

THE ROYAL BURIALS OF THE HOUSE OF YORK AT WINDSOR:

II. Princess Mary, May 1482, and Queen Elizabeth Woodville, June 1492.

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Princess Mary, May 1482.

Mary, the second daughter of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville, born August 1467,¹ was not fifteen when she died at Greenwich in May 1482, in the week before Whit Sunday. Little is known of her life. The joint households of the infant Princesses Elizabeth and Mary had cost £400 a year when they were very young, and this amount was allowed to the queen by the king.² As the second daughter she had been the subject of two marriage negotiations: she had been scheduled to succeed her elder sister, Elizabeth, as the betrothed of Charles, the Dauphin of France, if Elizabeth died, and in 1481, shortly before her death, she was proposed as a bride for Frederick, King of Denmark. In his will of 1475 Edward IV had left her a portion of 10,000 marks provided she was ruled by her mother the queen in all matters.³ In 1478 she and her sister, Elizabeth, had attended the reburial of their grandfather, Richard, Duke of York,⁴ but in 1480 she apparently did not attend the Garter ceremonies of that year with her mother and sisters, Elizabeth and Cecily.⁵

There is confusion about the date of Mary's death. Both the *Monday*⁶ (20 May) and the *Thursday*⁷ (23 May) 'before Whit Sunday' are given by the surviving copies of the narrative of her burial,⁸ though they agree on the dates of her burial:

the Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun Week, 27-28 May.⁹ Edward IV was at Canterbury on 17 May, and back in London on 23 May, and may have seen his dying daughter between those dates. As king he would not have attended her burial ceremonies and it is known that very shortly after he was on the road to the north, because of the Scots war; by 30 May he was at Royston.¹⁰ The whereabouts of the queen is not known.

The princess probably died in the palace of Greenwich, although the manuscript says 'in the towne'.¹¹ No details are given about the care of her body by her ladies and governess, but at the excavations which discovered her body in 1810 she was found 'enveloped in numerous folds of strong cere-cloth closely packed with cords'.¹² On **Monday 27 May**, a week later, during which she had presumably lain in the chapel of the palace with appropriate services said and perhaps the attendance of her parents, her body was brought to lie in the parish church of Greenwich, the first stage of her journey to her permanent resting place. There were only four tapers placed about the body, a customary number for those whose austere piety or status did not demand more — the size of the church may have made a larger display impossible.

In the church *Dirige* was sung by James Goldwell, Bishop of Norwich,¹³ and it was he who sang mass the following morning with the bishop of Chichester.¹⁴ Present were Lord Dacre, the queen's chamberlain,¹⁵ Lords Dudley¹⁶ and Beauchamp,¹⁷ Thomas Danett, who combined the offices of dean of Windsor and king's almoner and was presumably accompanied by the man who was his deputy in the latter post,¹⁸ and Robert Morton, the master of the rolls.¹⁹ Garter king of arms attended with March king of arms.²⁰ As it was a woman's funeral ladies were conspicuous and headed by Jane Woodville, the widowed Lady Grey of Ruthyn and sister of the queen;²¹ Joan, Lady Strange in her own right, wife of George Stanley, and daughter to the queen's sister, Jacquetta;²² and Lady 'Dame' Katherine Grey, probably the daughter of Jane Woodville and Anthony Lord Grey of Ruthin and therefore another niece of the queen.²³ Lady Katherine Grey's name is followed in one manuscript by 'my ladys daughter',²⁴ in the other by 'Lady Dacres'²⁵ and in both the words 'lady mastresse' come next. The word 'daughter' may be a scribal mistake for 'dacres'. Joan Dacre, Lady Dacre in her own right²⁶ and wife of Richard Fiennes, Lord Dacre, the queen's chamberlain, may indeed have been the 'lady mistress' of the princess. This was a very honoured post and it would be most instructive to know who had taken over from the widowed Margaret, Lady Berners, when she died in 1475.²⁷ The Lady Mistress was attended by Mistress 'cowyll lyle'²⁸ or 'ysley lisle',²⁹ who has not been identified;³⁰ Mistress 'Gyfforde' or 'Clyfford', who may be the 'Dame [blank] Gilford' present at Elizabeth Woodville's funeral, ten years later,³¹ and unnamed 'other gentlewomen'.³²

Dinner for the funeral company was at the manor or palace, and after they had dined the company attended the body as it was brought out of the choir of the parish church to a chariot covered in black cloth, decorated with lozenges of the princess's arms. All the men rode in order of rank. The route they followed went from the parish church of Greenwich, which is situated close to the Thames, south to cross the river at Deptford, and then west via New Cross to St George's Bar, the boundary of Southwark — also known as 'the bar of Southwark' — where the Old Kent Road crossed the Lock stream (near the leper hospital called the Lock), at the edge of St George's parish.³³ There the cortège turned south again through Newington and Wandsworth and so to Kingston-upon-Thames, whose dignitaries came to escort the corpse more than a mile outside the town. As was the custom, all the parishes on the way sent out their processions to honour the funeral cortège and accompany it on its way until the next locality took over — only Wandsworth failed in its duty. This exception is noted by the narrator, as he also notes that Kingston's attention to its duty was exemplary. Each parish community would have been warned about its responsibilities in advance, and each church would have received alms from the king.

At Kingston the company stayed the night of 27 May, the corpse resting in All Saints' church. On the morning of Tuesday 28 May, during mass, the lords, ladies and the king's servants and local dignitaries and their wives all offered, and four of the 'best gentlemene' of the court held four banners at the four corners of the hearse or tumbrel on which the body lay — a simple one it seems. Neither the names nor the subjects of the banners are given. Mass was sung by Thomas Danett, Dean of Windsor. The procession then wended its way, twenty or thirty poor men carrying torches about the corps as was usual, day or night. It is not stated in the narrative which route was taken from Kingston to Windsor. It is likely that the cortège turned north across the River Thames and went through Teddington and Twickenham, and depending on the crossing available over the River Crane, through Isleworth as well. They joined the main highway to the west at Hounslow, taking from then on the same road as Edward IV's funeral procession was to take a year later. The local procession of Eton met the cortège at the bridge next to Slough and accompanied it through Eton as far as the bridge over the Thames to Windsor. On the Eton side the procession of the parish of Windsor met the corpse, and on the Windsor side the mayor and his brethren came forward with a bevy of little maidens dressed in white linnen holding links, torches and wax candles, no numbers being remarked upon. This may be compared to her elder sister's funeral as queen of England, when her procession was greeted at Fenchurch Street in the city by
xxxvij virgins all in white linnen, having chaplettes of white and grene on
their heads, everyche houlding a brening taper of wax in honour of Our
Lady and that the forsaied quene was in xxvijth year [*sic*].³⁴

They then all proceeded as far as the first gate of the castle where the college of St George met them. At this point all the local groups departed, and the corpse was taken out of the chariot and carried to the hearse in the choir. Some of the ladies went to dine immediately at the dean's house, and the rest took their places about the body, and then presumably they changed over. After they had all dined, *Dirige* was sung by Thomas Story, Bishop of Chichester, and finally Princess Mary was buried next to her brother, George of Windsor, who had died four years earlier.³⁵ On the next day there were masses for her soul.

One problem it would be interesting to solve is the identity of Mary's chief mourner. Nothing in the narrative gives a clue; the order of people present does not help and the donor of the mass penny is not specified. The post was certainly held by a woman, assuming it was already customary that the chief mourner should be of the same sex as the deceased. The position of Lady Grey of Ruthin in the list of people may indicate she played this role.³⁶ The only expenses specified in surviving accounts concerning Mary's funeral are three cryptic entries for £40 and £26 4s 0d allowed to Peter Courteys, the keeper of the king's great wardrobe, for his office, and a further £16 to Sir John Elrington, the treasurer of the king's household.³⁷ All in all the narrative of Mary's funeral is not perfect and many details are lacking — it reads a little as though the heraldic author was not greatly interested in writing up the funeral of a mere unmarried princess — but it gives some idea of the solemn mourning of a king's daughter, which must have greatly impressed the villagers of what is now south London, who witnessed the public part of the ceremony.

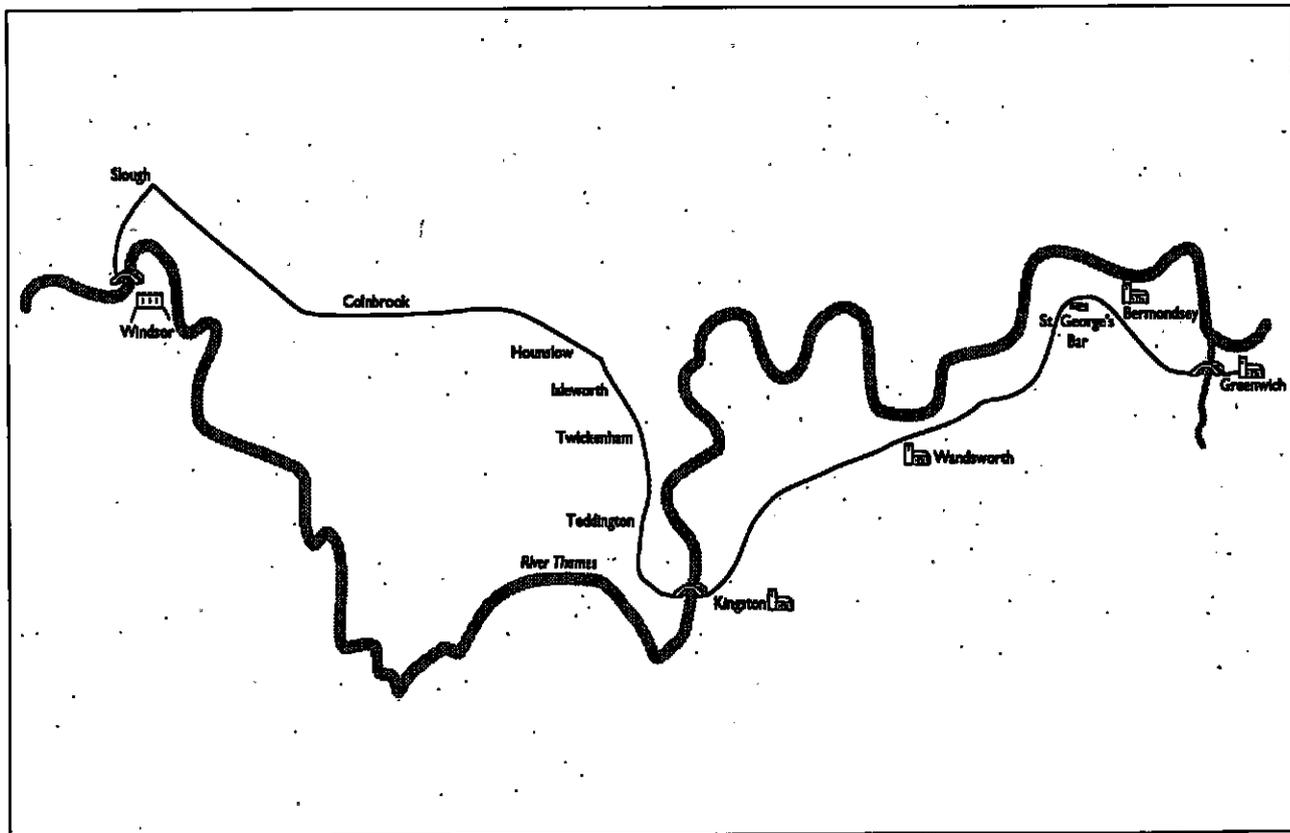
The Text.

The account of Mary's funeral survives in College of Arms MS I.11, f. 21r-v, and BL MS Stowe 1047, f. 219r-v. The latter was Francis Thynne's book,³⁸ and also contains, for example, the epitaph on Edward IV's father, Richard, Duke of York.³⁹ MS I.11 is now bound with MS I.10, which contains funeral certificates from 1568.⁴⁰ It is a seventeenth-century collection of funeral certificates and descriptions of burials from 1472 to 1555, and it also contains items concerning the funeral of Edward IV and a French and an English narrative of the funeral of his father.⁴¹ Both copies of the report of Mary's funeral appear to be of more or less the same date, but Stowe 1047 has been chosen as the base text, because it appears to contain — or at least go back to — a slightly more 'informed' version.

The same editorial procedure is followed here as for the funeral of Edward IV.

BL Stowe 1047, f. 219r-v.⁴²

[f. 219] The Monday⁴³ before Whitsondaye, the xxij yere of King Edwarde the Fort, my lady his daughter Mary dysed in the towne of Grenewiche. On the Monday⁴⁴ in the Whitsoneweke she was broughte to the parishe⁴⁵ church of



The Route of Princess Mary, Greenwich to Windsor, 1482. Queen Elizabeth went by River; Bermondsey to Windsor, 1492.

Grenewiche and there she had her Dirige by gonne by the reverend father in Godde Goldwell, Byshoppe of Norwiche. And so he sange the masse (on)⁴⁶ the morne,⁴⁷ present the reverend father in Godde, Story, Byshoppe of Chichester, my Lord Dacres, the quenes chamberlayne,⁴⁸ the Lord Dudeley, the Lord Beauchampe, the Deane of Windsore, the Kinges Almoner, the Master of the Rolles, Garter and Marche Kinge of Armes,⁴⁹ my Lady Grey of [f. 219v] Ruthinne, the quenes sister, my Lady Strange, my Lady Dame Katherine Grey, my Lady (Dacres),⁵⁰ Lady Mastresse, Mistress *cowyl*!⁵¹ Lyle, Mistress Gyfforde and other gentlewomen. And at Grenewiche was aboute the corps but iiij tapers. Whene masse was donne the lordes and the ladyes wente to the manor to dynner, and when they had dyned they accompanied the corps from the quer to a chaire appareled with blacke clothe with lozenges of the armes.⁵² And they every manne in order sholde ryde forthe towards Kingestone uppone Thames by Saint Georges barres, where the peressoners⁵³ mette the corps and so did all the parishes by the waye (to)⁵⁴ Wyndesworde, save Wantesworth, which mette not the corps. And they of Kingstone mette the corps with processions moore then a mile oute of the towne. And one the morne, after that the (lordes and the)⁵⁵ ladyes and the kinges servauntes had offredde, the worshypfull menne and women⁵⁶ ofred and fowre the best gentlemene of the court⁵⁷ helde the iiij baners whiche stode in the four corners of the chaire aboute the corps. And that masse was songe by the Deane of Wyndsore, and about the bery⁵⁸ all the waye there was xx or xxx pore menne bering torches. Item the pereshoners⁵⁹ of Eton mett the corps at the bridge next the (shore)⁶⁰ and so proceded throughe out Eton, and one Eton syde of the bridge the perishonners of the parishe churche of Windsore mett the corps. And one the further side the maire of Windsor with his bretherne and neighbores and many litle maydens in white [linen],⁶¹ holdene somme lynkes and some torches,⁶² some waxchandeles, and so proceded to the castle gate withoute the bridge, where the procession of the colledge mett her and all other processions went their waye. And there the corps was taken out of the chaire and boren into the chuyer, and parte of the ladies wente to the Deanes place to dynne, and parte of them abode aboute the hersse. And when they hadden all dyned they went to Dirige, which was begonnen by the Bishoppe of Cichester, and after Dirige she was buried by my Lorde George, her brother, (on whos solles God have mercy. And in the morowe she had her masses.)⁶³

Queen Elizabeth Woodville, June 1492.

Queen Elizabeth Woodville died at Bermondsey Abbey on Friday 8 June 1492, two days before Whit Sunday. She had written only a brief will, on her deathbed, because, as she said, she had 'no wordely goods to do the Quenes Grace, my derest

doughter, a plesur with, nether to reward any of my children, according to my hart and mynde'. She left them her blessing. The two witnesses of her will included John Marlow, Abbot of Bermondsey.⁶⁴ The widow of King Edward IV, by just under ten years, had lived in quarters within the Abbey of Bermondsey — presumably in its close — since early 1487, probably by her own wish.⁶⁵

The abbey of St Saviour was a well endowed eleventh-century Cluniac foundation, built on an islet in the Thames, secluded in the beginning even from Southwark.⁶⁶ The Rood of St Saviour was particularly venerated for its miraculous powers: one of the house's fifteenth-century seals bore the legend *Salve nos Xpe Salvator per virtutem Sancte Crucis*. In the abbey's church were the burial places of many noble benefactors and it was famous for its library and its hospitality. It held the manor of Bermondsey which was supposed to incorporate within it a residence for the use of the sovereign, and 'from this may have sprung the custom of bestowing here distressed queens and important individuals'.⁶⁷ Whether Elizabeth Woodville was exercising an ancient right or the recipient of one ordered by the king is not known. The abbey was certainly accustomed to housing in its close aristocratic widows in unhappy circumstances: Katherine de Valois, the mother of Henry VI, died there in 1437, having lived in the abbey for less than a year.⁶⁸ Apart from the particular circumstances of these fifteenth-century widowed queens at Bermondsey, many widowed queens had ended their days in religious houses and even as members of a religious community.⁶⁹ Another Yorkist widow also died at Bermondsey: Dame Anne Arundel, widow of John, Lord Audley (died 1490) lived in the abbey's close, and died less than a year after the execution of her son James, Lord Audley, for treason to Henry VII in 1497.⁷⁰

It is useful to compare the funeral of Katherine de Valois who also died at Bermondsey, in January 1438, with that of Elizabeth Woodville. Katherine was the mother of the reigning king and Elizabeth the mother of the reigning queen, and both had in some measure, in the establishment opinion, 'disgraced' themselves during their widowhoods, Katherine by marrying again and beneath her, and Elizabeth by, allegedly, flirting with treason. Katherine died on 3 January 1438; an effigy was made for her — one of the few still surviving — and her burial was 'done royally' on 8-13 February, the Londoners contributing in the customary way to a royal funeral. According to London chronicles she was conveyed to St Katherine's by the Tower, on 8 February says John Stow,⁷¹ and then on the 10th to St Paul's Cathedral where the corpse rested overnight and *Dirige* and mass were sung the next morning; she was buried three days later in Westminster Abbey's Lady Chapel.⁷² Elizabeth Woodville had a much more private funeral, but it must be remembered that it was apparently Elizabeth herself who had piously curtailed the ceremonies. As a queen of England, according to the handbook of the royal chapel on such matters, she was entitled to the same rituals as her husband, if she

died during his lifetime at least: chariot, cloth of majesty, effigy and great hearse, and many services and prayers,⁷³ but as a widow and as only the mother of the queen, she could only hope for burial with her husband. As a comparatively poor widow her estate was not sufficient to pay for a royal funeral, and the estate of the deceased was expected to pay for the funeral — wills of the dying constantly emphasised that, before all other expenses, their funerals and their debts were to be paid.

Elizabeth's will specifically requested that she be buried at Windsor with her husband 'without pompes entring or costlie expensis donne thereabout'.⁷⁴ And so it was done, according to the author of the narrative: her body was conveyed by river to Windsor — an easy matter as both places were on the River Thames — 'without any worldly pompe'. And the remainder of the ceremonies also complied with her request — indeed, it was such a humble funeral that the herald-narrator was at times shocked. The river journey was accomplished in the late evening of **Whit Sunday 10 June**. She had only five companions, two clerics, a male relative and two women. The clerics were the supervisor of her will, John Ingleby, the Prior of the Charterhouse of Shene, a man renowned for his austerity and whom she had known well since his election as prior 1478-79,⁷⁵ and Dr Thomas Brent, one of her executors, her chaplain, her almoner when she was queen and a canon of St Paul's.⁷⁶ Edward⁷⁷ Haute, her second cousin through their common grandfather, Richard Woodville, was the only male relative present.⁷⁸ The two women were Grace, an illegitimate daughter of Edward IV,⁷⁹ and an unnamed gentlewoman. The body was taken 'prevely' (privately or secretly) through the little park of Windsor to the castle with no bells tolling and no formal reception by the dean and canons of St George's Chapel. She was met by a single priest and one clerk at eleven at night, but presumably it was still fairly light as it was approaching midsummer. If the narrative is to be believed she was buried immediately on arrival, without *Dirige* or mass. Her wooden coffin was placed in the same vault as Edward IV's; it was discovered on top of his coffin in 1789.

On the morning of **Monday 11 June** Edmund Audley, Bishop of Rochester,⁸⁰ was there to take the 'service', and most of the heralds of the realm — 'the substauce of the officers of armes' — had arrived, presumably hot-foot from London to take charge of proceedings. But nothing was accomplished that day except that a 'low' hearse was constructed, suitable for common people says the narrator, with four wooden candlesticks and four silver-gilt candlesticks holding tapers of 'noo gret weight' around it. A pall of black cloth of gold covered the coffin and had two escutcheons of her crowned arms pinned to it — paper escutcheons were not unusual nor was the pinning,⁸¹ but this was a queen.

Mourners were soon arriving, however, three of her unmarried daughters arrived on **Tuesday 12 June**, Princesses Anne (born 1475), Katherine (born 1479),

and Bridget (born 1480),⁸² and her daughter-in-law, Cecily Bonville, the wife of her eldest son and marchioness of Dorset.⁸³ With them was an unmarried niece, Elizabeth, the daughter of Katherine Woodville, sister to the dead queen and dowager duchess of Buckingham;⁸⁴ a grand-daughter, one of the daughters of her son the marquess of Dorset;⁸⁵ and yet another niece, Elizabeth, Lady Herbert in her own right as the only child of William Herbert, Lord Herbert and Earl of Huntingdon and Pembroke, and his first wife, Mary, another sister of the dead queen — the herald-narrator is apparently not aware that the sixteen year-old heiress had just been married in the king's presence on 2 June to his favourite, Sir Charles Somerset.⁸⁶ There also arrived Lady Egremont,⁸⁷ Dame Katherine Grey,⁸⁸ and Dame Guildford, either the wife of Sir John Guildford or his son, Sir Richard, a family closely linked to the Woodvilles and Hautes.⁸⁹ Part of the narrative seems to be missing at this point; it probably reported that these ladies knelt around the hearse according to their rank, while *Dirige* was sung.

On Wednesday 13 June a mass of requiem was held while the three daughters knelt at 'the hed', their gentlewomen behind them. That same morning arrived Thomas, Marquess Dorset, the queen's son, and Edmund de La Pole, son of the duke of Suffolk, the closest living male relative of Edward IV,⁹⁰ Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex, a nephew of the dead queen by her sister, Anne,⁹¹ John, Viscount Welles, who had married Cecily, the second surviving daughter of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville,⁹² Sir Charles Somerset, the brand-new husband of Elizabeth, Lady Herbert,⁹³ and, last of the seculars, Sir Roger Cotton.⁹⁴ Master Edmund Chaderton also came, once treasurer of Richard III and now chancellor to Queen Elizabeth of York.⁹⁵ *Dirige* was sung that night by the bishop of Rochester⁹⁶ with the vicars, but not the canons, in the choir of the College of St George, which had been so well endowed by Edward IV. Lessons were read by the same bishop, by two of the canons — but the dean of Windsor read none although he was present, a fact specifically mentioned by the narrator who seems now to be speaking as one who was present and increasingly irritated by the conduct of the proceedings. The dean at this time was William Morgan, a Welsh protégé of Henry VII; it is possible that he stood down in favour of canons who had served Elizabeth Woodville as queen, and was not lacking in respect for the dead Yorkist queen,⁹⁷ but the absence of the canons from the *Dirige* is less explicable. The herald then expounds on the absence of new torches and says that instead of mourning almsmen in gowns, there was a motley collection of a dozen old men holding old torches and candle ends. It seems as though the heralds were unable or not allowed to organise the ceremonies, whether forbidden on the dead queen's instructions or for another reason is not clear. Herald's were used to more sumptuous funerals and generous largesse for themselves.

On Thursday 14 June John Vaughan, one of the canons of Windsor and one

who would have been known to the dead queen as he had been elected in 1471,⁹⁸ sang the mass of Our Lady. The marquess of Dorset offered a gold piece, no other man offering, and he did the same at the mass of the Trinity that followed, sung by the dean. The ladies did not attend the third mass, of requiem, and the marquess knelt alone at the head of the hearse, though by rights it should have been a woman kneeling there.

The important ceremony of offerings followed, the ladies now being present. The lords and the officers of arms offered, followed by the Lady Anne, daughter of the deceased, who offered the mass penny on behalf of the dead queen's eldest daughter, Elizabeth the present queen. Queen Elizabeth could not be chief mourner because she was expecting the birth of a child.⁹⁹ Lady Anne therefore 'had the carpet and the cushyn', the place of honour where she knelt at the head of the hearse.¹⁰⁰ Viscount Welles carried the offering made on behalf of the queen, one penny 'in ded of silver' — and Lady Anne's train was carried by Dame Katherine Grey when she approached the altar. When she had returned to her place her sisters made their own offerings of a piece of gold each, carrying their own trains; the other ladies present followed. The marquess of Dorset offered a piece of gold, and the other lords offered 'their pleasirs', and after them the dean and canons, the poor knights of the Garter, Garter king of arms himself with 'all his company', and any esquires, yeomen and servants 'that wold offre'. The narrator goes on: 'but ther was non offryng to the corpse duryng the masse', meaning that no lengths of cloth were put across the corpse, the usual procedure at this point. The narrator's comment is curious, as Elizabeth had already been buried, but it is possible that there was indeed an effigy in the hearse — though it is never mentioned¹⁰¹ — to which the cloths could have been offered. The significance of all the apparent omissions of protocol noted by the herald-narrator are difficult to assess.

Dorset then gave dole, as was customary, as well as the small sum of 40s for certain costs to persons whose identity is left blank in the manuscript, but by whom were meant the heralds, presumably. The forty shillings may reflect the poverty already remarked upon; Dorset was his mother's chief executor and could have been acting on his mother's instructions, or he knew that his mother's estate was as little as she said it was in her testament. His own offering consisted of a gold piece, and he seems to have been a 'good' son.

The herald narrator concludes with a prayer for the deceased's soul as was usual at the end of such texts, but spoils his effect by adding a personal rider in which he wonders whether the pregnant queen wore the customary blue mourning for her mother.

The Text.

The only surviving copy of the account of Queen Elizabeth Woodville's funeral

occurs in MS BL Arundel 26, ff. 29v-30, which belonged to William Dethick, Garter King of Arms 1586-1606.¹⁰²

The same editorial procedure is followed here as for the funeral of Edward IV.

MS BL Arundel 26, ff. 29v-30.

[f. 29v] On the viij day of June thyer off our lord mⁱ iiiij^f iiiij^{xx} et xij at Barsey in Swthwerke discessed the right noble pryncesse Qwen Elizabeth, some tyme wiff of Kyng Edward the iiiijth and modir to Qwene Elizabeth, wiff to Kyng Henry the vijth, whiche was the Friday before Whitsonday as that yere ffell.

And the said qwen desired in her dethe bedde that assoone as she shuld be descessed, she shuld in all goodly hast without any worldly pompe by water conveied to Wyndesore and ther to be beried in the same vault that her howsband the kyng was beryed in. On Whitsonday she was accordyng to her desire by water conveied to Wyndesore and ther prevely thorow the litill parke conveied into the castell, with out ryngyng of any belles or receyvyng of the dean or chanons in their habites or accompanied as¹⁰³ whos sayes, but with the prior of the Charterhous of Shen, Docter Brent, her chapelain, and oon of her executores, Edmond Hault, Maistres Grace, a bastard dowghter of kyng Edwarde, and upon an other gentlewomen. And as it told to me, oon prest of the college and a clerke receyved her in the castell And so prevely about xj of the clocke in the nyght. She was beried with oute any solempne Direge or the morne any solempne masse doon for her owbehytt. On the morne theder came the lord Awdeley, bysshop of Rochester to doo the service, and the substauce of the officiers of armes of this realme, but that day ther was nothyng doon solemply for her savyng a low herse, suche as they use for the comyn peple, with iiiij wooden candilstikkes abowte hit and a clothe of blacke cloth of gold over hit, with iiiij candilstikkes of silver and gilt everyche havyng a taper of noo gret weight, and ij scochyns of her armes crowned pyoned on that clothe. On the Tewsday theder came by watre iiiij of kynges Edwardes doughters and heirs, that is to say the Lady Anne, the Lady Katherine, the Lady Bregett accompeynged with the Lady Marquys of Dorsset, the Duc of Buckyngham daughter of nyce of the fore said qwene. Alsoo the daughter of the Marquis of Dorsset, the Lady Herbert, alsoo nyce to the said qwene, the Ladye Egermont, Dame Katheryne Gray, Dame [blank] Gilford, whiche after duryng the derige [passage missing?] and oon the morne, that is to say the [f. 30] Wensday at the masse of Requyem, and the three doughters at the hed, their gentilwomen behynde the thre ladyes. Alsoo that same Tewsday theder came the lordes that folowyn: the Lord Thomas, Marquys of Dorsett, soon to the foresaid qwene, the Lord Edmond of Suffolke, thErl of Essex, the Vicount Welles, Sir Charles of Somerset,¹⁰⁴ Sir Roger Coton, Maister Chaterton. And that nyght began the direge, the foresaid bisshop of Rochestre and vicars of the college were rectors of the

qwer, and noo chanons; the Bisshop of Rochestre red the last lesson at the direges of the chanons the other two, but the Dean of that college red noon, though he were present at that service. Nor att direge nor at non at they was [*sic*] ther never a new torche, but old torches, nor poure man in blacke gowne nor hoods[deleted] whod, but upon a dozeyn dyvers olde men holdyng old torches and torches endes. And on the morne oon of the chanons, called Maistre Vaughan, sange Our Lady masse, at the whiche the Lord Marquys offred a piece of gold. At that masse offred no man savyng hym selff and in likewise at the masse of the Trenytie, whiche was songen by the dean, and [he] kneled at the hers hed by cause the ladyes came not to the masse of requiem. And the lordes before reherced sat above in the qwer into thoffryng tyme, when that the foresaid lordes and alsoo the officers of armes ther beyng present went before my Lady Anne, whiche offred the masse penny in stede of the qwene, wherfore she had the carpet and the cussyn leid; and the Vicount Welles toke her offryng, which was a very penny in ded of silver, and Dame Katherine Gray bere the said Lady Agnes trayne. In tyme she was turned to her place ageyn then everyche of the kynges dowgthers bere ownes traynes and offred a pece of gold. After the ladies had offred in like wise the Lord Marquys offred a pece of gold, than the other foresaid lordes offred their pleasirs; than offred the dean and the qwere and the poure knyghtes; then Garter^{ms} Kyng of Armes, with hym all his company. Then offred all other esquyers present and yemen and the servauntes that wold offre, but ther was non offryng to the corps duryng the masse. Ther was geven certayne money in almes after masse the Lord Marquys rewarded [blank] their costes xl s. I pray to God to have mersy on her sowle. At this same season the qwen her daughter toke her chambre, wherfore I cannot tell what dolent abbeyt [deleted] hewue it she goth in, but I suppose she went in blew in likewise as Qwen Margaret, the wif of Kyng Henry the vj, went in whenn her mother the Qwene of Cecille deyed.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

Full references to items used before can be found in the notes to Part I, The Funeral of Edward IV.

1. Date of birth unknown; baptised 12 August 1467. On Mary see Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 1, pp. 428-29, vol. 2, pp. 142, 337. M.A.E. Green, *Lives of the Princesses of England*, 6 vols, London 1847-55, vol. 3, pp. 395-403, puts her birth a year too early.
2. *CPR 1467-77*, p. 110, 9 Oct. 1468.
3. Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 2, pp. 129, 142, 337.
4. *Reburial*, p. 10.
5. John Stow, *Annales*, London 1615, pp. 429-30.
6. BL MS Stowe 1047, f. 219.

7. College of Arms, MS I.11, f. 21.
8. Probably because she only knew College of Arms MS I.11 Mrs Green, vol. 3, p. 403, n. 1, assumed the date of death was 23 May; she was followed by Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 2, p. 337. Scofield assumed that Edward 'returned to the Tower on the 23rd, too hurriedly, apparently, to stop at Greenwich, although there, on that very day, his daughter Mary was breathing her last.'
9. Green and Scofield have 29 May as the date of the burial.
10. Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 2, pp. 337-38; Green, *Princesses*, vol. 3, p. 401.
11. F. Sandford, *Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England*, London 1707, p. 418, transcribed this as in the 'Tower' of Greenwich.
12. Daniel and Samuel Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, vol. 1, pt 1, *Berkshire*, London 1813, p. 471.
13. See pt 1, n. 83.
14. See pt 1, n. 38.
15. See pt 1 n. 39.
16. See pt 1 n. 99.
17. Richard, Baron Beauchamp of Powicke (died 1503), *Coronation*, p. 308; or, less likely?? Sir Richard Beauchamp, Lord St Amand (died 1508), *Coronation*, pp. 308-09.
18. Both titles appear in the text. See pt 1, n. 120.
19. Robert Morton, Emden, *Oxford*, pp. 1320-21.
20. For Garter and March see pt 1, nn. 142 and 166 respectively.
21. Joan or Jane Woodville, wife of Sir Anthony Grey of Ruthyn, eldest son and heir to Edmund, Earl of Kent (died 1480), *CP*, vol. 6, p. 160.
22. Joan (died 1514), da. and heir of John, Lord Strange of Knockyn (died 1479), married Sir George Stanley, who became Lord Strange (died 1503). George Stanley was the stepson of Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII, by the first marriage of his father, Thomas Stanley, to Eleanor Neville, the Kingmaker's sister. *CP*, vol. 12, pt 1, p. 356.
23. This Katherine Grey may be the elusive daughter of Jane Woodville (see above n. 21) and Anthony, Lord Grey of Ruthin, whose existence is a matter of controversy. *CP*, vol. 7, pp. 165-66, 166n, and R.I. Jack, 'The Lords Grey of Ruthin 1325-1490', London University, PhD thesis 1961, pp. 434-36. We are grateful to Peter Hammond for his help. 'Dame Katherine Gray' could have been about twelve at the time of Princess Mary's funeral — and could have been one of her companions; she was also present at Elizabeth Woodville's funeral and apparently still unmarried, see below. William Dethick Garter who maintained that her father had had a daughter — and was over-ruled — during a lawsuit, owned the ms, now BL MS Arundel, which contains the narrative of Elizabeth's funeral.
24. BL MS Stowe 1047, f. 219v.
25. College of Arms MS I.11, f. 21.
26. *CP*, vol. 4, pp. 8-9.
27. The post usually went to a widowed lady held in great respect. It was Mrs Green's supposition that she was Lady Dacre the wife of the queen's chamberlain, Green, p. 401. Dame Elizabeth Darcy, a vowess and widow of Thomas Darcy esquire, was the governess of Edward V and later of Prince Arthur, N. Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry. The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy 1066-1530*, London 1984, pp. 12-13, and she died 1489, see her will PRO, PROB 11/8, f. 165r-v. Margaret, the widowed Lady Berners had been governess of Princesses Elizabeth and Mary at £100 p.a. from 1467 until her death 18 December 1475, Green, vol. 2, p. 396, 403 n. 2, D. MacGibbon, *Elizabeth Woodville*, London 1936, p. 68 and *CP*, vol. 2, p. 153. See Orme, pp. 16-28, on mistresses for female children.
28. Stowe 1047, f. 219v.
29. MS I.11, f. 21.

30. Green, *Princesses*, vol. 3, p. 400, calls her 'Mistress Cicely Leslie'.
31. 'gyfforde' in Stowe 1047; 'clyfford' in I.11. For a discussion of her identity see below.
32. Little is known of the households of any of Edward's daughters, see Green, *Princesses*, vol. 3, p. 403 n. 2; to which may be added: Agnes, wife of Thomas Butteler, nurse of both Princess Anne and Prince George, *CPR 1476-85*, p. 157; Joan, wife of Robert Colson, nurse of Princess Katherine, *ibid.*, pp. 181, 221; Isabel, wife of Thomas Stidolf, nurse of Princess Cecily, *ibid.*, p. 226.
33. M. Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, London 1996, pp. 24-25, and fig. 8; we are grateful for the author's advice. We are also most grateful for Mr John Fisher of the Guildhall Library, Corporation of London, for his advice and help over problems relating to the whole route. For the maps consulted see pt. 1.
34. 'Funeral ceremonies of Queen Elizabeth', *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. 3, p. 659; punctuation and capitalisation modernised.
35. George of Windsor, born 1477, died of the plague 1479, *Chroniques relatives à l'histoire de la Belgique ... Chroniques des religieux de Dunes. Adrien de But*, Brussels 1870, p. 538: 1479, ... *epidemiâ ... qua de filiis unum amiserat* [i.e. Edward IV]; de But was usually very well informed. Scofield, *Edward*, vol. 2, pp. 210, 214-15, 249. For his 'late nurse', Agnes, see above n. 32.
36. Scofield, *Edward IV*, vol. 2, p. 337, and before her Green, *Princesses*, vol. 3, pp. 402-03, assumed that Edward, Prince of Wales, was the chief mourner. This is based on an incorrect reading of the mss that have: 'she was buried by [i.e. nearby] my lord George her brother'. In the ms. used by Green, College of Arms I.11, f. 21r-v, the word 'george' is virtually impossible to read in the gutter and needs to be filled in from BL MS Stowe 1407, f. 219r-v.
37. PRO, Tellers Rolls, Easter 22 Edward IV, E 405/70, m. 3, and Mich. 22 Edward IV, E 405/71, m. 1d; part of the £26 to Curteys was for an unspecified expense concerning the duchess of York. F. Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer ... King Henry III to King Henry VI inclusive*, London 1837, p. 505.
38. For Thynne, Godfrey, *College of Arms*, p. 135.
39. See *Reburial*, pp. 13, 28-29 n. 40 *ibid.*, p. 13.
40. See above.
41. See above, pt 1, pp. 391-92, and *Reburial*, pp. 13, 30.
42. The text is headed in a later hand: 'The Burial of the Princess Mary Daughter of Edward 4th', and in Thynne's (?) hand: 'The buriall of Marye daughter to Edwarde the forthe'. In I.11 the text is headed: *The enterement of Lady Mary, daughter to King Edward the iiijth* and begins: *The Thursday before Wytsonday the xxijth yere of Kinge Edward the iiijth my lady his doughter Mary dysseased in the towne of Grenewyche, which on the Monday in Wytsonwykes she was brought to the cherche of Grenewyche and ther she had her Dyrige by gonne by the reverend father in God, Goldwell, Bishop of Norwyche, and so he sange the masse on the morne present the reverent father ...*
43. The Monday before Whitsunday in 1482 was 20 May; I.11 has *Thursday* (21 May).
44. The Monday after Whitsunday in 1482 was 27 May.
45. I.11 omits *parish*.
46. From I.11.
47. Tuesday 28 May.
48. *lord dacres the quenes chamberlayne* repeated in the left margin in a later hand.
49. *marche k. of armes* repeated in the left margin.
50. From I.11; the ms. has *daughter*.
51. The christian name is illegible; I.11 has [?]*ysley*.
52. I.11 is very confused here.
53. In both mss the word is very difficult to read.

54. From I.11.
55. From I.11.
56. I.11 here adds *of the towne*.
57. *court*, I.11 has *countre*.
58. *bery*, I.11 has *chayre*.
59. In both mss the word is difficult to read; either 'parishoners' or 'parishes'.
60. I.11 has *shore*.
61. The ms. appears to have *lynnyige*; I.11 appears to have *lyning*.
62. I.11 has *tapers*.
63. From I.11.
64. *A Collection of All the Wills ... of the Kings and Queens of England ...*, printed by J. Nichols, printer to the Society of Antiquaries of London 1780, pp. 350-51.
65. The implication that she was sent there by Henry VII because he suspected her of supporting Lambert Simnel has little foundation. It is Polydore Vergil who may have started the rumour, mainly by placing the news of her 'retirement' in the middle of his account of the Simnel episode. He actually claims that Henry sent her away because she had 'made her peace with King Richard' and not made enough efforts to bring about Henry's marriage to her daughter; he does not claim any connection between her and Simnel. *The Anglica Historica of Polydoŕe Vergil, A.D. 1485-1537*, ed. and trans. D. Hay, Camden Society 74, 1950, pp. 16-19. For comments and references see e.g. S.B. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, London 1972, p. 76n. The formal taking of her lands into the king's hands, after which she only receives sums of money, is dated 1 May 1487, W. Campbell, *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII*, Rolls series, 2 vols, London 1873-77, vol. 2, pp. 148-49.
66. The sources used for Bermondsey: VCH, *Surrey*, vol. 2, ed. W. Page, London 1905, pp. 64-77, entry by J.C. Cox. R. Graham, 'The priory of La Charité-sur-Loire', *Journal of the British Archaeological Society*, 2nd ser., vol. 32 (1926), pp. 157-91; the same, 'The church of the Cluniac Monastery of St Saviour Bermondsey', *ibid.*, 3rd ser., vol. 2 (1937), pp. 145-49; A.R. Martin, 'The topography of the Cluniac abbey of St Saviour at Bermondsey', *ibid.*, 2nd ser., vol. 32 (1926), pp. 192-228; talk by Mark Samuels on the Abbey at the Institute of Historical Research, London, 1998. We are most grateful for the advice of both Mark Samuels of MOLSS and Tony Dyson.
67. VCH, *Surrey*, vol. 2, p. 74. This was a right that descended from the earls of Gloucester; the tradition is repeated by such sources as Dugdale's *Monasticon* (London 1846 ed., vol. 5, p. 93) and A. Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. 2, London 1864, pp. 35-36.
68. She may have been sent there after her liaison with Owen Tudor became known, R.A. Griffiths, *The Reign of Henry VI*, London 1981, p. 61 and n. 68, quotes Strickland, *Queens*, vol. 1, pp. 152-54, as the only study of Katherine. The same year the body of Joan, Queen of Henry IV, rested at Bermondsey on her way to burial at Canterbury. Stow, *Annales* p. 376.
69. J.C. Parsons, "'Never was a body buried in England with such solemnity and honour': the burials and posthumous commemorations of English queens to 1500", in A. Duggan, *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, Woodbridge 1997, pp. 317-37, esp. 331.
70. PRO, PROB 11/11, f. 130, 24 Juné 1498; CP, vol. 1, pp. 341-42. Graham, 'The Priory of La Charité-sur-Loire', pp. 183-84.
71. Stow, *Annales*, p.376. According to W.H. St John Hope, 'On the funeral effigies of the kings and queens of England', *Archaeologia*, vol. 60 (1907), pp. 517-70, she 'lay in state' at St Katherine's, but he gives no source for this phrase. St John Hope is mistaken about the date of the funeral, putting it about ten days later, and is followed by *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, ed. A. Harvey and R. Mortimer, Woodbridge 1994, pp. 5-6, 41-43. Both statements and later date appear to derive from Strickland *Queens*; p. 155.

72. *Gregory's Chronicle*, in *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London*, ed. J. Gairdner, Camden Society 1876, pp. 179-80, he dates her arrival at St Paul's as 10 Feb. and puts her burial 3 days later; *The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley, London 1938, p. 173 and n. 421; *Chronicles of London*, ed. C.L. Kingsford, London 1905, repr. 1977, p. 142. *The Bruer*, ed F.W. Brie, 2 vols, EETS OS 131, 136 (1916, 1918, repr. 1987), vol. 2, pp. 470-471.
- The Mercers supplied 8 wax torches weighing 126½lbs at a cost of 52s, Mercers' Company, London, Wardens' Accounts 1348, 1390-1464, f. 125v and see f. 126v. At least Elizabeth was spared the indignities that Katherine suffered while her coffin lay unburied over the centuries after Henry VII had her moved from the Lady Chapel to make way for his own chapel, A.P. Stanley, 'On the depositions of the remains of Katherine de Valois, Queen of Henry V, in Westminster Abbey', *Archaeologia*, vol. 46 (1881), pp. 281-85.
73. *Liber régie capelle*, p. 115, cited Parsons, 'Never was a body', pp. 317-18.
74. No details survive of how her royal and anointed body was treated, embalmed, etc. Elizabeth of York, who died while queen, was cered and embalmed with 40 ells of holland and spices supplied by the royal Chandlery, *Antiquarian Repertory* (see pt 1, n. 19), p. 655.
75. E.M. Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, London 1930, pp. 248, 273-75, 372. And see A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, 'A "most benevolent queen", Queen Elizabeth Woodville's reputation, her piety and her books', *The Ricardian*, vol. 10 (1994-96), pp. 233, 234.
76. Emden, *Oxford*, under name. And see Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, "A most benevolent queen", p. 234 and n. 122.
77. The ms. has 'Edmond'.
78. P.W. Fleming, 'The Hautes and their "circle": culture and the English gentry', *England in the Fifteenth Century. Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. D. Williams, Woodbridge 1987, p. 87, only gives an Edward.
79. This is the only known reference to her; compare Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 316-17 and n.
80. Rochester: Edmund Audley (1480-92), Emden, *Oxford*, pp. 75-76; *Coronation*, pp. 305-06.
81. See list of such things provided for York and for EIV. For pinning, see Chevalier's coffin, pl. II of *Reburial*.
82. Anne was to marry, on 4 Feb. 1495, as his first wife, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk; she had no surviving issue by him and died Nov. 1511, *CP*, vol. 9, p. 619, Green, *Princesses* (see n. 1 above), vol. 4, pp. 1-14. Katherine was to marry, c. 1495, William Courtenay, later Earl of Devon (1511), she had issue and died Dec. 1527, *CP*, vol. 4; p. 330, and Green, *Princesses*, vol. 4, pp. 15-43. Bridget, named for St Bridget of Sweden, *not* the Irish saint as wrongly asserted by Scofield, *Edward IV*, vol. 2, p. 299, later became a nun at Dartford, Green, *Princesses*, vol. 4, pp. 44-48.
83. *CP*, vol. 4, pp. 418-19; his second wife.
84. Daughter of the 2nd duke who had been executed 1483, she was to marry Robert Fitzwalter, Earl of Essex, C. Rawcliffe, *The Staffords, Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham, 1394-1521*, Cambridge 1978, p. 23.
85. Dorset had at least 8 daughters by his second marriage (1474); we are grateful to P.W. Hammond for advice.
86. *CP*, vol. 10, p. 401, vol. 12, pt 2, p. 850. And see n. 93 below.
87. Lady Egremont was presumably the wife of John Percy, Lord Egremont 1460 until his death early 1497; the *CP* does not know his wife, *CP*, vol. 5, p. 35.
88. Katherine Grey had also attended Princess Mary's obsequies, see above.
89. Lady Guildford is probably be identified as the wife of Sir John Guildford, an officer of Edward IV and a royal-councillor since Bosworth who died 1493, Hampton, *Memorials*, no. 150. She may, however, be the second wife of Sir Richard, his son (d. 1506), identified as one of the ladies of Elizabeth of York,

N.H. Nicolas, *Privy purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, London 1830, p. 199. See C. Meale, 'The mss and early audience of the Middle English *Prose Merlin*', in *The Changing Face of Arthurian romance, Arthurian Studies*, 16, ed. A. Adams *et al.*, Cambridge 1986, pp. 92-111, esp. 101, 103, for pedigrees, and P. Fleming, 'Hautes' (n. 78 above).

90. The 'white rose', heir to his father (who died before 27 Oct. 1492) and the eldest male representative of the house of York as the son of his mother, sister of Edward IV.
91. Earl of Essex 1483-1540, son of Sir William Bourchier and Anne Woodville, *CP*, vol. 5, p. 138.
92. *CP*, vol. 12, pt 2, pp. 448-50.
93. They married 2 June 1492 in the king's presence, *CP*, vol. 12, pt 2, pp. 846-50, esp. p. 850.
94. Sir Roger Cotton: Dame Margaret his sister was later to have the care of Elizabeth Woodville's grandchildren, that is of her daughter Katherine, Lady Courtenay, by 1502, Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 189. Presumably to be identified as the banneret created by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, 1482, M. Hicks, 'Dynastic change and northern society: the fourth earl of Northumberland, 1470-89', in his *Richard III and his Rivals*, p. 394.
95. Emden, *Oxford*, under name.
96. See n. 80 above.
97. S.L. Ollard, *Fasti Wyndesorienses*, Windsor 1950, p. 36. A fast rising cleric, bishop of St David's 1496, Emden, *Oxford*, p. 1311.
98. John Vaughan, canon of Windsor 1471-99 (5th stall), Emden, *Oxford*, p. 1941, correcting S.L. Ollard, *Fasti Wyndesorienses*, Windsor 1950, p. 92.
99. Queen Elizabeth of York's daughter, Elizabeth, was born 2 July 1492, and died 4 Sept. 1495, Nicholas, *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. lxxxv.
100. At Elizabeth of York's funeral the great wardrobe supplied not only blue cloth of gold for 16 palls to be offered but also velvet for two cushions and white cloth of gold for a hearse cloth, cost £11 11s 4d, PRO, E 101/415/10, f. 16v.
101. Queen Katherine of Valois did have an effigy, so if Elizabeth Woodville did not it was probably by her own wish.
102. A. Wagner, *Heralds of England*, London 1976, pp. 200-09.
103. The ms. here seems to have single letter *h* inserted.
104. *Essex ... somerset* underlined in red.
105. *garter* underlined in red pencil; *Garter* written in the left margin in a later hand.