

# Sir James Tyrell: with some notes on the Austin Friars London and those buried there

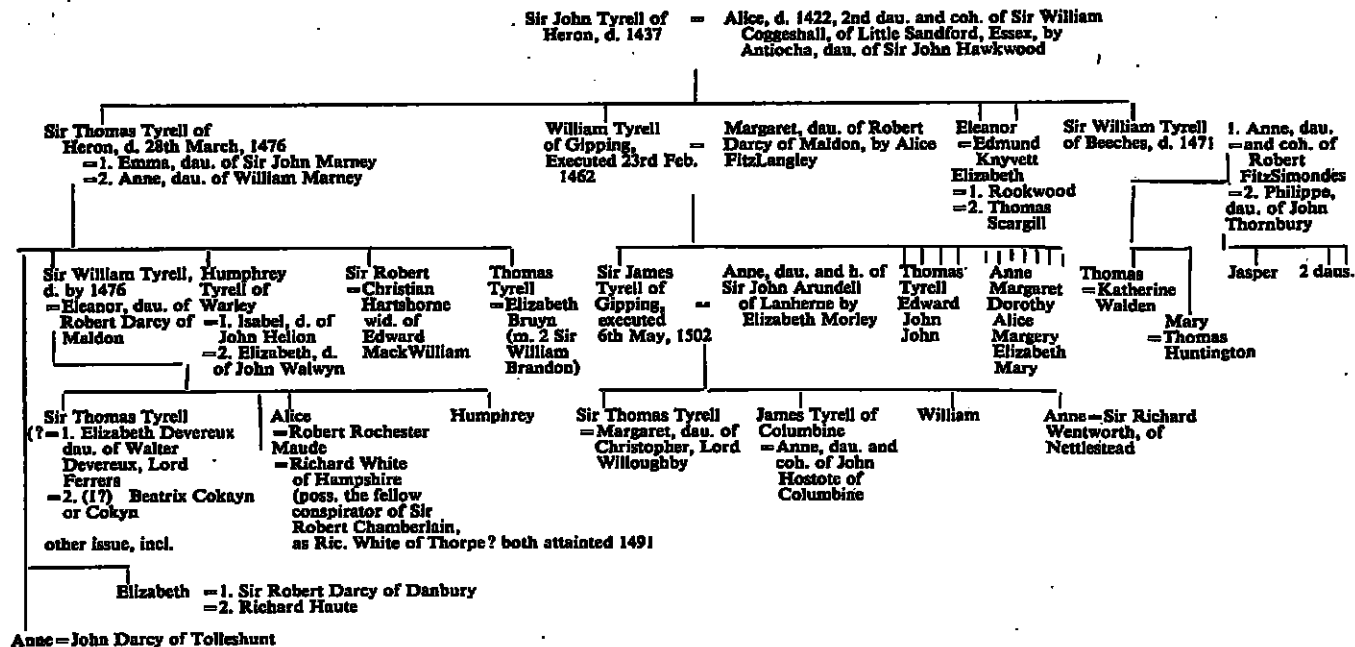
W. E. HAMPTON

SIR JAMES TYRELL is one of the most notorious figures of the later fifteenth century yet his character, and his antecedents and connections, remain relatively obscure. It is hoped that the following article will go some way to remedy this. The Tyrell genealogy for the second half of the fifteenth century is made more difficult by the number of Tyrell men bearing the same Christian names, and the accompanying table will, it is hoped, make clear the family relationships here described.

Sir John Tyrell of Heron, Essex (d. 1437), a distinguished man, had been Speaker, Treasurer of the Household, and Sheriff of Suffolk, and of Hertfordshire. He had married Alice, daughter of William Coggeshall and granddaughter of the celebrated English condottiere, Sir John Hawkwood of Sible Hedingham, Essex, known in Italy as Giovanni Acuto. Hawkwood was twice married. The name of his first wife, the mother of Coggeshall's wife Antiocha (or Mary), is not recorded, but she was possibly a Brandolini of Bagnacavallo.<sup>1</sup> She was dead by 1377, when Hawkwood married Donnina (or Aufricia), one of the bastard daughters of Bernabò Visconti, Duke of Milan, by Donnina di Leone Porro, a Milanese noblewoman. Of Bernabò's legitimate daughters,<sup>2</sup> one, Lucia, was married to Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, another, Violanta (or Yolande), married Lionel, Duke of Clarence.

By Alice Coggeshall, Sir John Tyrell had three sons. All were prominent men, and noted Lancastrians. The eldest, Sir Thomas (d. 1476), was twice married—on each occasion to ladies of the family of Marney. He was one of those Lancastrians who in 1460, having taken refuge in the Tower of London, were then bombarded by Speaker John (later Lord) Wenlock. His eldest son having predeceased him, he was succeeded by his grandson, Sir William, who had married Eleanor, eldest of the six daughters of Robert Darcy (d. 1448) of Maldon.

The third son of Sir John was Sir William Tyrell of Beeches in Rawreth, Essex. He married first Anne FitzSimondes, then Philippe, daughter of John Thornbury, known to the Italians as Giovanni Tornabarelli, a Marshal of the famous English 'White Company,' and one of Hawkwood's chief lieutenants in the 1370s. Sir William was knighted by Henry VI on the morning of the battle of Northampton, 10th July, 1460. He made his will on 16th March less than a month before the Battle of Barnet. A Sir William Tyrell was killed at Barnet



fighting against Edward IV. If not Sir William of Beeches<sup>3</sup> this may have been his nephew, eldest son of Sir Thomas, and dead by 1476. As we shall see, each had cause for hostility towards Edward IV.

The second son of Sir John Tyrell was another William, seated at Gipping. By Margaret his wife, third daughter of Robert Darcy of Maldon, he had five sons, the (probable) eldest<sup>4</sup> being Sir James Tyrell, Knight for the Body to Richard III and Henry VII, and alleged by Sir Thomas More to have arranged the murder of the sons of Edward IV. In 1445-6, William was Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk. Although his brothers appear to have been more active Lancastrians, he held no office after 1460. On 12th February, 1462, with John de Vere, 12th Earl of Oxford, the earl's eldest son, Aubrey, Sir Thomas Tuddenham, John Montgomery, and John Clopton, William Tyrell<sup>5</sup> was arrested for supposed conspiracy against Edward IV. The commoners (with the exception of Clopton) were executed on Tower Hill, on 25th February, 1462. Montgomery, Clopton, and Tyrell were brothers-in-law, Montgomery's (second) wife, Anne, Clopton's wife, Alice, and Tyrell's wife, Margaret, being daughters of the aforementioned Robert Darcy of Maldon.

Yet on 4th May, 1471, within three weeks of the death of his uncle (and/or cousin) in battle at Barnet, fighting (under the banner of the Earl of Oxford) against Edward IV, James Tyrell fought for Edward IV at Tewkesbury, and was there knighted after the battle.<sup>6</sup>

In 1469 James Tyrell had married a Cornish heiress, Anne, sole daughter and heiress of Sir John Arundell of Lanherne, by his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Lord Morley (d. 1435). Anne was first cousin to Eleanor Morley, wife of William Lovell, Lord Morley *jure uxoris* (uncle of Francis Viscount Lovell), whose daughter and eventual heiress, Alice, was the wife of Sir William Parker, one of Richard's supporters at Bosworth. This was an excellent match for the son of an executed traitor. The marriage settlement (of Kingsley, Oxfordshire), dated 23rd March, 1469, was in existence at Wardour in 1882.<sup>7</sup> Sir James was subsequently to become—especially under Richard III—a great man in Cornwall, and also in South Wales. As this marriage lay at the root of much of the opposition to Richard III in 1484, the other children of Sir John Arundell may here be noted. By his second wife, Katherine, daughter and coheiress of Sir John Chidiok, of Chidiok, Dorset, Sir John Arundell had two sons, the survivor, Thomas, being his heir male, and seven daughters. These daughters, and their husbands, were as follows: Elizabeth, m. Giles, later Lord Daubeney; Thomasine, m. Sir Henry Marney; Eleanor, m. Ralph Coplestone; Katherine, m. (1) Sir Walter Courtenay, m. (2) (Sir?) John Moyle; Margaret, m. Sir William Capel; Dorothy, m. Sir William Strangeways, and Jane.<sup>8</sup>

John Moyle (d. 1500) will be the son and heir of Sir Walter Moyle (d. c. 1471) of Stevenstone, Devon, and Eastwell, Kent. On 20th May, 1469, Sir Walter witnessed the gift by John Marney to Sir John Arundell, Sir Thomas Tyrell, Sir William Tyrell 'of Beche,' James Tyrell, esquire, and others, of the manor of Culquite (Colquite, near St Mabyn), Cornwall.<sup>9</sup> The story of the shelter given to Richard Plantagenet, bastard son of Richard III, by the Moyles of Eastwell is well known, but that the Moyles were related not only to Giles Daubeney and Thomas Arundell (enemies of Richard III who acquiesced at least in the rumour of the violent deaths of Edward IV's sons which was spread soon

after Richard's coronation), but also to Sir James Tyrell, supposed murderer of those princes, Richard III's nephews, must add greatly to the story's significance.

It may here be noted that one of the daughters of Sir Thomas Arundell, Alice, married Sir John Speke, who in 1498 was fined £200<sup>10</sup> as one of the many west-country adherents of Perkin Warbeck. Thus the son-in-law of a man who had been attainted for his part in Buckingham's rebellion—a rebellion allegedly sparked off by popular disgust over the murder of Edward IV's sons—supported Warbeck, who claimed to be one of those sons. Speke's adherence to Warbeck suggests that even that branch of the Arundell family which was hostile to Richard III had by 1497 no knowledge of the certain deaths of the sons of Edward IV, nor suspicion of Sir James' responsibility in the matter. Daubeney—criticized in 1497 for allowing the Cornish rebels to so nearly approach London—and Marney, a great favourite of Henry VII, were as likely as any to have known whether or not the princes died during the reign of Richard III.

In 1497, of course, Tyrell had not yet been named the princes' killer. Had Daubeney or Marney suspected him they would surely have informed the king.

An elector in 1467, and a commissioner in 1475–6, in Suffolk, Sir James was M.P. for Cornwall in 1478 (and probably in 1483 and 1484 also), and was J.P. for Cornwall, 1483–5.<sup>11</sup>

In 1473, in the service of Richard, Duke of Gloucester (and to the displeasure of the Duke of Clarence), Sir James escorted the widowed Countess of Warwick from Beaulieu Sanctuary northwards, presumably to one of Gloucester's northern castles, probably either Middleham, Barnard Castle or Sheriff Hutton, although the Duke also frequently resided at Skipton, Penrith and Pickering.

In 1474 he was one of the challengers at the tournament held at the creation of Edward's son, Richard, as Duke of York. On 31st May, 1475, he made his will, and it is probable that he accompanied the king to France later that year, perhaps in the retinue of the Duke of Gloucester. He certainly accompanied the Duke to Scotland in 1482, and was there made banneret,<sup>12</sup> on 24th July. In November of that year, with Sir William Parr and Sir James Harrington, he was appointed to exercise, as vice-Constable, the Duke of Gloucester's office of Constable of England.<sup>13</sup>

According to Polydore Vergil, Archbishop Rotherham, after the violent scene which accompanied the arrest of William Lord Hastings on Friday, 13th June, 1483, he was placed in Sir James' keeping. His name heads the list of the knights who attended the coronation of Richard III, and he was in attendance as Master of the Henchmen, when Richard III, Queen Anne, and their son, Prince Edward, visited York during the king's summer progress of 1483.<sup>14</sup>

It appears that Sir James played a leading part in securing (and perhaps in arresting) the rebel Duke of Buckingham. In the Stafford MS occurs the statement of a Herefordshire lady (one of those who had helped save Buckingham's son from capture) who says 'And so all the gent' of Harrefordeshyre weare sent for by pryvie Seale to King Richard to Salisburie; and by that tyme Duke Henrie of Buckingham was brought by Sir James Tyler the thirde dai wheare he was pittifull murdered by the saide Kinge' . . . 'In the mean tyme (Dame Elizabeth Delabeare) shaved the saide Lord Stafforde's Heade, and put upon hym a meaden's raiment and so convayed him owte of Kynnardsley to Newchurch. And then came Xtopher Wellsborne from Sir James Tyler to

Kynnardsley and said his father commanded to have the said Lord Stafford delivered.' Christopher Wellesborne was a 'gentleman servant' to Sir James.<sup>16</sup>

Tyrell, then, on 31st October in accordance with the king's writ, received Buckingham from Thomas Mytton, Sheriff of Shropshire. On the third day (2nd November, All Souls' Day) he brought the traitor into Salisbury where, in spite of it being Sunday (odd for Richard III, who, before Bosworth was to delay his departure from Nottingham because unwilling to march on the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin), Buckingham was, with legal process, beheaded. Tyrell was no doubt present, but the vice-Constable appointed for the emergency was the redoubtable Sir Ralph Assheton.

On 5th November, 1483, Sir James was, with William Herbert, Earl of Huntingdon, made Commissioner of array for the resistance of the rebels in Wales,<sup>16</sup> and the following day he was made Sheriff of Cornwall.<sup>17</sup> In February, 1484, he was appointed Steward of the Duchy of Cornwall for life, and in June, 1484, he was granted the Stewardship of Buelt in South Wales—also for life.<sup>18</sup>

In 1484 his wife was awarded by Parliament the Cornish lands of her half-brother who, like his brother-in-law, Sir Giles Daubeney, had supported the Duke of Buckingham and in consequence had been attainted.<sup>19</sup> In September, 1484, he was made one of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer, and he was, in addition, Richard III's Master of the Horse, and of the Henchmen.<sup>20</sup> In December, 1484, he appears with other leading servants of the king as a feoffee of the lordship of Middleham.<sup>21</sup>

Towards the end of 1484 this 'right trusty knight for our body and counsaillour' was sent by Richard III into Flanders 'for diverse maters concernyng gretely our wele.' In January, 1485, he was made Supervisor of the castle and town of Guisnes in Picardy, during the absence of the Lieutenant of Guisnes, the ailing Lord Mountjoy. On 24th January, the officers and gentlemen of Glamorgan and Morgannock were to be instructed to accept Tyrell as their 'governor and leader' as heretofore, notwithstanding that the king was sending Sir James to Guisnes. They were to be ready to do the king military service when required.<sup>22</sup>

In June, 1485, he was made Constable of Tintagel Castle (something of a sinecure, for the castle, although still used as a prison, was in a ruinous state).<sup>23</sup> At the time of Bosworth, however, Sir James is believed to have been at Guisnes, considered by the *Dictionary of National Biography* 'no place for a trimmer.' The position at Calais was, however, to say the least, unusual. The ailing Lord Mountjoy died before the year was out. His widow, Lora (a Berkeley of Beverston, therefore related to another of Buckingham's supporters, Sir William Berkeley of Beverston), married Sir Thomas Montgomery, who may have been Richard III's first choice as Mountjoy's deputy. Mountjoy's brother, James Blount, had deserted his command at Hammes, and gone over to Henry Tudor with his erstwhile prisoner, the Earl of Oxford. The Tower of Ruysbank was held by Sir Thomas Everingham, one of Richard's more trustworthy captains,<sup>24</sup> while Sir Richard Tunstall, K.G., once a most celebrated Lancastrian, was Deputy of the Castle of Calais. Sir Thomas Wortley was appointed Lieutenant of Hammes in May, 1485.

In all over command, as Lieutenant of Calais, was John Lord Dynham, a great power in the West Country. His first wife, Elizabeth Fitzwalter, widow

of Sir John Radcliffe, Lord Fitzwalter *jure uxoris*, died during Richard's reign. His second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Willoughby (later Lord Willoughby de Broke) another of Buckingham's attainted rebels. Of Dynham's four sisters (and eventual coheiresses), one, Katherine, was the wife of Sir James' attainted Cornish brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Arundell, whose lands Tyrell's wife now held. Another, Jane or Joan, was the wife of John, Lord Zouch, a considerable landowner in Somerset, and in Northamptonshire. Zouch remained true to Richard III, was attainted after Bosworth, and appears to have been more deliberately impoverished than any of his proscribed fellows, with the possible exception of Sir James Harrington.

Another alliance may be noted, that of Sir Thomas Dynham (d. 1520), Lord Dynham's illegitimate son, who was married to Jane, daughter and coheiress of Sir John Ormonde. The widow of Lord Mountjoy, after the death of Sir Thomas Montgomery, married Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormonde, possibly a relative of Sir John Ormonde.

Henry VII received Sir James into his favour, and he remained in command at Guisnes. On 19th February, 1486, he was made Sheriff of Glamorgan and Constable of Cardiff Castle—yet he lost much in Wales. He was pardoned on the 16th June, and again—exactly one month later—on 16th July, 1486.<sup>25</sup> From Guisnes he was sent on an embassy to Maximilian, King of the Romans, in December, 1486.<sup>26</sup> On 30th August, 1487 (for remaining loyal throughout the Lincoln-Lovell attempt?), he was granted the Stewardship of Ogmores.<sup>27</sup> He fought (under his brother-in-law, Lord Daubeney) at the battle of Dixmude (where was slain Henry Lovell, Lord Morley, a relative of Sir James' wife, brother-in-law of John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, and also related to Francis, Viscount Lovell) in 1489, and as Captain of Guisnes took part in the negotiations leading to the Peace of Etaples in June, 1492.<sup>28</sup> He was present at the creation of Henry Duke of York in 1494.<sup>29</sup> In 1495 he was one of the feoffees for Henry VII's will. In the same year he testified that Richard III, while Duke of Gloucester, 'of his inordynate covetyse and ungodely disposicion,' forced Elizabeth, Countess of Oxford, deceased (mother of the 13th Earl of Oxford, and widow of the 12th Earl—who had, like Sir James' father and Sir Thomas Montgomery's brother, been executed in 1462), 'by greate threttis and heynous manere of losse of lyfe, and by ymprisonement' to make over to the Duke such estates as the Duke and his council advised.<sup>30</sup> At about the same time Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, was (for £5000) partially restored as heir of his brother, the attainted John, Earl of Lincoln. In November, 1496, Tyrell was placed on the Suffolk bench.

On 9th October, 1499, Louis XII of France ordered the Seneschal of Boulogne, to help Sir James to recover a debt. Wedgewood thinks this may have been connected with the aid Sir James is believed to have given the young Earl of Suffolk, who had fled to Guisnes in that year. However, the French king's predecessor, Charles VIII, ordered the same seneschal to help Sir James to recover this debt from Walran Dynas, bailiff of Hesdin, almost exactly two years earlier.<sup>31</sup> In September, 1499, Henry VII had attempted to persuade Suffolk to return, bringing Tyrell with him—but Suffolk returned alone.<sup>32</sup> In November, 1499, Perkin Warbeck (whose 'confession' of 1498 had not implicated Sir James), and Edward, Earl of Warwick (like Suffolk a nephew of Edward IV and Richard III), were executed.

Although in 1501 Sir James had been in attendance on the Lord Steward at the reception of Katherine of Aragon,<sup>83</sup> in 1502 (on 2nd April Henry's eldest son, Arthur, Prince of Wales had died), Henry VII ordered Tyrell's arrest. At Calais, Sir Thomas Lovell, K.G., Chancellor of the Exchequer, wishing to avoid a siege of Guisnes (so close to France), by promising safe-conduct under the Privy Seal, eventually induced Sir James to board Lovell's ship for a parley. The safe-conduct was broken. Threatened with death, Sir James was forced to order his son Thomas to surrender the castle of Guisnes. The Tyrells, Sir John Wyndham, Sir James' confidential servant, Wellesbourne, and an unnamed, 'shipman,' were taken to London and the Tower. Sir James, Wyndham, Wellesbourne, and the shipman, were tried on Monday, 2nd May, 1502, at the Guildhall. Among the commissioners of Oyer and Terminer were the Earl of Oxford, and Edward, Duke of Buckingham, who, as we have seen, narrowly escaped capture by Sir James' servant Christopher Wellesbourne in 1483. The following day the trial was concluded. Found guilty of certain (unspecified) treasons, all were condemned to be drawn, hanged and quartered, on the following Friday. Wellesbourne's execution was deferred so that he might be brought as a witness against young Thomas Tyrell. The shipman was drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged, 'headed,' and quartered. The two knights were permitted to walk to the scaffold on Tower Hill, their sentence being moderated in this one respect.

Sir John Wyndham's son (perhaps Thomas who was attainted but *not* executed or an elder brother) and James Holand, a barber of London, were brought to the Guildhall on the<sup>84</sup> following day, Saturday, 7th May, for trial before the Mayor and other commissioners. On Monday, 9th May, they also were condemned to be drawn, hanged and quartered. In another court (which was held in the Whitehall), before the Earl of Derby and other lords, Sir James' son, Matthew Jonys, and Pursevant Cursum, were tried on the 7th, Wellesbourne being the witness, and on the 9th Jonys and Cursum were condemned to be sent to Guisnes for execution. Tyrell's son and Wellesbourne were to remain in prison at the king's grace.<sup>85</sup>

At some time after Tyrell's execution, Henry VII put out that while in the Tower (presumably during the two days intervening between the trial and his execution) Tyrell had confessed to the murder of the sons of Edward IV. Associated with him in this confession it was alleged, was that same John Dighton who, as Tyrell's 'burley horsekeeper,' with Miles Forest, at Tyrell's command (as More relates) smothered the princes. It has been observed that there is no evidence which shows that Dighton was in the Tower during Sir James' imprisonment (see Appendix D).

On this 'confession' is based the Tudor account (and most subsequent accounts) of the princes' fates, notwithstanding that, as the *Dictionary of National Biography* observes, 'the text has not been preserved.'

Sir James, with Wyndham, was buried in the church of the Austin Friars, in London, in that very part of the church where were buried his executed father, his uncle (or cousin), and as we have seen, other casualties of the Wars of the Roses. Also buried in this church—perhaps not too far from Sir James—was the unhappy Perkin Warbeck. How much more tragic would the fates of Warbeck and Tyrell appear should it ever be established that Perkin was indeed Richard Duke of York.

## The Austin Friars

Let us now consider briefly the Austin Friars church and those there interred.

Founded in 1253 by Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, rebuilt in 1354 by Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, K.G., and dissolved in 1538, the nave of the church survived—many brass indents being visible—until it was destroyed by enemy action in 1940–41. The entrance to Austin Friars from Old Bread Street marks the site of the Friary's main gate. The church had choir, transepts, and nave and an unusual steeple 'small, high, and straight,' which was one of the architectural wonders of London.<sup>36</sup> Humphrey de Bohun was buried in the quire in 1361. Also buried there were Lucia Visconti, Duchess of Kent, daughter of Bernabò Visconti, and Edward, eldest son of the Black Prince.

Known to have been buried in this church were, in the quire: Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, executed, 1521; John de Vere, 12th Earl of Oxford, and Aubrey, eldest son, both executed, 1462; Sir Thomas Tuddenham, executed, 1462; Sir Thomas de la Laund, executed, 1470.

In the Nave: Sir William Tyrell, son of Sir Thomas, slain at Barnet, 1471 (many of the gentlemen slain at Barnet were buried in this church<sup>37</sup>); William, Marquess Berkeley (upper end of nave), d. 1492, and his third wife, Anne Fiennes.

In the 'west wing' (a transept?): William Tyrell of Gipping, father of Sir James, executed, 1462; Sir William Tyrell of Beche (his brother), d. c. 1471; William Collingbourne, executed, 1484; Sir Roger Clifford, executed, 1484; Sir Thomas Cook (convicted of misprision of treason in 1468 and persecuted by the Woodvilles), d. 1478; Sir James Tyrell of Gipping, executed, 1502; Sir John Wyndham, executed, 1502; Thomas Charles—accused by Edward IV of receiving letters from Margaret of Anjou, sent to the Tower until he parted with property to William, Lord Herbert (afterwards Earl of Pembroke), after whose death this property came to Lord Howard (afterwards Duke of Norfolk), d. by 1485.

Somewhere in this church—and considering the circumstances this 'West wing' would seem the most likely place: Perkin Warbeck, and John Atwater, Mayor of Cork, both executed in 1499. Probably buried in this church was the famous Thomas Penkith, D.D., a resident, Provincial of the Austin Friars, and a most eminent scholar, who preached at St Mary's Hospital a famous sermon supporting Richard, in 1484; d. 1487.<sup>38</sup>

In the church of St Botolph's, Aldgate, near the church of the Minoresses was buried Dame Elizabeth Tyrell, widow (d. before 1530).<sup>39</sup> She was possibly a sister of Sir James Tyrell (and of Mary Tyrell, of the Minoresses), or—possibly, a daughter of Sir Thomas Tyrell of Heron (by his first wife), and wife first of Robert Darcy of Danbury, then of Richard Haute, who was possibly the relative of the Woodvilles of that name who was attainted in 1484 as a follower of the Duke of Buckingham.

## APPENDIX 1

The Rev. W. H. Sewell observes that Dighton, according to the account of the hypothetical confession made by Sir James, joined at the time with Sir James in confessing the murder of the princes, and further points out that there is no proof that Tyrell and Dighton were at any time together in the Tower.<sup>40</sup>



James Gairdner, too, points out that there is no proof that Tyrell and Dighton were ever examined.<sup>41</sup> Sewell also notes that the confession would appear to have been a private one. It is true that had the confession been public, Henry VII would have had no need to put out a story. A private confession by Tyrell would presumably have been made to a priest. The disclosure by the priest would be either voluntary, or under pressure. If an unbeneficed man were to voluntarily disclose a confession made to him he would *ipso facto* disqualify himself from receiving spiritual promotion. If beneficed, he would ignominiously suffer deprivation of all spiritual emoluments. He would fall—as worded in the Canon—‘under pain of irregularity.’<sup>42</sup> If pressure were put upon him it was his duty to prefer duress vile or death to breaking his implied word. How likely is it that a priest would risk this? In connection with this, Sewell does not seem to have known that a John Dighton was presented by Henry VII with the living of Fulbeck, near Grantham, in 1487—the year of Lambert Simnel’s imposture.<sup>43</sup> Hardly a ‘horse-keeper,’ perhaps, but for this latter description we have but the testimony of More. If Dighton could be shown to have been ‘a priest of Sir Robert Brakenbury’ who took up and reinterred the bodies of the two princes, the case against Tyrell would in fact be strengthened.<sup>44</sup>

It would, then, be too artless to reject as utterly impossible the story of Tyrell’s arrangement of the murder of the princes. Murray Kendall has examined those named by More as Tyrell’s accomplices, noting two John Grene who received grants from Richard III. One, a yeoman of the Chamber to Richard III,<sup>45</sup> was made Receiver of the Isle of Wight, the other, from Warwickshire, was granted a pardon in September, 1483. Dr Pamela Tudor-Craig carries the identification further, noting that one (presumably the Receiver) was appointed to the Port of Southampton in 1483 and made Escheator of co. Southampton in 1484. On 30th May, 1485, he was made responsible for the repair of the ship called *La Mary* of Yarmouth. The other John Grene was, in July, 1483, and August, 1484, concerned with the provision of fodder for the king’s horses and carriages for the same. As Dr Tudor-Craig observed, his activities may have been transferred to Dighton by More. We may add that the Hampshire official was commissioner of array for that county in May and December of 1484, so was hardly ‘out of the way’ in the Isle of Wight as Kendall suggests.

However, more than this can be said. Into the family of Grene of Norton Davy (Green’s Norton), Northants. (a family which suffered at the hands of the first Lancastrian king—and at the hands of the first Tudor king) had married Richard Middleton, a north countryman, a firm Yorkist, probably Richard III’s Esquire of the Body of that name and survivor of Bosworth, who supported Lincoln in 1487, and probably died at Stoke Field. His wife, widow of Sir Thomas Grene, was Maud Throckmorton, whose family, having ties with Warwickshire, would in 1483–5 probably have been anti-Woodville/Lancaster. The two younger sons of Robert Throckmorton (d. 1518), Michael and Anthony, were—like Richard de la Pole—slain at Pavia. His daughter, Mary, married Thomas, grandson of Thomas Burdett, the supporter of Clarence executed in 1477. See *Ricardian*, Vol. IV, No. 55, p.27, and No. 60, pp.11–12. A John Grene related to this family would have little affection for the children of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville.

John Grene of Gosfield, Essex, died in 1473. His wife, Edith, was daughter of James Rolfe and widow of John Helion. This John Grene was Speaker in 1460-1, Yorkist, and rival of the Lancastrian Thomas Thorpe (Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1455, etc.), who was beheaded in 1461. Grene's two step-daughters were married to Sir Thomas Montgomery and Humphrey Tyrell, the latter being Sir James Tyrell's first cousin. The Grene of Essex were, it seems, also descended from Sir John Hawkwood, for Sir John Tyrell and 'Sir John Grene of Essex' had married sisters. This John Grene of Gosfield had a brother, John Grene the younger, of Braughing, Herts., alive and vigorously suing William Sendall and others in 1480-3.<sup>46</sup> Such a man, closely related to the Tyrells and Montgomeries, families which had been injured by Edward IV, might well have been relied upon to bear to Brakenbury (as More relates) orders for the destruction of the sons of Edward IV. However, writs of *Diem Clausit Extremum* were sent to the escheators of Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire on 30th July, 1483,<sup>47</sup> following the death of John Grene. As these writs were issued at the very time More's John Grene was sent to Brakenbury, and as More's man lived to return to the king at Warwick (9-13th August) with Brakenbury's refusal, John Grene the younger—if the writs relate to his death—may be ruled out.

Yet another John Grene should be considered. By his second wife, Elizabeth Warner, Walter, son of Walter Grene of Bridgnorth, Shropshire, had a second son, John, said to have been of Essex, but elsewhere noted as Sheriff of Kent in 1475-6, and said to have been buried at Chislehurst. This John's sisters were Alice, married first to John Arderne of Legh, Surrey, and afterwards to John Holgrave, Baron of the Exchequer, 1465-6, d. 1486/7, and Elizabeth, wife of Sir John Catesby (d. 23rd Jan., 1486), Justice of the Common Pleas, uncle of William Catesby, Richard III's adviser, in whose last will he is—perhaps reproachfully—mentioned.<sup>48</sup> John Grene's cousin Thomas Windsor (d. 29th September, 1485), was Richard III's Constable of Windsor Castle. This John Grene, who could certainly have been considered 'safe' by Richard III, died on 16th October, 1485. The will of John Grene of 'Cheselerie,' Kent, was proved in 1485.<sup>49</sup> His (second) wife, Katherine, survived him, and this lady and her marriages deserve closer examination. The daughter of Thomas Boston, she was first married to Walter Wryttle (d. 18th April, 1475), whose first wife, by 1458, was Jane (d. 1462), daughter and heiress of John Hynde.<sup>50</sup> John Hynde was stepson of Ralph Butler, Lord Sudeley—the father-in-law of Lady Eleanor Butler, the lady whose pre-contracted marriage to Edward IV as revealed by Bishop Stillington meant bastardy for Edward IV's children by Elizabeth Woodville, and (as Richard III's detractors would maintain) sealed the princes' fate. Hynde's father had married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Norbury, afterwards married to Lord Sudeley.

After John Grene's death, Katherine married Sir Richard Haute (d. 1492) of Kent and Berkshire. Her death occurred on 22nd July, 1493.<sup>51</sup> Perhaps son of Nicholas, brother of William Haute rather than of William, on 14th March, 1485, this Sir Richard was pardoned by Richard III, the Hautes having been deeply involved in the rebellion of the Duke of Buckingham. Knighted by Richard in Scotland, 22nd July, 1482 he has been confused with his nephew (or, less probably, son), Richard Haute, esquire, of Ightham Mote, Kent, notably by J. C. Wedgwood, the need to include him among those of the young Edward V's household executed at Pomfret Castle (for which we have the un-

supported statement of Fabyan alone) lying at the root of the problem.

Both Richard Hautes were cousins of Elizabeth Woodville. Richard Haute of Ightham was son of William Haute by Jane, sister of Earl Rivers, and aunt of Queen Elizabeth Woodville. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Tyrell of Heron (thus Sir James Tyrell's first cousin), and widow of Sir Robert Darcy (d. 1462; also first cousin to Sir James). He was Comptroller (or Treasurer) of the Household of the Prince of Wales at Ludlow, was implicated with his relatives, Rivers and Grey, in their plot to withhold the person of the young Edward V from his uncle, Richard of Gloucester in April, 1483, but if he was sent to Yorkshire with the others, he was not executed—as Wedgwood states—by Sir Richard Ratcliffe. Not surprisingly, being a close relative of the Queen and her children—and of the irreconcilable Sir John Fogge, the Guildfords and others, he joined with Buckingham in rebellion in 1483. He was attainted but not executed, and his house, the Mote, was granted away by the King, it is true, but to his brother, James (Jacobus, Jacket) Haute—for the latter's good service *against* the rebels.<sup>53</sup> He died on Palm Sunday, 1487, his wife 'Lady Elizabeth Darcy, widow, late wife of said Richard Haute,' surviving.<sup>53</sup>

This lady supplies yet another—possibly the most startling—link between Sir James, the Woodvilles and the children of Edward IV. On 30th January, 1481, 'Elizabeth Darcy, lady mistress of the king's nursery, for her good service to the king and his consort and his son the prince,' was granted a tun of wine yearly for life.<sup>54</sup> Presumably she was still occupying this position in 1483. The close kinship, hitherto unnoticed, between the lady responsible for the upbringing of Edward IV's children and the alleged murderer of the king's sons is remarkable and merits further investigation.

James Haute (d. 1508 or 1509),<sup>55</sup> closely related to some of the princes' most intimate servants, elected in 1483 to support Richard III. Here we have evidence that at least one relative of the 1483 rebel—and one who had been Esquire of the Body to Edward IV—did not believe the story of the princes' deaths which was being spread by those rebels. Of the responsibility, if any, of Sir James—whom he survived by several years—he must have been unaware, or unconvinced.

Miles Forest, More's 'fellow fleshed in murder before time,' was dead by September, 1484. One more person remains, named by More—though not, it seems, as one of the alleged assassins. This is William Slaughter (or 'Black Will' as More adds—a lurid touch) in whose exclusive charge, More tells us, the princes then were. No attempt appears to have been made to identify this man. William Slatter (d. by 1494, his widow, Alson, by 1497)<sup>56</sup> can be ruled out, for he was rewarded by Henry VII after Bosworth. This man would surely have provided Henry VII with the 'authorized' Tudor version of the fate of the princes long before 1502. In Master William Slaughter, clerk, who died in 1494 as Prebendary of Wedmore, in Bishop Stillington's diocese of Bath and Wells, we have a better candidate.<sup>57</sup> Not all of the prince's attendants were the ruffians of More's version; Dr Argentine, to take one example, being a distinguished scholar. The possibility of a connection with Stillington is an interesting one.

## APPENDIX 2

The connection of Sir George Nevill with the Minorities ladies noted in the

September *Ricardian*, is further shown by the relationships of Sir James Tyrell.

Sir James was also connected, distantly, with the Essex and Suffolk families of Harleston and FitzLewis. After Barnet and Tewkesbury Robert Harleston's forfeited manor of Enhale, Cambs., was granted to Richard Duke of Gloucester.<sup>58</sup> Lewis (or Ludwick) John, son of Sir Lewis John by Alice de Vere (dau. of the 10th Earl of Oxford), and husband of Margaret Stonor, died (as did Harleston, probably) at Barnet. In 1482, Richard Duke of Gloucester and William Capel were concerned in the repurchase of Ingrave (granted to Gloucester by Edward IV) by Richard FitzLewis, son of the above-mentioned Lewis John.<sup>59</sup> Richard FitzLewis' uncle, Sir Henry, knighted (like Sir William Tyrell) at the battle of Northampton, was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset (slain at the first battle of St Albans, 1455). Their daughter and heiress, Mary, born c. 1465, was the second wife of Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, after whose death, and before the end of the reign of Richard III, she was married to George Nevill (who was probably the bastard son of Sir Thomas Nevill of Brancepeth, youngest brother of the 2nd Earl of Westmorland—who has also been named Sir George's father) who, like others from the Bishopric of Durham, was a steadfast supporter of Perkin Warbeck.<sup>60</sup>

The 3rd Earl of Westmorland, it may be noted, was the son of Anne Holland, Countess of Douglas (d. 1486), the sister of Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter (d. 1475), Richard III's sometime brother-in-law, and Henry VI's heir-at-law. The Lancastrian claim remained vested in the countess, and in her son.<sup>61</sup>

We may also observe that Sir James Tyrell's first cousin, Thomas, fourth son of Sir Thomas Tyrell of Heron, was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Bruyn by Elizabeth Darcy (Sir James Tyrell's aunt). After the death of Thomas (who was alive 1470-1), Elizabeth married William Brandon, who was slain by Richard III at Bosworth. Brandon's mother, Elizabeth, and Jane, mother of Thomas Lord Stanley, were sisters of Sir Robert Goushill. Although the Inquisition Post Mortem evidence is straightforward, writers persistently maintain that Thomas Tyrell was Elizabeth Bruyn's second husband.<sup>62</sup>

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. G. Temple Leader and G. Marcotti, *Giovanni Acuto: storia di un condottiere*, Florence (1889), p.100.
2. By Beatrice, daughter of Mastino della Scala, Lord of Verona.
3. John Warkworth, *Chronicles*, Camden Society (1839), p.16. Warkworth merely states that Sir William Tyrell died. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament: Biographies*, London (1936), p.894, states that Sir William Tyrell of Beeches made his will on 16th March 1471, with 'date of proof not given.' Curiously however the Index of Wills Proved in the *Prerogative Court of Canterbury*, Vol. 2, London (1895), p.540, gives 1470.
4. P. J. Turner, The Chapel of St Nicholas, Gipping, *Transactions of the Suffolk Institute of Natural History and Archaeology*, Vol. 20 (1930), p.277, states that Sir James was the fourth son.
5. J. C. Wedgwood, *op. cit.*, p.893.
6. J. C. Wedgwood, *op. cit.*, p.889; W. C. Metcalfe's *A Book of Knights etc.*, London (1885), p.3.
7. J. P. Yeatman, *The Early History of the House of Arundel*, London (1882), p.261.
8. Yeatman, *op. cit.*, p.214. Sir William Capel died on 6th September, 1515, and was buried with his wife in St Bartholomew's the Little. His father was of Stoke Nayland, Suffolk, a Howard property.

9. *Calendar of the Close Rolls 1468-76*, H.M.S.O. (1953), No. 397, p.99.
10. *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, edited by James Gairdner, London (1861), Vol. 2, Appendix B, pp.335-7, where circa 3400 persons in the West are said to have been fined a total of £8810.16.8d; *Victoria County History of Somerset*, Vol. 2, London (1969), p.194, where in Somerset alone (Speke's being the heaviest individual fine) coffers were 'tossed' to the total of £7677.13.4d. Taunton paid £441.6.8d; Matilda Pine-Coffin, *The Speke Family*, Exeter (1914), p.7.
11. Wedgwood, *op. cit.*, pp.889-90.
12. Metcalfe, *op. cit.*, p.6.
13. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls 1476-85*, H.M.S.O. (1901), p.317.
14. Polydore Vergil, *English History*, Camden Society (1844), p.182; S. Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, London (1831), p.384, (and printed in Caroline Halsted, *Richard III as Duke of Gloucester and King of England*, London (1844), Vol. 2, p.523).
15. Manuscript now in the possession of the Staffordshire County Record Office. See W. H. Sewell, *Memoirs of Sir James Tyrell*, *Proceedings of the Suffolk Natural History and Archaeological Society*, Vol. 5 (1886), pp.133-4. Sewells is a most thorough (if altogether admiring) account of Tyrell's career.
16. *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1476-85*, p.370.
17. *Calendar of the Fine Rolls 1471-85*, H.M.S.O. (1961), No.796.
18. *British Library Harleian MS.433*, f.40; f.67.
19. *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, Vol. 6, London (1783), p.255.
20. Sewell notes (*op. cit.*, p.129), citing Wardrobe Accounts of Richard III, in *Antiquarian Repertory*, Vol. 2, p.243, that his brother Thomas (one of those appointed to bear Edward IV's body to the Abbey) occupied the office of Master of the Horse at Richard's coronation.
21. *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1476-85*, p.505.
22. *Harl. MS.433*, f.200; ff.93, 201; f.205.
23. *Harl. MS.433*, f.104.
24. Sir Thomas Everingham married Isabel, third daughter of Thomas Lord Roos (executed 1434), afterwards the wife of firstly Sir Thomas Gray and secondly Sir Thomas Lovell, K.G.
25. *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII*, edited by W. Campbell, Vol. 1, London (1873), p.301; pp.460, 503.
26. Wedgwood, *op. cit.*, p.890, citing T. Rymer, *Foedera etc.*, The Hague (1745), Vol. 5, Part 4, p.45.
27. *Materials etc.*, edited by W. Campbell, Vol. 2, p.188.
28. Sewell, p.140.
29. *Letters and Papers, etc.*, edited by J. Gairdner, Vol. 1, Appendix A, pp.388-404.
30. *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, Vol. 6, p.473.
31. Wedgwood, *op. cit.*, p.890, citing *Foedera*, Vol. 5, Part 4, p.144. Both orders to the Seneschal of Boulogne are recorded in the 45th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (1885), Appendix 1, p.344.
32. *Letters and Papers, etc.*, Vol. 1, No. XVII, p.130. As Sewell observes, Gipping lies about twelve miles from de la Pole's home at Wingfield.
33. *Letters and Papers etc.*, Vol. 2, p.104.
34. Omitted however from Wyndham pedigrees. Thomas Wyndham was attainted but not executed and may be the person intended. On 26th May, 1502 (*Calendar of the Patent Rolls 1485-1509*, H.M.S.O. 1916, Vol. 2, p.272) one Robert Wellesbourne alias Hogekynson received a General Pardon.
35. For these trials see Sewell, pp.171-7, citing British Library *MS. Vitellius A XVI*. Thomas Tyrell, Sir James' son, was pardoned in 1504, restored in 1507, and made knight banneret in 1513. Sir James' widow Anne was on 6th May, 1503, granted 20 marks yearly by Henry VII, see *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1485-1509*, Vol. 2, p.310.
36. John Stowe, *The Survey of London*, London (1633), p.185; list of burials pp.185-6.

37. Thomas Hugh, The Austin Friars, *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, Vol. 2 (1859), pp.5-8 gives a list of those buried, compiled from *British Library Harleian MS.6033, f.544*.
38. See Anne F. Sutton, *Ricardian*, Vol. 4, No. 59 (December 1977), p.28, citing R. S. Sylvester's edition of Thomas More, *History of Richard III*. More gives the name as Penker.
39. Some Resting Places of Medieval Personages, from the *Visitation of London 1530*, No. 54. See W. E. Hampton, *Ricardian*, Vol. 3, No. 51 (December 1975), p.14, Note 25, citing A. R. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages*. For the Minoreesses, see W. E. Hampton, *Ricardian*, Vol. 4, No. 62 (September 1978), pp. 15-22.
40. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp.172-6.
41. *Memoirs of Henry VII*, edited by J. Gairdner, London (1858), p.xxxvi.
42. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p.174.
43. *Materials, etc.*, Vol. 2, p.148. He succeeded William Potman. Potman succeeded Edward Pole (Suffolk's brother) as Archdeacon of the West Riding in 1485. Pole was also Archdeacon of Richmond, succeeding John Shirwood, Bishop of Durham, in 1485 (collated, 2nd Jan., 1485), and one would like to know more about the death of this young man, which occurred before 28th September, 1485.
44. A John Dighton was Bailiff of Ayton, and another was mentioned in Sir John Pilkington's will. See Pauline Routh, *Ricardian*, Vol. 3, No. 45 (June 1974), p.19.
45. Sir Thomas Grene was implicated, like Dorset and the Courtenays in Suffolk's escape to the Continent in 1501 (see Notes and Queries, p.37). The indent of his brass remains in the church at Greens Norton.
46. Wedgwood, *op. cit.*, p.392, note 11.
47. *Cal. Fine Rolls 1471-85*, p.260, No. 737.
48. Hooke Cameron, Brasses of Middlesex, *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* (1974), p.15. The author, however, makes Sir John Catesby the cousin, not uncle, of William Catesby.
49. Index of Wills proved in the *Prerogative Court of Canterbury*, Vol. 1 (1893), p.237 (*P.C.C.*, 15 Logge).
50. Wedgwood, *op. cit.*, p. 973.
51. Index of Wills, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p.262; *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem 1485-1509*, Vol. 2, No. 895.
52. *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1476-85*, p.458, the grant being made on 7th March, 1484.
53. *Cal. Inquisitions Post Mortem*, Vol. 1, No. 373.
54. *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1476-85*, p.241.
55. *Index of Wills, op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p.262: 1508, Haute, Jakes, Esq., St Elyn, Bishopsgate, London; Bedford; Herts, 4 Bennett and Hawte, Jakys, Estgrenewiche, Kent, 16 Bennett. The two entries appear to refer to the same person, who will have been dead by 1508.
56. *Index of Wills, op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p.483.
57. *Index of Wills, op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p.483; John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541*, London (1964), Bath and Wells Diocese, p.74.
58. Robert Harleston's manor of Shimpling was granted to Sir William Stanley in 1475, but restored in 1485. Robert Harleston married Alice, daughter of Sir Henry Bruyn.
59. *Cal. Close Rolls 1476-85*, No. 995. Indenture dated 24th May 1482.
60. Sir George Nevill was later associated on the Continent with Edmund de la Pole, and still 'a most notorious rebel'—and very poor, he joined Richard de la Pole in France, Christmas 1516.
61. M. Sayer, Norfolk Involvement in Dynastic Conflict 1469-71 and 1483-87, *Norfolk Archaeology*, Vol. 36, Part 4 (1977), pp.316-7. Unfortunately Mr. Sayer treats the 2nd and 3rd Earls as one person. The 2nd Earl's mother was Elizabeth, daughter and eventual co-heiress of Thomas Holland Earl of Kent (died 1397), whose brother and heir, Edmund, married Lucia Visconti (see above).
62. This error was made recently by Sayer, *op. cit.*, p.323, note 42. See *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, op. cit.*, Vol. 1, No. 883, also *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1476-85*, p.530.