne* breaks from tradition and splits the family, assigning

Katherine, Agnes and Eleanor to Elizabeth Hay, but Huntly based his assumptions for maternity on a 1476 marriage, following Riddell's erroneous dating which has the effect of extending the life of the Stewart marriage beyond the 1466 gospel oath.⁷⁷ Only in *The Scots Peerage* and *The Complete Peerage* are the difficulties over the maternity of George Gordon's children prudently acknowledged and the compilers refrain from categorically stating which wife mothered which child.

The Identity of Lady Katherine Gordon

The reader will by now appreciate that a search of the histories proves inconclusive and contradictory. An examination of the issues surrounding Lady Katherine's identity is required to find the solution.

The first issue to be examined is the possible age of Lady Katherine at the time of her first marriage. It would not be unreasonable to suppose that the family of George Gordon and the Lady Annabella ceased to grow after he made public his matrimonial ambitions with Elizabeth Hay in 1466.⁷⁸ This would mean that Lady Katherine would have been at least thirty in 1496 if she were the Lady Annabella's daughter, or twenty-four or younger if the daughter of Elizabeth Hay. Richard, Duke of York's accepted year of birth was 1473 and Warbeck's purported birth was 1474 making the Duke just twenty-two and the impostor twenty-one years of age in January 1496.

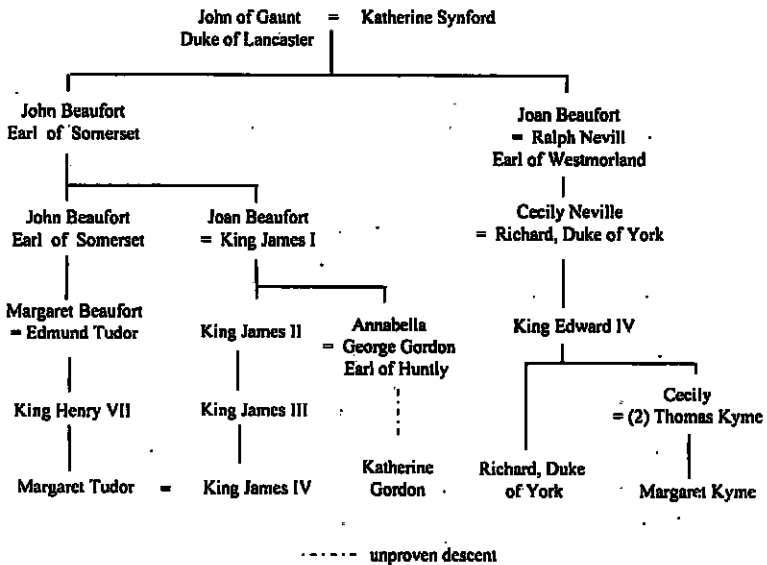
Lady Katherine was widely acclaimed as a beauty and both Grafton and Holinshed describe her as a 'young' woman, though perhaps the chivalric sensibilities of the age were such that youth and beauty were synonymous and a bride some years older than her husband may not have attracted such admiration.⁷⁹ Indeed, one twentieth-century writer, believing Lady Katherine to be the daughter of the first earl of Huntly, described her as 'far from young, long ago discarded, whose marriage prospects were poor'.⁸⁰ It should also be remembered that at least four of her sisters and one of her brothers were married prior to Lady Katherine's nuptials in January 1496 and that this challenges the Ferrerius tradition of her being the eldest daughter.⁸¹ In the 1491 Bothwell marriage contract Katherine's name follows that of Margaret, indicating that she is junior to her sister. Bothwell's choice of bride may well have been influenced by the ages of the sisters. The contract, dated 21 February, stipulated that the marriage was to take place 'betuix the date of thir indenture and xx April next to cum'. Probably already in his early thirties the earl had need of an heir and Margaret's attraction may have been her slight seniority. Another tradition, local to Fyfield in Berkshire where Lady Katherine spent the last six years of her life before her death in 1537, was that she was a popular figure frequently seen riding her horse around the parish.⁸² If she was the Lady Annabella's daughter she would have been in her seventies when she died. Lady Katherine's age, comparative to those of York and Warbeck, reports of

her reception in England, the marital status of her siblings in 1496, and her later equestrian activity all strongly indicate that she was born after 1471.

The second issue concerns Lady Katherine's status. This would have stemmed from her father, a powerful nobleman, privy councillor, lieutenant of the North, and by 1498 lord high chancellor of Scotland, rather than from a discredited princess who had been twice divorced. Despite being the daughter, sister and aunt of kings, the Lady Annabella's royal connections failed to save her marriage, provide financial support or a new marriage alliance. Although Huntly's family relationship with the crown could be regarded as tenuous after the divorce from the Stewart princess, he was still described as cousin by both James III and James IV.⁸³ It should also be noted that more than one chronicler emphasised Huntly's royal connection rather than Lady Katherine's when reporting her adventures, 'earle of Huntlie, his [James IV] nigh kinsman'.⁸⁴

For many years Lady Katherine was a member of the Tudor court and her position might well have been strengthened by a claim of kinship to the Tudor descendants of the Beauforts.⁸⁵ If Lady Katherine was the grand-daughter of Joan Beaufort then she would have been Henry VII's second cousin. Such a claim does not appear to have been made and no kinship is mentioned in any of the grants made to Lady Katherine and recorded in the patent rolls.⁸⁶

The Relationship between the Royal Houses of England and Scotland



It has already been demonstrated that Lady Katherine was recognised, at the time of her marriage and immediately afterwards, to be kin to James IV, and therefore, it is irrelevant whether they were close or removed cousins.⁸⁷ Lady Katherine's kinship to the Scottish king was indeed genuine but it does not appear to have extended to kinship to Henry VII, and this indicates a descent through Elizabeth Hay.

The final issue is the inclusion of the Hay coat of arms on the stone monument built by Lady Katherine's third husband, Sir Matthew Cradock, in St Mary's Church, Swansea, for himself and his family.⁸⁸ The tomb, which was severely damaged by enemy action during the last war, includes a number of shields of arms and two represented Lady Katherine's family, the Gordons and the Hays impaled on Cradock's own arms. Describing the tomb in his *Historical Notices of Sir Matthew Cradock*, the Rev. Traherne deduced that although Lady Katherine had no right to bear the Hay arms (he believed she was the daughter of the Lady Annabella) her grand-father, the first Earl of Huntly, had born the arms of his wife, Egidia Hay, so he concluded they had been carved in error.⁸⁹ It seems improbable that Lady Katherine was confused about her own maternity or would have allowed such a misrepresentation of her descent with the substitution of the Stewart arms with those of Hay. Lady Katherine lived in Wales during her marriage to Cradock and was probably on hand when the tomb was built.⁹⁰ Perhaps she advised the stonemason on the design of these 'foreign' arms? On the basis of the above the present author believes Lady Katherine's mother could only be Elizabeth Hay. It is probable that she was the third or later child of the marriage following Adam and Margaret, and therefore, born *circa* 1474 or later.

If Lady Katherine was Elizabeth Hay's daughter, does this dramatically denigrate her position in Scottish society or reflect a lower level of support of Warbeck by James IV? Probably not.⁹¹ The reality is simply a descent, not from James I but from his grandfather, Robert II. In 1496 the Scottish king did not have a plethora of eligible female relatives to offer the pretender. Of the seven living Scottish female cousins descended from James I, excluding Huntly's girls, who could possibly be regarded as close cousins, two were illegitimate, two were children, one born before 1466, one recently married and one widowed. It is unlikely any could be designated as royal except perhaps for the duke of Albany's daughter, Margaret, had she not been the issue of his dissolved first marriage and her legitimacy denied.⁹² In the event Lady Katherine Gordon was chosen from King James' extended family. She became a credit to her native country and she was unique in establishing herself in her adopted one, where she earned the sobriquet *The White Rose*.⁹³

If Lady Katherine was not the daughter of the Lady Annabella, and therefore, not related to the family of Edward IV through the Beauforts then the interpretation

of her description of Margaret Kyme as 'my cousin' in her will is reduced to them being cousins by marriage.³⁴ This could indeed mean that Lady Katherine believed, almost forty years after his execution, that her first husband was the person he claimed to be for so many years, Richard, Duke of York.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Lisa Hopkins, 'Research Notes and Queries, Lady Katherine Gordon and Margaret Kyme: A Clue to a Question of Identity', *The Ricardian*, vol. 10, March 1994, p. 19.
2. G.A. Bergenroth et al, eds., *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers Relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain*, 13 vols. London 1862-1954, vol. 1, pp. 78.
3. Rawdon Brown et al, eds., *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice*, 40 vols, London 1864-1947, vol. 1, p. 266.
4. Hopkins, (see n. 1), pp. 19-20.
5. Technically Lady Katherine could have been Margaret's aunt by marriage but she has used a more general term in her will. Ms Hopkins also raised the possibility that Lady Katherine might be referring to the more tenuous connection of Princess Cecily's proposed marriages to James IV and the duke of Albany.
6. Sir James Balfour Paul, ed., *The Scots Peerage*, 9 vols, Edinburgh 1904-1914, vol. 4, p. 526. There were occasions when the family reverted to the name Seton, e.g. when Alexander the future third earl granted a charter to Alexander Ogilvie in 1482. Charles, eleventh Marquess of Huntly, ed., *Records of Aboyne*, New Spalding Club, Aberdeen 1894, p. 415.
7. *Scots Peerage* (see n. 6), vol. 4, p. 524.
8. Sir Robert Douglas, *Peerage of Scotland* revised by Sir John Wood, 2 vols, Edinburgh 1813, vol. 1, pp. 643-44.
9. *Records of Aboyne* (see n. 6), pp. 398-401.
10. *Dictionary of National Biography*, re-issue, 22 vols, London 1908-9, vol. 8, p. 178.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid. Records of Aboyne* (see n. 6), p. 406-07.
13. G.E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, 13 vols, London 1910-59, reprinted 6 vols, Gloucester 1987, vol 6, (vol. 2), p. 676. Huntly, *Records of Aboyne* (see n. 6), states George's appointment had taken place before 4 March 1497 and continues that 'it seems probably that the honour was conferred when his daughter Catherine was given in marriage to the adventurer Perkin Warbeck'. p. 409.
14. *DNB* (see n. 9), p. 178
15. *Complete Peerage* (see no. 13), vol 6, (vol. 2), p. 99n.
16. John Stuart, ed., *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, 5 vols, Aberdeen 1841-52, vol. 4, pp. 128-131 for a complete transcript of the marriage contract. *Complete Peerage*, (see n. 13), vol. 6 (vol. 2), p. 676. *Scots Peerage* (see n. 6), vol. 4, p 528.
17. *Miscellany of the Spalding Club* (see n. 16), p. 128. *Scots Peerage* (see n. 6), vol. 4, p. 528.
18. *Scots Peerage* (see n. 6), vol. 4, p. 528. There was the possibility of another close connection. Elizabeth Dunbar's mother, as stated in *Complete Peerage* (see n.13), vol. 9 (vol. 4), p. 177, was named as Katherine or Janet Gordon, daughter of Sir Alexander Seton. This relationship would make the couple first cousins, therefore related in the second degree. Another connection, which can be readily discounted, was noted by George Burnett. He stated that certain genealogies of the Gordon and Dunbar families showed that Elizabeth Dunbar was her husband's niece. As Elizabeth's father, James Dunbar,

- died in 1429 he could hardly have married a daughter of Earl Alexander who only married Egidia Hay on 8 January 1427 when he was about seventeen years of age (an earlier marriage of Alexander to a daughter of the earl marischal is speculative). George Burnett *et al.*, eds., *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, 23 vols, Edinburgh 1878-1908, vol. 6, pp. cxxxvi-vii. *Records of the Aboyne* (see n. 6), p. 391.
19. This princess is variously called Annabella, Jane, Jean, Joanna or Joan, e.g. in William Gordon, *The History of the Ancient, Noble and Illustrious Family of Gordon*, 2 vols, Edinburgh 1726, vol. 1, p. 97 (Jean) and Robert Gordon of Straloch, *Origo et progressus familiae Gordoniorum de Huntly in Scotia*, published in J.M. Bulloch, ed., *The House of Gordon*, 3 vols, Aberdeen 1903-1912, vol. 2, p. 52 (Joanam).
 20. *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* (see n. 18), vol. 6, p. liv.
 21. *Ibid.*, pp. liv-liviii. Royal Commission for Historical Manuscripts, NRA 32488, GD181/149.
 22. *Scots Peerage* (see n. 6), vol. 4, pp. 528-9. John Riddell, *Tracts, Legal and Historical*, Edinburgh 1835, p. 85.
 23. John Riddell commented on the use of the term divorce 'that though the marriages [within affinity] are adjudged null and void from the beginning, the term divorce, as proved by the record, is still applied in reference to the sentence'. John Riddell, *Inquiry into the Law and Practice in Scottish Peerages*, 2 vols, Edinburgh 1842, vol. 1, p. 453.
 24. The marquess of Huntly commented 'her subsequent career is involved in mystery' though he suggests she is dead by 1476. *Records of Aboyne* (see n. 6), pp. 412-13. A search was made of the relevant volumes of published Scottish state papers but no further references to the Lady Annabella were found.
 25. *Scots Peerage* (see n. 6), vol. 4, p. 529.
 26. *Tracts, Legal and Historical* (see n. 22), p. 85.
 27. The arguments put forward by Alexander Sinclair regarding the Gordon family in his article *Notices of Ancient Scotch Families concerning Filii Carnales* are unacceptable solely due to the writer accepting Riddell's incorrect dating. *Herald & Genealogist* (London 1871)) vol. 6, pp. 595-97. *Records of Aboyne* (see n. 6), p. 413.
 28. There is no record of Elizabeth Dunbar bearing George Gordon a child.
 29. Raphael Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*, 6 vols, London 1808, vol. 4, p. 511. Richard Grafton, *Chronicle*, 2 vols, London 1809, vol. 2, p. 203. Sir George Buck, *The History of King Richard III*, ed., A.N. Kincaid, Gloucester 1982, p. 148. This could be a simple error as it would have been correct to describe Lady Katherine, if she were the daughter of the first earl, as the sister of the (present) earl of Huntly.
 30. *Miscellany of the Spalding Club* (see n. 16), vol. 4, pp. 131-33.
 31. *Ibid.*, p. 136. There is no question of the two Katherines being one and the same person. The contracts clearly state which earl fathered which prospective bride.
 32. *Scots Peerage* (see n. 6), vol. 4 p. 531.
 33. J.M. Thomson *et al.*, eds., *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, 9 vols, Edinburgh 1888-1912, vol. 2, p. 600.
 34. *Scots Peerage* (see n. 6), vol. 4, p. 532. There is one report that William, Laird of Gight and Shivas was 'begotten on Errolls sister, about the year 1479'. Unfortunately Adam is similarly described and it is a matter of record that he was alive in 1474. Balbithan manuscript published in volume 1 of *House of Gordon* (see n. 19), pp. 13, 15. The manuscript was compiled about 1730 but passages are identical to an earlier manuscript dated 1644 to be found in the University Library of Aberdeen.
 35. See grant 16 December 1482, *Register of the Great Seal* (see n. 33), vol. 2, p. 320. *Complete Peerage* (see n. 13), vol. 12 (vol. 5), p. 548.
 36. Royal Commission for Historical Manuscripts, NRA 32488, GD181/179.
 37. Norman Macdougall, *James IV*, Edinburgh 1989, pp 61-2 and 69-76 *passim*.

38. On 3 May 1567, Jean Gordon, daughter of the fourth earl of Huntly and his wife Elizabeth Keith, obtained a divorce from her husband James Hepburn, fourth Earl of Bothwell, on the grounds of adultery. Four days later the marriage was annulled on the grounds of consanguinity and on the 15th of that month the earl married Mary, Queen of Scots. *Complete Peerage* (see n. 13), vol. 2 (vol. 1), p. 239 and vol. 8 (vol. 3), pp. 476-77.
39. It should also be noted that Alexander, if the Lady Annabella's son, and Jean Stewart would also have required a dispensation as would Elizabeth's son Robert Keith when he married Beatrice Douglas. Jean's father was the son of Joan Beaufort by her second husband, Sir John Stewart, which would have made Alexander and Jean first cousins of the half blood. Beatrice Douglas was the grand-daughter of the deaf and dumb Lady Joanna Stewart so she and Robert Keith could have been related in the third degree. No record appears to have survived indicating that these dispensations were sought or granted.
40. There were occasions, of course, when the term was used correctly such as in a charter dated 15 March 1458 citing George Gordon, Alexander Gordon [of Medmar] and William Gordon as brothers *germane*, that is, the sons of Elizabeth Crichton. *Complete Peerage* (see n. 13), vol. 8 (vol. 3), p. 477. *Scots Peerage* (see n. 6), vol. 4, pp. 523-4.
41. *Scots Peerage* (see n. 6), vol. 4, p. 530. For instances of Janet using the title Lady Lindsay after 1489 see M. Livingston *et al.*, eds., *The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland*, 4 vols, Edinburgh 1908-52, vol. 1, p. 349 and A.B. Calderwood, ed., *Acts of the Lords of the Council* Edinburgh 1993, vol. 3, pp. 246-47. In W. Gordon's *History of Gordon* (see n. 19) her husband is incorrectly described as the earl of Crawford. She married secondly, Patrick Lord Grey and her final two husbands were Patrick Butter of Gormock and James Halkerston of Southwood.
42. Lindsay was reputed to have been smothered in his bed at Inverqueich with the knowledge of, not only his wife, but his brother who in due course became the sixth earl of Crawford. *Complete Peerage* (see n. 13), vol. 3 (vol. 1), p. 513.
43. The *Complete Peerage* states that Janet was George, Earl of Huntly's second daughter but fails to provide details of its source. *Ibid.*
44. *Scots Peerage*, (see n. 6), vol. 4, p. 529. *Records of Aboyne* (see n. 6), p. 414.
45. *Complete Peerage* (see n. 13), vol. 5 (vol. 2), p. 95. Ferrerius' *Historiae Compendium* published in Bulloch, ed., *House of Gordon* (see n. 19), vol. 2, p. 24.
46. Sir Robert Douglas recorded their names as Mary and Sophie respectively. Douglas, *Peerage of Scotland*, (see n. 8), vol. 1, p. 645.
47. *Miscellany of the Spalding Club* (see n. 16), vol. 5, p. 290. *Scots Peerage* (see n. 6), vol. 4, p. 531.
48. *Scots Peerage* (see n. 6), vol. 4, p. 531. *Register of the Great Seal* (see n. 33), vol. 2, p. 751.
49. *Register of the Great Seal* (see n. 33), vol. 2, p. 416.
50. Sinclair, *Filii Carnales*, (see n. 27) p. 591.
51. *Records of Aboyne* (see n. 6), p. 399.
52. *Tracts, Legal and Historical* (see n. 22), p. 84. *Inquiry* (see n. 23), vol. 1, pp. 526-8.
53. The date of her departure from Scotland is unknown but in a letter dated 21 November 1455 to Charles VII, James II conveyed his thanks for 'what he [Charles] had done for Lady Annabella in Savoy'. *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* (see n. 18), vol. 6, p. lii.
54. *Scots Peerage* (see n. 6), vol. 4, p. 531. It would appear that Alexander sent a namesake and 'venerable gentlemen', Sir Alexander Gordon to a canon of Aberdeen, Alexander Lyndesey and the treasurer of Aberdeen, Andrew Liell with the relevant documentation which was reduced to a transcript and fixed to the door of Aberdeen Cathedral. Any persons with an interest in the matters therein were invited to meet at a certain time and place and when no one appeared the canon 'discerned the transcripts to be made'. *Calendar of Laing Charters AD854-1837*, editor John Anderson, Edinburgh 1899, pp. 53-54.
55. *Ibid.*

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 523-24.
57. Brown, *Calendar of State Papers relating to Venice*, (see n. 3), vol. 1, p. 245.
58. Bernard André, *Vita Henrici Septimi, Memorials of Henry VII*, ed., James Gairdner, London 1858, p. 70. This was not the first occasion that André omitted a name in his chronicle. He also failed to name Lambert Simnel in his account of the 1487 rebellion. Gordon Smith, 'Lambert Simnel and the King from Dublin', *The Ricardian*, vol. 10 (December 1996), p. 1 and n. 6.
59. Polydore Vergil, *The Anglica Historia AD 1485-1537*, ed. and trans. David Hay, Camden Series no. 84 (1950), p. 82. Buck, *History of King Richard III*, (see n. 29), p. 148. Francis Bacon, *The History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh*, ed., Roger Lockyer, London 1971, p. 162.
60. Thomas Gainsford, 'The true and wonderful History of Perkin Warbeck', *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. 6 (1745), p. 530. John Pinkerton, *The History of Scotland under the House of Stuart* 2 vols, London 1747, vol. 2, p. 27.
61. Ferrerius was a Piedmontese monk born in 1502. He met Robert Reid, Abbot of Kinloss in Paris and returned with him to Scotland in 1528 where he wrote a history of Kinloss Abbey. He was invited to write a history of the Gordon family by the fourth earl's secretary, William Gordon (not to be confused with the writer of the *History of Gordon*, see n. 19) who had already prepared a sketch of the family's history and which was the basis of Ferrerius' work.
62. In the preface to the published version of Ferrerius' history Stephen Ree comments that other than William Gordon's sketch 'there is nothing that indicates that he [Ferrerius] had seen and examined any of the charters and other documents that belonged to the Huntly family'. It appears Ferrerius did read the *History of Scotland* by Hector Boece and in 1574 he prepared a new edition that included a continuation, which he wrote himself. Bulloch, *House of Gordon* (see n. 19), vol. 2, p. 4.
63. As this daughter, Isabel, had married Elizabeth Hay's brother William, Ferrerius had little option but to preclude her from Elizabeth's brood.
64. Bulloch, *House of Gordon* (see n. 19), vol. 2, pp. 8-9, 32. John Riddell may have once again confused readers. He reports in his *Tracts, Legal and Historical* (see n. 22), p. 84, that only one of the copies of Ferrerius allowed Annabella a daughter, i.e. Isabel but that the other 'transcripts adhere with the prevailing accounts', meaning that Annabella had several children. Assuming he had access to the same manuscripts available to the New Spalding Club editors the statement should have been the other way around, only one transcript allows Annabella a large family!
65. Jhone Leslie, *The History of Scotland*, ed., Rev. Father E. Cody, 3 vols, Edinburgh 1885, vol. 3, p. 113.
66. There is, of course the possibility that Leslie was muddled as to when Lady Katherine may have served a queen of Scotland and was perhaps referring to Margaret Tudor. Lady Katherine may have spent some time with the young queen in the period between the death of Elizabeth of York in February 1503 and Margaret's departure for Scotland in June of that year.
67. Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, *The Historie & Chronicles of Scotland*, ed., A.J.G. Mackay, 2 vols. Edinburgh 1911, vol. 1, p. 58. Bulloch, *House of Gordon* (see n. 19), vol. 2, p. 52.
68. Bulloch, *House of Gordon* (see n. 19), vol. 2, p. 36.
69. As Lady Katherine's brother Adam was married to the *suo jure* countess of Sutherland the history includes references to the Gordon family. The manuscript, written in 1630, was eventually published in Edinburgh 1813. W. Gordon, *History of Gordon* (see n. 19), vol. 1, p. xxxiii-v.
70. W. Gordon, *History of Gordon* (see n. 19), vol. 1, p. 97. The transcript of Ferrerius' history available to Gordon was obviously not the 1626 Southampton version and he considers Ferrerius is mistaken in stating that the Lady Annabella had a daughter who married the earl of Erroll. Gordon, however, is confused with the many marriages between the Gordon and Hay families.
71. Bulloch, *House of Gordon* (see n. 19), vol. 1, p. xxxiii.
72. Douglas, *Peerage of Scotland* (see n. 8), vol. 1, p. 645. Ross' work is not listed in Gordonstoun's bibliography of 'principall authours' but he does acknowledge his 'perusal' of other records and manuscripts.

73. *Tracts, Legal and Historical* (see n. 22), p. 84.
74. Thomas Dickson (vol. 1) and James Balfour Paul (vols. 2-11), eds., *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, 11 vols, Edinburgh 1877-1916, vol. 1, p. cxxvii.
75. *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* (see n. 18), vol. 11, p. liv.
76. *DNB*. (see n. 10), vol. 8, p. 178 Mackay, *Pitscottie*, (see n. 67). Mackay appears to be rather unreliable as he reports Perkin Warbeck's wife as Lady Margaret Gordon and incorrectly describes Sir William Crichton as the husband of Janet Dunbar (see Stewart pedigree).
77. *Records of Aboyne* (see n. 6), p. 413. The make-up of the family does vary from writer to writer. The sons remain constant but not the daughters. Isabel is sometimes ignored as in the Ferrerius 1626 transcript and other times one of the younger daughters is omitted, such as Margaret in Douglas' *Peerage of Scotland*. Another irritating habit is that Straloch, Gordonstoun and Gordon do not always name the daughters but refer to them as married to such and such a lord. A further peculiarity of the genealogy issue is that, other than the occasional assignment of Isabel to the Lady Annabella, the writers of the histories examined believe that either the second or third wife bore all the children and there is rarely the suggestion of a more even distribution.
78. The period 1460 to 1466 would have been sufficient to allow the birth of the family suggested by the present author to the Lady Annabella, and possibly one or two other children. Obviously it is not a sufficient time scale for ten children to be born to the lady. It should be noted that George Gordon is attributed at least two illegitimate children, Alexander who was legitimised in 1500 and a daughter Agnes who married the laird of Findlater. It is not known who their mother(s) was/were or when they were born. *Scots Peerage* (see n. 6), vol. 4, p. 531. A second illegitimate daughter, who married Jasper Cullen, is mentioned in Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun's *The Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland*, Edinburgh 1813, p. 82 and repeated in W. Gordon's *History of Gordon* (see n. 19), vol. 1, p. 98.
79. Holinshed, *Chronicles* (see n. 29), vol. 4, p. 519. Grafton, *Chronicle* (see n. 29), p. 215. An example of how Lady Katherine's history became embellished is the story of her reception by Henry VII after the failure of her husband's rebellion and she was taken captive. Vergil wrote 'When the King saw the woman's beauty he promptly judged her worthy to be among the captive hostages of a general rather than a common soldier'. When Holinshed wrote his chronicle several years later the general had been promoted to a prince (p. 519) and in the seventeenth century Gainsford compared Henry VII's 'trophy' with the Emperor Aurelius' Zenobia. *Anglica Historia* (see n. 59), p. 109, Gainsford, *Perkin Warbeck* (see n. 59), p. 545.
80. W.E. Hampton, *Memorials of the Wars of the Roses*, Uprminster 1979, p. 16.
81. See Tables compiled by Sir Robert Gordon and continued by his son (1659), Bulloch, *House of Gordon* (see n. 19), vol. 2, p. 122. *DNB* (see n. 10), vol. 8, p. 178. *Complete Peerage* (see n. 13), vol. 6 (vol. 2), p. 677.
82. A.V. Billen, *1000 Years of Fyfield*, Abingdon 1955, p. 33.
83. James III addresses George as 'beloved cousin' in a letter dated 28 March 1476. *Miscellany of the Spalding Club* (see n. 16), vol. 4, p. 133. In 1495 James IV granted a lease to 'William Gordone, son of the King's cousin "George erile of Huntle"'. J Bain, ed., *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland 4 vols*, London 1881-88, vol. 4, pp. 326-27.
84. Holinshed, *Chronicles* (see n. 29), vol. 4, p. 511. Also see Grafton, *Chronicle* (see n. 29), p. 573.
85. Quoting Traherne (see n. 88 below), Ms Hopkins writes that 'at the betrothal of Margaret Tudor to James IV, Lady Katherine took precedence over everybody but the royal family'. (See n. 1), p. 20 n. This is not strictly true. Nineteen ladies are listed with Lady Katherine appearing tenth but the pecking order appears to be based on a mixture of rank and royalty. The duchess of Norfolk's name precedes that of Elizabeth of York's sister, the countess of Devon, who in turn precedes the marchioness of Dorset. Lady Katherine together with another earl's daughter, Lady Anne Percy, is sandwiched between the perresses and the wives of the barons, knights and banneretts. Although most of the ladies (or their husbands) preceding

Lady Katherine could claim some kinship to the king they would not be designated royal. Listed below Lady Katherine was Lady Verney, the former Eleanor Pole, and Lady Bergavenny whose husband was a Neville. John Leland, *De Rebus Britannicis Collectaneorum*, ed., T. Hearne, 6 vols, London 1770 (Facs ed Farnborough 1970), vol. 4, pp. 259-60.

86. Henry Tudor may have been cautious at acknowledging a kinship with Lady Katherine as this might have been interpreted that Perkin Warbeck was his brother-in-law.
87. This perception by the English historians and chronicles is rather paradoxical as Lady Katherine's 'royalty' could only enhance Warbeck's reputation and the threat he posed to the English crown.
88. Although Sir Matthew intended Lady Katherine to be buried in Swansea she was interred, as instructed in her will, in St Nicholas Church, Fyfield, Berkshire. J.M. Traherne, 'Historical notices of Sir Matthew Cradock, knt. of Swansea', *Llandoverly* 1840, pp. 24-5.
89. Traherne, *Notices* (see n. 88), p. 10
90. Lady Katherine was granted a 'Licence to dwell in Wales, notwithstanding patents 13 February 3 Henry VIII and 23 June 9 Henry VIII Delivered Westminster 24 July 9 Henry VIII [1517]'. J.S. Brewer et al., eds., *Letters & Papers, Foreign & Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509-47* 21 vols, London 1862-1932, vol. 2, part 2, p. 1116. Lady Katherine's tomb in Fyfield Parish Church originally included some brasses 'which contained the armorial arms and inscriptions' that may have indicated her maternity. It was reported that these had already 'been removed many years' when Traherne exhibited a drawing of the monument to members of the Society of Antiquaries in 1847. *Archaeologica*, vol. 33, London (1847), p. 448.
91. Perhaps some account needs to be taken of the attitude of the Scottish nobility to the concept of kingship and royalty. It could be argued that these nobles regarded their king as a first among equals, very different from the situation that existed in England where Henry VII had already adopted the term 'majesty'. The measure of the respect the Scots had for their kings can be illustrated by their treatment of the first three James'.
92. *Complete Peerage* (see n. 13), vol. 1 (vol. 1), p. 81.
93. Lady Katherine's denization papers were granted by Henry VIII on 25 April 1510. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic* (see n. 90), vol. 1, part 1, p. 289. Ferrerius, '*Historiae Compendium*', *House of Gordon* (see n. 19), vol. 2, p. 24.
94. Hopkins, *The Ricardian*, (see n. 1), p. 19.