

Richard was Late

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It has usually been assumed by everyone interested in the episode — including myself — that when Edward IV fled across the sea to the Low Countries his brother, Richard, sailed at the same time. I took it for granted that Richard arrived on the island of Walcheren in Zeeland, in the south, at roughly the same time as Edward landed on the island of Texel in the north, and that the brothers had consciously separated. It seemed clear that Anthony Woodville went with Richard and Anthony is known to have been served wine in Middelburg in 1470.¹ These conclusions now appear to have been wrong: Anthony probably paid his — official — visit to Middelburg at some other time, Edward and Anthony fled together and are almost certain to have been together at The Hague early in October and Richard stayed behind to look after his brother's interests and was late.

The evidence for Edward's arrival in the north is sufficient and need not be set out again.² The separate information about Richard is less easy to interpret. The best factual source are the town accounts of Veere³ which read for the second week of November 1470:

Item, betaelt by bevele van mijnen here van Boucham, den bailiu van der Vere, die hij verleijt hadde als mijn here van Clocester in Hollant reijde,
3 lb. 2 s. 3 d. gr.

(Item, paid by command of my lord of Buchan, to the bailiff of Veere, what he had lent when my lord of Gloucester travelled into Holland,
£2 3s. 3d.)

The 'lord of Buchan' was Wolfert van Borsele, son of Henry II van Borsele, Lord of Veere; the latter had been unable to prevent Warwick from returning to invade

England when he was admiral of the Burgundian fleet in September. Wolfert himself was Earl of Buchan since his marriage to Mary Stuart, daughter of James II of Scotland; Louis de Gruuthuse, Edward IV's friend and host, was Wolfert's brother-in-law.

The entry in the Veere accounts seems to indicate that Richard's visit was unexpected, as neither the lord of the town himself nor his son were present to help him and no wine was served to him by the town. It took place when Richard had only just arrived and *before* Louis de Gruuthuse was able to provide his guest with sufficient funds to pay his expenses; it is probable that the money was borrowed shortly before the date of the entry.

'Negative' proof of Richard's absence during the earliest phase of Edward's exile can be found in a letter from Charles the Bold, dated 1 November 1470,⁴ in which he makes known that:

Comme treshault et trespuissant prince, treshonnore seigneur et frere, le Roy Edouard d'Angleterre, pour sauver et preserver sa personne des mains et puissance de ses ennemis se soit venu retraire en noz pays de Hollande, ou il est de present et ait amene avec luy les seigneurs de Rivieres, de Hastings, de Say, messire Humesdy Talebotte, messire Robert Chambellan, messire George Dayoll, messire Jehan Mildilton, messire Gilbert de Buam, Willem Blount, filz de seigneur de Montjay, et autres gentilzhommes jusques au nombre de quatre vins personnes comme entendu avons, ...

(Because the very high and very mighty prince, [our] very honoured lord and brother, King Edward of England, to save and preserve his person from the hands and power of his enemies has taken himself to our country of Holland, where he is at present, and has brought with him the lords Rivers, Hastings and Say, Sir Humphrey Talbot, Sir Robert Chamberlain, Sir George Darrell, Sir John Middleton, Sir Gilbert Debenham, William Blount, son of Lord Mountjoy and other gentlemen to the number of eighty, as we have heard, ...).⁵

By this letter Charles gave Edward an allowance of 500 *écus* per month for the keeping of his estate; Richard is not named and he certainly would have been if he had been there when the news of his brother-in-law's arrival was taken to Charles half way through October.

Early in the sixteenth century a number of chronicles were composed in Holland which were all related and often derivative. This reduces their individual value except for such local details as were too unimportant to be tampered with for political or didactic reasons. One of these chronicles was written by Jan van Naaldwijk, a member of a local knightly family, who finished his first redaction of his *Chronijck van Hollandt* in 1514.⁶ Apart from his story about the Leiden draper, Floris Heermalen, who received Edward in his own house and presented the king

with all the woollen cloth that had been used to decorate the streets at his coming,⁷ van Naaldwijk is interesting because he mentions Richard's arrival as an entirely separate event:

Item in dit selve jaer [1470] quam die hartoghe van Gloucester bij zynen broeder Coninck Eduwaert in de Haghe in Hollant.

(Item, in this same year came the Duke of Gloucester to his brother King Edward at The Hague in Holland).⁸

This entry is separated from Edward's progress through north Holland by almost a full page of local matters.

The Cistercian monk, Adrian de But (died 1488), lived at Les Dunes Abbey, which was on the route from Bruges to Calais and visited by the greatest in the land. Apart from writing a history of his abbey and of his own times, he filled many positions and in his last years was *portarius ad eleemosynas pauperum*, 'keeper of the gate to give alms to the poor'. He did not only welcome the poor; among the people from the outside world who stayed at the abbey were Charles the Bold on his way to meet Edward IV in 1475, Margaret of York and Maximilian, Antony of Burgundy and his son, and many Flemish nobles. Some of these guests may have given him information and news to add to his chronicle. He had a confusing habit of repeating the same events in slightly different words and being terse to the point of obscurity, but he was usually very well-informed. He wrote that after Henry of Lancaster's release and restoration:

Junior vero frater regis Edwardi jam profugi, Georgius⁹ [*sic*] dux Clocestriae, quantum valuit, resistebat.

(The younger brother of the now fugitive King Edward, George [*sic*], Duke of Gloucester, put up as much resistance as he could).¹⁰

Later, writing about Edward's return and Charles of Burgundy's help, he has:

..., Edwardus una cum fratre suo juniore duce Glocestre, qui cum pluribus pro eo venerat de Anglia, transfetat ...

(... Edward sailed across, together with his younger brother, the Duke of Gloucester, who had come to him from England with many men ...).¹¹

De But may be correct and perhaps Gloucester's main activity in England was gathering more active supporters for his brother, but unfortunately nothing to prove this has so far been found in English sources. It is possible, of course, that Richard took part in the secret negotiations and comings and goings which, as far as we know, included Nicholas Leventhorpe, Edward's yeoman of the chamber, Henry Percy, fourth Earl of Northumberland,¹² Anthony Woodville and many of Edward's 'lords and others his friends'.¹³

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. See my 'Richard in Holland, 1470-1', *The Ricardian*, vol. 6 (1982-84), pp. 220-28, esp. p. 221.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 221-22, and also, with new details, my "'Il n'a plus lion ne lieppart, qui voeulle tenir de sa part": Edward IV in exile, October 1470 to March 1471', *Publication du Centre européen d'Etudes bourguignonnes (XIVe-XVle s.)*, vol. 35 (1995), *Rencontres d'Oxford (22 au 25 septembre 1994): 'L'Angleterre et les pays bourguignons: relations et comparaisons (XVe-XVle s.)'*, pp. 91-106.
3. The town accounts of Veere — and Middelburg — were lost in the fire of Middelburg in 1940, but they had been seen by Johan Huizinga who quotes the relevant sections in his 'Koning Eduard IV van Engeland in ballingschap', *Verzamelde Werken*, vol. 4, Haarlem 1949, pp. 183-97.
4. Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, Trésor des chartes, Angleterre, B 862/16184.
5. For more detail about these people and Edward's other companions see my 'Il n'a plus lion', *passim*.
6. Only two copies of his text survive, one of each of his two redactions: London, British Library MSS Cotton Vitellius B xv (first redaction) and Cotton Tiberius C iv (second redaction); there is no printed edition.
7. London, British Library, MS Cotton Vit. B xv, f. 278
8. Cotton Vitellius F xv, f. 278v
9. Though he may have made a mistake about Richard's first name there is no doubt that de But knew very well who Clarence was and whose side he was on; everybody along the Low Countries coast was terrified of Warwick and Clarence and their ships during those months.
10. Adrian de But, *Chronicon*, in *Chroniques relatives à l'histoire de Belgique sous la domination des ducs de Bourgogne. Textes latins I Chroniques des religieux des Dunes: Jean Brandon - Gilles de Roye - Adrien de But*, ed. C. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Commission royale d'histoire, Brussels 1870, p. 503.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 505.
12. See Rosemary Horrox, 'Preparations for Edward IV's return from exile', *The Ricardian*, vol. 6 (1982-84), pp. 124-27.
13. The *Divisie*-chronicle of Cornelius Aurelius (of Gouda), printed 1517, f. 330, mentions the Earl of Northumberland's involvement and how he told Edward that many people were not supporting Henry. Also that when Edward was ready to return to England he sent the *grave van Scallien* (i.e. Lord 'Scales') ahead to 'investigate and industriously explore all the roads of the kingdom, and to warn his friends that he was ready to come'.