

Antony Wydevile, Lord Scales and Earl Rivers: Family, Friends and Affinity. Part 2.

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The first part of this paper reviewed the marriage of Richard Wydevile to Jacquetta, Duchess of Bedford, along with the attitudes of their contemporaries to this misalliance.¹ The conclusion was that the Wydeviles were a family made by marriage, their success during the reign of Edward IV being attributable to yet another marriage, that of Elizabeth to the king himself. What effect, if any, did this have on the career of Antony Wydevile, and was the family really successful?

Antony first comes to wider notice when he is taken from his bed in Sandwich and transported to Calais to be 'reheld' by Edward of March and Richard, Earl of Warwick, before the Calais garrison.² His position, along with that of his father was one of impertinent upstart, at least in the eyes of the Yorkist lords. However, Sir Richard Wydevile was not quite the parvenu they implied. His family had been active members of the county gentry carrying out duties for the king either as MPs or on commissions. Sir Richard held a position on the royal council and his marriage to Jacquetta brought him into the sphere of the Lancastrian royal family. Their position was such that they had been able to arrange marriages for their two eldest children within the nobility. Elizabeth was married to Sir John Grey, son and heir of Lord Ferrers of Groby *circa* 1452 and Antony married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Thomas, Lord Scales.

Antony in fact married twice, Elizabeth *circa* 1460 and secondly Mary FitzLewis *circa* 1480. The families of both his wives had had connections with his grandfather, Richard Wydevile esquire, which suggests that the family was dependent upon contacts made by him as well as those they had made for themselves. The comradeship fostered by service with the duke of Bedford stood them in good stead; Sir Richard coming into contact with many of the same people as his father, during the years he spent in France. His father had served with Thomas, Lord Scales and Lewis John (also known as FitzLewis).

¹ Lynda Pidgeon, 'Antony Wydevile, Lord Scales and Earl Rivers: Family, Friends and Affinity. Part 1', *The Ricardian*, vol. 15 (2005), pp. 1-19.

² *The Paston Letters*, (hereafter PL) ed. James Gairdner, Gloucester microprint edition, 1983, vol. 3, p. 203, letter 399.

This meant all three families knew each other, although it is difficult to assess how influential this was in the choice of a wife for Antony.

The Scales Family

Thomas, Lord Scales was born *circa* 1400 and became the seventh Lord Scales in 1420 on the death of his elder brother. He had served in the French wars with the duke of Bedford and later with the duke of York. His relationship with York must have been fairly close, as he was one of the godparents of the future Edward IV, who was born in Rouen in 1442.³ He later served with Somerset, when he replaced York in France, and it is possible that at this point he became acquainted with Sir Richard Wydevile, who also served with Somerset and acted as his deputy at Calais. Their association may have grown closer during Cade's revolt as both were heavily involved in putting down the rebellion in Kent, both earning the hatred of the local populace for their actions.⁴ This was not the only time Lord Scales had acted harshly. In his own county of Norfolk he was held responsible for riots and unrest, during the early 1450s he protected his dependants in their depredations against the local populace, doing nothing to curb their activities and necessitated the arrival of the duke of Norfolk to subdue the county in 1452.⁵

Later, when he was appointed to a commission to enquire into rebellions in 1460 he succeeded in alienating the people by his dispensation of rough justice. He turned people not only against himself but also against the king. Scales' major land holdings were in Norfolk, with his seat at Middleton, not far from Lynn. He also inherited the Scales' manor in Haslingfield, Cambridgeshire, and rents in Rivenhall, Essex.⁶ On 20 January 1459 Thomas and his wife, Esmania, were granted a licence in mortmain to give land to the abbot and convent of Bury St Edmunds: the manor of Aspaes and nearly a hundred acres of land in Mildenhall. This was no act of generosity however. The abbot had acquired these lands in 1444 and been expelled by Scales and his wife. A further 115½ acres of land, '46s 6d of rent and the rent of two pounds of cumin, fourteen autumnal works and a carriage in Mildenhale' were added;⁷ the extra acres and manorial rights seem to have been added to

³ Cora L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth*, London 1923, vol. 1, p. 1.

⁴ Pidgeon, p. 10.

⁵ *PL*, vol. 1, p. 112; vol. 2, letters 136, 162, 169, 170, 172 and 259. The main troublemakers in the county were Thomas Tudenham and Heydon, who both appear frequently during this period in the Paston Letters. Helen Castor, in her book *Blood and Roses*, London 2004, describes the activities of these men and the effect they had on the county.

⁶ *Inquisitions Post Mortem* (hereafter *Inq. PM*), vol. 20, 1-5 Henry V, pp. 52-53.

⁷ *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (hereafter *CPR*) 1452-61, pp. 478-79.

compensate the abbot for loss of income. This gives some indication of the overall size of the Scales estates. The eviction of the clergy from their lands was an example that Antony was later to follow with the nuns of Blackborough.

Scales may not have been a great benefactor to the church but he was a good and respected soldier. While holding the Tower for the Lancastrians in 1460 he was forced to negotiate its surrender; the Londoners promised him his freedom, but perhaps sensing the hostile mood of the city, he tried to escape into sanctuary at Westminster. As he was crossing the Thames, 'he was murdered in a skirmish or quarrel by some seamen belonging to the earls of Warwick and March, under the garden wall of the bishop of Winchester's Palace'.⁸ Scales' battered and naked body was discovered some hours later and he was buried the same day at St Mary Overy. According to William Worcester, 'I saw him myself lying naked'.⁹ Both Warwick and Edward respected him as a soldier and regretted his death, they ensured he was buried with honour and attended his funeral.¹⁰ He was unlikely to have been mourned by the populace of London, Kent or Norfolk, however.

Thomas had only one surviving child, a daughter, Elizabeth born about 1438.¹¹ Her first marriage was to Henry Bouchier, possibly by the age of fourteen.¹² This linked her family to the house of York, for Henry's mother was Isabel, sister of the duke of York. Although Henry was a younger brother it was still a good match. Unfortunately the marriage agreement no longer survives. The attraction of this marriage for the Bouchiers was undoubtedly the fact that she was heiress to the lands and title of Scales. The Bouchiers may have felt that the marriage would provide a title for their younger son, especially after they lost their major land holdings as counts of Eu in Normandy in 1450.¹³ Unfortunately Henry died around August 1458, and the couple appear to have been childless; certainly there was no surviving child.

When Elizabeth's second marriage to Antony Wydevile took place is uncertain, but it was certainly before 22 December 1462 when Antony was summoned to parliament as Lord Scales in right of his wife.¹⁴ Whether Elizabeth's

⁸ *Chronicles of the White Rose of York*, London 1845, p. lxxvii.

⁹ *Chronicles*, p. 483.

¹⁰ *Chronicles*, p. lxxviii; Scofield, p. 92; M.A. Hicks, *Warwick the Kingmaker*, Oxford 1998, p. 180.

¹¹ *Complete Peerage*, (hereafter CP), George E. Cockayne, vol. 11, London 1959, p. 507. The inquisition *post mortem* taken following her father's death in 1460 gave her age as twenty-four or more.

¹² P. Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, London 1768, vol. 2, p. 145.

¹³ CP, vol. 2, p. 248.

¹⁴ *Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter DNB), London 1937-38, vol. 21, p. 882

marriage was arranged by her father or was in the gift of the king is unknown. From an entry in the *Great Chronicle of London* it can be assumed to have been prior to 17 February 1461. Following the defeat of Warwick at Saint Albans on that day, Queen Margaret and her army headed for London. The city was worried and sent out 'the duchess of Bedford and the lady Scalys' with others to Saint Albans 'to entreate ffor Grace ffor the Cyte'.¹⁵ Scofield suggests this refers to the widow of Thomas,¹⁶ but although the date of Thomas's wife's death is not known, it is far more likely to have been Elizabeth, who was with her mother-in-law in London. Also there is no mention of Thomas's wife, Esmania, in the inquisitions held into the Scales' estate, and one might expect some mention of her dower rights had she outlived her husband. The attraction of the marriage for the Wydeviles is obvious. In 1460 Sir Richard had a title, which he could not maintain without the benefit of income from offices and his wife's dower; and at this moment in time he had only a few lands to pass on to his heir. By marrying an heiress Antony would acquire a title and the lands to support it, possibly even enough to support the Rivers title in the future. What Elizabeth gained is less obvious. If the marriage had been arranged by her father it was probably because there was a connection between old war comrades; Scales must have had some liking for Sir Richard, for he had nominated him to the Garter in 1450. Perhaps Scales felt fortunate in finding his daughter a husband, as she was now in her mid to late twenties and after six years of marriage she had failed to produce a child. Antony was at least three or four years younger than her, so perhaps for the sake of a title and property he could afford to take a chance on a potentially barren wife.

Little is known about Elizabeth's life. The records of Lynn show that the town sent flagons of wine to Lady Scales at Middleton. When she visited Lynn she stayed with the Carmelite friars and the mayor sent wine to her there.¹⁷ She also appears in the accounts of John Howard, later duke of Norfolk. On 23 September 1464 she sent a letter to John Howard and the messenger was rewarded with 6s 8d; while on the same day a messenger from 'my lady Yorkes' only received 20d.¹⁸ What did the letter say to earn such a large

and CP, vol. 11, p. 507.

¹⁵ *The Great Chronicle of London*, ed., A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley, London 1936, p. 194. The City remembered Jacquetta's action on their behalf with gratitude, see Anne F. Sutton, 'Sir Thomas Cook and his "troubles": an investigation', *Guildhall Studies in London History*, vol. 3 (1977-79), pp. 85-108.

¹⁶ Scofield, *Edward IV*, p. 145.

¹⁷ *Historical Manuscripts Commission 11th Report Appx Part 3*, 'The Manuscripts of the Corporations of Southampton and Kings Lynn', London 1887, Mayors' accounts for the period 4 March 1461-3 March 1463 and 4 March 1465-3 March 1467, p. 224.

¹⁸ Anne Crawford, ed. *The Household Books of John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, 1462-1471, 1481-1483*, Stroud 1992, p. 281.

reward? It would appear Howard considered hers the more important message. In November the king was at Reading attended by Howard and Lord and Lady Scales and while there Howard lent Elizabeth 8s 4d to 'to pley at cardes'. They went on to spend Christmas with the king at Eltham, and on the 'ferst day of Jenever my master gaff to my lord Scales chyld 12d'.¹⁹ Was this her child or Antony's illegitimate daughter Margaret? If not her child, then it suggests a certain amount of good nature on her part to take his illegitimate daughter into her household and subsequently to court for Christmas. There are no other personal mentions of Elizabeth. She died on 1 September 1473 probably while Antony was absent on pilgrimage to Santiago. In his will Antony makes no affectionate mention of his wife or desire to be buried beside her. He disposed of the Scales lands and asked only that his heir pay 500 marks for the benefit of her soul and all souls of the Scales blood²⁰.

The FitzLewis Family

John Lewis, also known as Lewis John, was the founder of his family's fortunes. A contemporary of Richard Wydevile senior, he succeeded where Richard failed, becoming a wealthy and substantial landowner. Lewis was disadvantaged by his Welsh birth, being forced to demonstrate that he was a free man, in reply to denunciations that he was un-free. He was able to produce certificates that declared his status, one even stating he was descended from the lords of Wales.²¹ He appears to have been Thomas Chaucer's protégé, which helped to enhance his position, for through Chaucer's support he became a member of Cardinal Beaufort's retinue in 1431.²² He was later closely associated with Bedford in France being a member of his council along with Richard Wydevile. It was during their time in France that conflict arose between Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and the members of Bedford's council. Warwick was appointed supervisor of Henry VI's education and was replaced as captain of Calais by Bedford. Warwick believed that Lewis, Wydevile and Richard Buckland, treasurer of Calais, had planned this. From correspondence between Buckland, Wydevile and Bedford it is evident that Wydevile tried to distance himself from the matter and place the blame on to Lewis and others.²³ Lewis, however, maintained a discreet silence. Richard

¹⁹ Crawford, pp. 481-82.

²⁰ W.H. Black, ed., *Historical Illustrations of the Reign of Edward IV, Comprising Memoirs of Antony Earl Rivers*, London 1830, p. 246.

²¹ A.D. Carr, 'Sir Lewis John - a medieval London Welshman', *Bulletin of Celtic Studies*, vol. 22 (1968), p. 261.

²² Carr, p. 262.

²³ *Letters of Margaret of Anjou, Bishop Becketon and Others, Written in the Reigns of Henry V and Henry VI*, ed., C. Munro, Camden Society 1863, pp. 34-42.

Wydevile does not emerge in a good light from this event, and it adds to the unpleasant image presented by the Wydeviles. It was to be a curious twist of fate that led to the marriage of their respective grandchildren.

John Lewis married, Alice, the daughter of John de Vere, twelfth Earl of Oxford about 1413. They had five sons, including Lewis and Henry, and a daughter. His second wife, Anne, daughter of John Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, (married 1433), produced another three daughters. John Lewis died in 1442 and left the bulk of his estate to his wife with remainder to his children, who adopted the name FitzLewis.²⁴ His eldest son Lewis was attainted because of his continued adherence to the Lancastrian cause and his lands were granted to the duke of Gloucester in 1471.²⁵ Another son, Henry, married Mary, the sister and co-heir of Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, by whom he had a daughter, Mary. On Henry's death in May 1480 his heir, Mary, was aged fifteen.²⁶

Antony married Mary as his second wife sometime during 1480. He had put off remarriage for nearly seven years, and while better prospects had been offered none were realised. Edward had proposed Mary of Burgundy in 1477 and then Margaret of Scotland in the following year. This may have flattered the Wydeviles, but did Edward seriously intend either marriage, or was it only diplomatic manoeuvring? One also wonders how seriously Antony took remarriage: was he simply uninterested or waiting for the right marriage prospects? Although the inquisition *post mortem* following Henry's death suggests his heir was fifteen there is an entry in the calendar of one of Antony's books, which suggests she was only twelve in 1480.²⁷ Antony would have been about forty. Both his marriages were to heiresses who had recently come into their inheritances; and was it coincidence that both also had connections to the de Veres? Perhaps the major consideration for this second marriage was an increase in the Wydevile sphere of influence? Did the Wydeviles hope to be able to gain wider influence in the area with the de Vere earl in exile, and possibly even claim some of his lands? The prospect of an extension of their influence in the area would certainly explain the marriage of John Wydevile to the elderly duchess of Norfolk. Following John's early death their interest in the Norfolk lands was maintained by the marriage of Prince Richard to the

²⁴ *History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1386-1421*, ed. J.S. Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe, 4 vols, Stroud 1992, 'John Lewis', and Morant vol. 1, p. 213.

²⁵ Morant, vol. 1, p. 213.

²⁶ Morant, vol. 1, p. 252. Mary inherited the manor of Bromfords in Newington, the advowson of Newington with 862 acres of land in that parish and Wickford, along with another 110 acres in Vange.

²⁷ Kathleen Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490*, London 1996, vol. 2, p. 273. Antony inherited the Bedford Hours and Psalter from his mother, in the calendar is written 'maria fitz loys Nat. in iij Kalend. Junii ao. dni. mo. cccclxviii'.

Norfolk heiress, Anne Mowbray, in January 1478. It could be suggested that it was Antony who built up Wydevile influence in East Anglia and thereby the king's influence too.

In 1471 the confiscated estates of Lewis FitzLewis had been granted to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and on 7 March 1475 the remaining FitzLewis heirs granted him their Essex estates. On the 16 March, however, Richard in turn gave them to Elizabeth Wydevile and others.²⁸ Gloucester was probably uninterested in land so far from his main holdings in the north. Was this an oblique way for Edward to make a grant to the Wydeviles and avoid criticism? The others named in the grant were key figures in his administration, which might suggest this was part of Edward's attempt to expand his influence in key areas. The lands would also complement the Scales lands held in Essex. In 1480 the emergence of a FitzLewis heiress may have seemed to offer the seal to Antony's possession of the Scales lands.²⁹ There was also the added attraction of a potential claim to Beaufort lands through her mother, Elizabeth Beaufort.³⁰ Mary held three manors in Berkshire which had belonged to the duchess of Somerset, though her title was declared uncertain when there was an inquisition *post mortem* into Antony's lands in the first years of Henry VII's reign. The picture of Wydevile activities in Essex is muddied by an indenture of 24 May 1482. Richard FitzLewis, son of the attainted Lewis FitzLewis, claimed that Gloucester had sold his interest in the manors to Elizabeth Wydevile, and that she in turn had sold the lands to Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury.³¹ FitzLewis was now attempting to buy them back for £1,000. The indenture gives no date for the sale by Elizabeth. Did it take place after Antony's marriage when the FitzLewises could be considered part of the family? One can only speculate about the exact nature of their land dealings from the minimal evidence available. Certainly Mary's personal lands were few

²⁸ *Calendar of Close Rolls* (hereafter CCR) 1468-76, no. 1428, manors of West Thorndon, Feldhous and Gyngraffe; no. 1432, those included in the grant to the queen were the bishop of Lincoln (chancellor), the bishop of Ely, William Lord Hastings (king's chamberlain), Thomas Vaughan (chamberlain of Edward Prince of Wales), and Richard Fowler (chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster).

²⁹ Technically, without the birth of a child to Antony and Elizabeth, the Scales lands should have gone to Thomas, Lord Scales' next heir. It is possible the child to whom John Howard gave a shilling at Christmas was their child, who pre-deceased Elizabeth. It would be expected, however, that any child would have been mentioned in Antony's will, so it can only be supposed that Antony held the Scales land through the support of the king and against the laws of heredity.

³⁰ Mary's mother was Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of Edmund, Duke of Somerset, (d. 1455) and Eleanor Beauchamp. Following the deaths of her uncles, Henry, Duke of Somerset (d. 1464), and Edmund, Duke of Somerset, (d. 1471), her mother and aunts became co-heirs.

³¹ CCR 1476-85, no. 995.

and were insufficient on their own to make the marriage worthwhile. One can only assume that the marriage was about future possibilities that might arise from her family connections. Given her young age Antony could hardly have considered her as a companion and comfort for his middle years. In fact, the more one looks at the FitzLewis inheritance the more surprising it is that he married Mary. The few lands she brought him were a result of her relationship to the late duchess of Somerset and the title was far from sound. The only value the marriage can have had was in her family connections, in terms of money it was negligible.

Mary is even more of a cypher to us than Elizabeth. This marriage too was childless. Had Antony chosen such a young girl because he was not really interested in having a wife and providing an heir? Mary was capable of providing children, as she had a child by her second marriage. In Antony's will she was left all the plate that came from her father and the plate they received on their marriage as well as a bed with its sheets. Antony requested that a priest be found to pray for the soul of her father for a year. As with his first wife he appears to be doing only the minimum required in providing for the souls of the dead.

Antony Wydevile's Character: His Piety and Literary Interests

Although some contemporaries did think well of Antony, it was only in relation to certain aspects of his life. He attained posthumous esteem for his literary interests and patronage of Caxton.³² These are however later assessments. Antony has been compared to John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, who has also been presented as a great patron of literature,³³ and yet contemporaries regarded Worcester as 'the butcher'. It is how Antony was seen by his contemporaries that is relevant. Contemporary expectations were that a noble should be 'a good lord', a good soldier and suitably pious. How far did Antony meet any of these ideals?

An image of Antony's piety comes over most strongly in Caxton's epilogues to the works that he translated and in Antony's own introductions. These are the only surviving contemporary comments on Antony by someone who knew him. The *Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers* was printed in 1477 and reprinted in 1479 and 1489. Antony opens his introduction with 'every creature ... subgette and thrall unto the stormes of fortune ... in diverse and many sondry wyses man is perplexid with wordely adversitees. Of the whiche I

³² C. Ross, *Edward IV*, Trowbridge 1995 (Bookclub Edition), pp. 97-98. Ross also described him as melancholic and ascetic.

³³ Horace Walpole, *A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England*, London 1758, p. 5. Questioned in A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs *Richard III's Books*, Gloucester 1997, p. 29n.

Antoine Wydewylle ... have largely and in many different maners have had my parte'.³⁴ Through the grace of God and the mediation of Mary he has been 'releved ... And [God] exorted me to dispose my recovered lyff to his ser-vice...'. Having suffered such 'stormes' he went on pilgrimage to 'Seynt James in Spayne'. While on this pilgrimage to Santiago in 1473 he read the 'saynges or dictis of the philosophers', a book lent to him by Louis de Bretailles, who said that he believed Antony 'shuld lyke it right wele'.³⁵ The book had such a great effect upon Antony because of the 'holsom and swete saynges' and 'grete com-forte to every well disposed soule', that he determined to translate it into 'thenglysshe tonge which in my Judgment was not before' when he had the time. Antony also believed it would be suitable for the prince of Wales to have 'understandyng therof'. Was Antony reflecting on the feelings he had while on pilgrimage, or were they his feelings when translating the book in 1477? Certainly in 1473 he would have been coming to terms with the death of his mother, Jacquetta, who had died in May 1472. In November of the same year Antony had also returned from a fruitless campaign in Brittany, where he had lost many of his men to disease. Fortune would certainly have seemed against him then and the impact of the book might thus have been greater. The publication of the translation coincided with his appearance as a hermit at the 1477 tournament held in honour of the marriage of Prince Richard to Anne Mowbray. Was he acting out a religious crisis?

During the years leading up to these events he had been preoccupied with religion. He wished to go to Portugal to fight the Saracens. In July 1471 John Paston the younger wrote to his mother and brother of his promise to travel with Antony to 'Portygall to be at a day upon the Serasyns'.³⁶ In January 1472, however, Sir John Paston was uncertain if Antony had gone or not. It seems unlikely that he did go, as in April of the same year he was in Brittany assisting the Bretons against the French. A journey he definitely did make, was to Rome in 1476. Sir John Paston reports that on leaving Rome Antony was robbed of all his jewels and his plate.³⁷ In March the Milanese ambassador to Savoy reported that the robbery had taken place at Torre di Baccaro and that the queen was sending him 4,000 ducats, as all his money had been stolen.³⁸ Some of the stolen jewels were recovered in Venice along with the thieves and the Senate did all they could 'out of regard for the King (of England)'.³⁹ Despite this set-

³⁴ *The Dicts or Sayings of the Philosophers*, 1489 edition, Lambeth Palace Library, (ZZ) 1483.7.03, p. 58 verso.

³⁵ *Dicts*, p. 58 recto.

³⁶ *PL*, vol. 5, letters 778, 793 and 795.

³⁷ *PL*, vol. 5, letter 889.

³⁸ *Calendar of State Papers Milan 1385-1615*, London 1912, vol. 1, p. 222.

³⁹ *Calendar of State Papers Venetian 1202-1509*, London 1864, vol. 1, pp. 136-37.

back, the journey to Rome was not a complete failure. Antony acquired a fifteen-year indulgence for anyone visiting the chapel of St Mary the Virgin at Westminster on Ascension Day, the feast of St Stephen the proto-martyr or All Souls Day, and also for all who gave money to maintain the chapel. Antony was said to have a 'singular devotion' to this chapel.⁴⁰ According to Caxton the Pope had also made Antony 'Defendour and directour of the siege apostolique for our holy Fader the Pope in this Royame of England'.⁴¹

In 1478 Antony translated the *Proverbs of Christine de Pisan* because they were 'wise and holsom'.⁴² In the *Cordial* printed in February 1479 Caxton wrote that Antony understood the 'mutabilite and the unstableness of this present lyf', that he had a zeal for salvation and wished that everyone should forsake the terrible sins that existed, and that the book was designed to instruct everyone on how to live and die well.⁴³

Reading books and going on pilgrimage are very personal acts, designed to aid the individual. But did Antony use his 'recovered lyff' for the benefit of others and carry out acts of charity? In 1468 he had agreed to pay the tenth and fifteenth due from the bailiffs of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, on condition that they paid 4d in the pound for the benefit of the poor and for prayers for himself and his wife Elizabeth. The bailiffs were also to provide a chaplain to celebrate mass at the altar of the Blessed Virgin four times a year in the church of St Thomas of Canterbury.⁴⁴ It would seem certain that he too was a devotee of the cult of the Virgin. Only two other records exist of his acts of charity. One is an indenture between Antony and the provost and college of Eton. Dated 29 May 1475 Antony arranged for the college to receive a crane, tenements and a wharf at the Vintry, London. This land had previously belonged to the duke of Bedford and Jacquetta had held one third in dower. In 1455 the college had been granted two thirds with the remaining third in reversion by Henry VI.⁴⁵ At some point the Wydeviles had ousted the college and in 1475 Antony was granting it back. According to the indenture the king had granted to Antony 'in remembrance of his discrete faytheful and trewe approved conseil' and 'his noble and knyghtly constaunice' the two parts of the property. In turn Antony granted it to Eton from his 'godly disposicion, especially desiryng, accordyng to promyse of knyghthode, the contynuall

⁴⁰ *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, London 1955, vol. 13, part 1, p. 498 and p. 530.

⁴¹ W.J.B. Crotch, ed., *The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton*, London 1928, p. 18.

⁴² *DNB*, 1937-38 edition, vol. 21, p. 884.

⁴³ *DNB*, vol. 21, p. 884.

⁴⁴ Victoria County History (hereafter VCH), *Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, vol. 5, p. 263.

⁴⁵ Eton College Archive, Index of Records, vol. 16, pp. 76-78.

wealthe and prosperite of holy chirche' and in 'remembrance of the rele love and singular devocion that John Wydevyle, late brother to the seid erle' had to the college.⁴⁶ In recognition of his brother's 'devocion' to the college he intended to have him buried there. In return the college was to say daily mass at quarter past seven and to pray for the king and queen, their children, the earl and his brothers and sisters and for the souls of Richard and Jacquetta and Sir John Wydevyle and all Christian souls. The bell was also to be rung daily 'for evermore lx knolles or strokes ... afore the beginning of the said mass, so that wel disposed people may have knowledge to come to the said mass'. Also every year on the 30 October 'a hearse to be made within the high quere of the said college for the sowle of the said John Wydevyle and a solemne obit with ryngyng and singyng with other divinne and solemne observancs ... with iiij tapers of wax standyng aboute the saide herse, each of them weighing iiij li burnyng all the while the obyte is indoyng ...'. If the college failed to carry out any of these observances they were to pay an annuity of £10 to Antony and his heirs.

The second record is his will. The requests for masses for the families of his wives have already been noted, but he also requested a priest to sing at the Chapel of the Rodes in Greenwich for the souls of the Wydeviles and all Christian souls. St Mary's Abbey York was to have money to pray for his soul, as was Whittington College, London. Some of the Scales lands were to be sold to fund a hospital at Rochester for thirteen poor folk and for other charitable deeds to be undertaken to aid the sick, the imprisoned and bury the dead; in other words his requests comprised the Seven Acts of Mercy. He wished that his heart be buried in the chapel of Our Lady of Pewe at Westminster – the ultimate proof of his devotion to that chapel. It was in keeping with his devotion to the Virgin that he wished his body to be buried before her image in Pontefract. To complete the picture of a devout and pious man he wore a hair shirt which was taken by the Carmelite friars of Doncaster and hung before an image of the Virgin.⁴⁷

It would be easy to see in this nothing more than the conventional piety of the day. Certainly his known contributions to charity while he lived are few. We depend on his will for knowledge of his charity, exactly when he would be expected to have a special concern for his soul. In contrast to his will, the indenture with Eton suggests a special affection for his youngest brother, although the grant cost him nothing personally. His books, however, do appear to demonstrate a higher degree of contemplation and piety than that normally practised. Caxton recorded that Antony also wrote many ballads

⁴⁶ Eton College Archive, Register 60/3/2 ff. 154-56.

⁴⁷ Walpole, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, p. 290, citing Rous.

against the seven deadly sins.⁴⁸ He depicted him as troubled by adversity – or was he simply repeating Antony's own words? His piety should, however, be measured against the sins he wished to put right in his will. The abbot of St James, Northampton, and the nuns at Canterbury had claims against him, and he wished the nuns of Blackborough not 'be hurt in such londes of theires as lieth w'in the Roche Fenne of Myddylton, which I late closid'.⁴⁹ These actions against churchmen and women, who had been his neighbours, demonstrate that when it came down to the day to day practicalities of business nothing could get in the way of profit, not even devotion. He may have desired to serve God and had good intentions, but he fell short, and in his final days he seems to have realised this.

Antony Wydevile: The Soldier and Joustier

Antony is probably best remembered for the tournament at Smithfield. Taking part in tournaments was something of a family tradition: his father, brother and maternal uncle participated in them. Antony's first recorded tournament was in 1458 alongside Henry Beaufort. Sir John Paston records a 'tourney' he took part in at Eltham in April 1467, when he took the same side as the king and Antony against Sir John Wydevile and the lord chamberlain.⁵⁰

The most spectacular was the tournament at Smithfield in June 1467. This was as much a diplomatic occasion as a demonstration of chivalry and prowess. Antony, Bastard of Burgundy, had been invited to take part two years earlier, but prevented by diplomatic problems from taking up the challenge. Several chronicles give full details of the event and Antony Wydevile's magnificent attire.⁵¹ On his entry into London to prepare for the event he wore cloth of gold. For the tournament each of his horses was trapped in different fabrics, white cloth of gold, tawny velvet, russet damask, velvets embroidered with gold. His pavilion was blue silk 'the valence thereof embrowdird with his woorde',⁵² while his pages were dressed in green velvet with gold embroidery.

⁴⁸ *DNB*, vol. 21, p. 884.

⁴⁹ Black, *Historical Illustrations*, Antony's will, p. 248.

⁵⁰ *PL*, vol. 4, letter 665.

⁵¹ BM, Lansdowne MS, 285; Harleian, MS, 4632; College of Herald's, Arundel MS, 48, collated in S. Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, and included in Black, *Historical Illustrations*, pp. 2-44.

⁵² Black, p. 38. Black is unable to say what the word or motto was that Antony used. However Sir F. Madden, 'Narrative of the arrival of Louis de Bruges Seigneur de la Gruthuyse, in England, and his creation as earl of Winchester in 1472', *Archaeologia*, vol. 26 (1836) p. 273 gives a copy of Antony's signature and his motto taken from Harleian MS 4432, a manuscript which belonged to Jacquetta. The motto is 'Nulle la Vault'. This can be translated 'No-one is more valuable than you (female)' and associated with love tokens in medieval romances. I am grateful to Dr Adrian Ailes of TNA for the

This was display on a grand scale. The actual fight, however, was less magnificent. On the first day Antony's horse collided with the Bastard's and there was a suggestion of foul play. Edward certainly reacted angrily, believing that Antony had broken the agreement over attaching spikes to his horse's armour. Although it was declared that it had been an accident the four surviving chroniclers all disagree. The London chronicler believed there was a 'pyke of stele' on Antony's horse armour which struck the Bastard's horse, while Olivier de la Marche believed the horse struck its head on Antony's saddle and dropped dead.⁵³ An anonymous Burgundian chronicler claimed the *post-mortem* on the horse showed a broken blade in its throat.

The following day the fight was on foot with axes. Antony is reported to have entered shouting taunts and brandishing his axe, although again the chronicles disagree. Such acts of intimidation hardly fit with an event that was supposed to be a show of chivalry as well as prowess. Even after Edward had called for an end, Antony continued and had to be restrained. The English chroniclers claimed the men kept fighting until officers of the field separated them, while the anonymous Burgundian claimed Antony had to be restrained and the Bastard was forced to defend himself until they were separated. The remainder of the tournament involved two Gascons in Edward's service fighting against two Burgundians.⁵⁴ Needless to say the English chroniclers claimed the victory, as did the Burgundians.

Did the Bastard really suspect cheating on Antony's part? The next contest was in Bruges to celebrate the marriage of Margaret of York to Charles the Bold in July 1468. Both John Pastons were present; they reported that Antony jousted with a Burgundian lord 'but not with the Bastard; for they mad promyse at London that non of them bothe shold never dele with othyr in armys'.⁵⁵ It is an odd agreement if the suspicion of cheating at Smithfield had really been dismissed and if the two men had parted on good terms. The tournament had been an exercise in diplomacy and therefore Edward had had to ensure that no one was seriously injured. Perhaps in the heat of the moment Antony forgot the real purpose behind the tournament. Or did he like to win

translation and advice. Whether this was the motto used or one of several mottoes that Antony had is unknown. Such a motto would perhaps fit the theme of this particular tournament; my impression of Antony is that there was no woman in his life to whom he would dedicate such a motto. A clearer translation suggested by Livia Visser-Fuchs, in correspondence with the author, is 'Nobody is as worthy as she' or 'She had no equal'.

⁵³ S. Anglo, 'Anglo-Burgundian feats of arms: Smithfield, June 1467', *Guildhall Miscellany*, no. 2 (1960-68), p. 278.

⁵⁴ Anglo, pp. 279-81; Black, pp. 32, 37-38.

⁵⁵ PL, vol. 4, letter 684.

regardless? Only timely intervention by Edward saved the day and preserved diplomatic goodwill.

The last tournament Antony took part in was held to celebrate the marriage of Prince Richard to Anne Mowbray in January 1477. Antony once more went in for conspicuous display. He entered the field dressed as a white hermit, and he had his hermitage 'walled and covered with black velvet' on a cart.⁵⁶ Allegorical display was common to tournaments but one wonders if there was a deeper meaning to Antony's choice. Was he demonstrating that despite it all he really preferred the contemplative life? Was this another reason why he left marrying again for so long?

His reputation as a 'valorous man' seems to be based more on his efforts in the lists than on the battlefield. During the recent wars he had survived Towton and been slightly wounded at Barnet. There is no record of his attendance at any of the other battles. Following Barnet he helped save London from the Bastard of Fauconberg but that was the last actual fighting he took part in. His desire to fight the Saracens came to nothing and there are comments from two sources that he was a coward. In July 1471, when Antony was planning to depart for Portugal, John Paston reported that Edward was not very pleased. The king said 'that wen evyr he hathe most to do, then the Lord Scalys wyll sonest axe leve to depert, and weenyth that it is most be cause of kowardyese...'.⁵⁷ This criticism is echoed in a report from the Milanese ambassador to Burgundy. While attending Charles the Bold at Morat he noted the arrival of Antony at the camp on 7 June 1476. He was expected to stay a few days and while meeting with Charles he offered to take his place in the battle. However, the ambassador went on to report as soon as he heard the enemy was near he asked permission to depart and left. 'This is esteemed great cowardice in him, and lack of spirit and honour. The duke laughed about it to me, saying, he had gone because he is afraid'.⁵⁸ It might be possible to dismiss both these occasions as 'irritable words spoken in a moment of exasperation',⁵⁹ if it had not been said by two different people some five years apart and in different circumstances. Add this to the strong suspicion of cheating in the tournament and the image is one of a man who liked the pageantry and display of mock battles, but not the grisly reality of war. He was also someone who, in one to one combat, could loose control and thus jeopardise a diplomatic event. Rather than displaying brute force he should have been showing off his skills as a chivalric knight.

⁵⁶ Scofield, *Edward IV*, vol. 2, p. 206.

⁵⁷ *PL*, vol. 5, letter 778.

⁵⁸ *CSPM*, vol. 1, pp. 227-28.

⁵⁹ J.R. Lander, 'Marriage and politics in the fifteenth century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* (hereafter *BIHR*), vol. 36 (1963), p. 119.

Friends and Enemies

Neither Antony's friends, nor his enemies are easy to identify. Enemies might appear as friends or at least as indifferent, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, being the obvious example. There were few people that Antony is known to have addressed as friend. In his correspondence to Andrew Dymock he referred to him as 'welbeloved freynd' and 'My frende Demok',⁶⁰ however the correspondence only covers two years and can only represent a small proportion of the total, so it may be that there were others whom he addressed as 'freynd'. Dymock was also an employee. Louis de Bretailles, a Gascon squire, may be assumed to have been a friend, as he lent Antony the 'Dictes and Sayings' while they travelled together on pilgrimage, and he was also a fellow participator in tournaments with Antony.

A more certain candidate for friendship must be Antony's mistress, Gwentilian. She was the daughter of Sir William Stradling of Glamorgan.⁶¹ Possibly they met through the Wydevile connection with the Herberts: Sir Henry Stradling, her nephew, had married Elizabeth Herbert, sister of William, Earl of Pembroke. Antony could have had some common ground with the Stradlings – Sir Henry had gone on pilgrimage to Jerusalem as had his father and grandfather – but how they met can only be conjecture. Antony's relationship with Gwentilian produced a daughter Margaret, who married Robert Poyntz of Iron Acton. The Herbert connection is still evident for Robert Poyntz was the ward of Thomas Herbert in 1467.⁶² Robert was aged about seventeen in 1467, his marriage to Antony's daughter taking place sometime before 1480 when their first child Antony was born. However, Margaret's date of birth is again conjecture: was she the child mentioned in the Howard Household Book in 1465? If not who was the child that Howard gave a Christmas gift to? Antony's daughter was presumably the result of a relationship with Gwentilian that took place before his marriage to Elizabeth. Neither his mistress nor the child is mentioned in his will and too much could be made out of a small gift at Christmas. Any other friends that Antony may have had would most likely be found within his family and affinity and cannot easily be identified.

⁶⁰ The National Archives (hereafter 'TNA'), E315/486/17 and E315/486/32 (Dymock Papers).

⁶¹ F. Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, London 1805, vol. 9, p. 26. The evidence for Gwentilian Stradling being his mistress is sketchy. No other source names Antony's mistress and Blomefield gives no reference. That Antony did have an illegitimate daughter does however seem to be proven in the Poyntz family connection although no mother is given for Margaret.

⁶² CPR 1467-77, pp. 23, 23 June 1467 Westminster – Thomas Herbert granted custody and marriage of Robert Poyntz minor, son and heir of John deceased.

Enemies are equally difficult to name, but Warwick stands out, as does the duke of Clarence. Both were enemies of the family, however, rather than personal enemies and the fate of Clarence at the hands of the Wydeviles needs no further elaboration here. One very personal enemy of Antony was Lord Hastings. The major source of disagreement between them was the captaincy of Calais.⁶³ Both embarked on a campaign of vilification in an attempt to discredit the other in Edward's eyes. Antony spread stories that Hastings would betray Calais, while Hastings cast doubt on Antony's political actions.⁶⁴ The case angered Antony enough for him to keep four separate copies of the confession made by John Edwards, which admitted that the stories against Antony were false.⁶⁵ But why did Edward give Antony the office in the first place? As David Grummitt has pointed out, Rivers was unlikely to be welcomed by the Calais garrison: not only were the events of 1461 still remembered, but Antony had acted badly at the battle of Morat. The garrison had close links to Burgundy and would have heard of his 'breach of chivalric honour'. He would have received no loyalty or respect from the garrison.⁶⁶ The enmity between Antony and Hastings probably helps explain Hastings' action in April 1483 when he warned the duke of Gloucester of Wydevile plans over the protectorship.

Antony's Lands and Affinity

Good lordship was based on lands and the ability to distribute patronage. Good lordship created an affinity, loyal primarily to its 'good lord'. Antony had no personal lands until his marriage to Elizabeth Scales when he acquired lands in Norfolk, Essex and Suffolk. Most manors were clustered together in the Fenland area close to Bishop's Lynn, (later King's Lynn). There is, however, little evidence for an affinity loyal to Antony. Many of his early servants were inherited from the Scales affinity although this changed over time. East Anglia had a number of lords vying for control of the area, the dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk were the obvious ones, but both were weak and ineffectual. John Howard, cousin to the duke of Norfolk, came to exercise most control in the area. The de Vere earls of Oxford were active in Suffolk but following their attainder their power was reduced. It was probably anticipated that Antony Wydevile, as Lord Scales, would fill the power vacuum, but he appears to have acquired little influence. The best example of his inability to wield influence

⁶³ Scofield, *Edward IV*, vol. 2, p. 4.

⁶⁴ E.W. Ives, 'Andrew Dymock and the papers of Antony, Earl Rivers, 1482-3', *BIHR*, vol. 41 (1968), p. 221.

⁶⁵ TNA, E315/486/6, 12,13 and 14, (Dymock Papers).

⁶⁶ David Grummitt, 'William, Lord Hastings, the Calais garrison and the politics of Yorkist England', *The Ricardian*, vol. 12 (2001), p. 269.

comes from the Paston family, who were anxious to gain support in their fight for the Fastolf inheritance. They managed to obtain Wydevile help only after Sir John Paston became engaged to Antony's cousin, Anne Haute. Until that time Antony himself was a contender for the same estates and had entered Caister, Cotton and the Paston's own house in Norwich in an attempt to intimidate them into withdrawing their claim. However, once the Pastons looked like becoming family his attitude changed. Writing to the duke of Norfolk's council on 10 April 1469 Antony stated, 'as maryage ys fully concluded by twyx the seyde Sir John Paston and on of my kynneswomn, ... nature must compelle me the rather to shew my gode wylle, assystens, and favour unto the seyde Sir John'.⁶⁷ Family was more important than personal interest. Did Antony give up his claim to the Fastolf lands because by supporting the Paston claim the lands would enter into the Wydevile sphere of influence, even if they were not directly his? In a second letter Antony again emphasises why he took on the Paston cause, 'understant that my Lord, my fader, and I must of nature and reason shew unto hym our gode assystens'.⁶⁸ Does this idea of 'nature and reason' explain why family land holdings were more important than individual inheritance? Did the greater good of the family take precedence, especially when any lands acquired could devolve to a Wydevile monarch? Was this even more important than securing an heir for himself? His brothers Richard and Edward appear equally careless about providing a direct heir. This lack of children among the men in the family is curious, especially when compared to both their mother and sister Elizabeth, who produced numerous children. It only makes sense if it was the greater 'family', that is, the queen's family that was their main priority. Despite Antony's assistance to his 'family', the Pastons were unimpressed by Wydevile patronage. During Warwick's rising the Pastons joined de Vere, and when Antony spoke to John Paston requesting him to join the king he 'mad no promes so to [do]'.⁶⁹ Despite this disloyalty, upon the return of King Edward, Antony was still prepared to be 'good lord' to John Paston. In a letter to his mother, Margaret, John Paston commented 'I am no thyng proude, foe he may do leest with the gret mastyr', (that is Edward IV).⁷⁰ Antony's patronage was apparently now an embarrassment to John, for Antony seemed to have little influence with Edward IV, as his failure over the Fastolf dispute on their behalf so amply demonstrated. The ineffectual nature of Antony's affinity in the area must have been well known to de Vere; when he levied troops in support of Henry VI,

⁶⁷ *PL*, vol. 5, letter 706, pp. 18-19.

⁶⁸ *PL*, vol. 5, letter 707, p. 19.

⁶⁹ *PL*, vol. 5, letter 716, pp. 30-33.

⁷⁰ *PL*, vol. 5, letter 778, pp. 106-07.

1470-71, his rallying point was Bishop's Lynn, in the heartland of Antony's estates in Norfolk.

Possibly Antony was aware that the Wydeviles' lack of popularity created difficulties in establishing an affinity and this is why efforts were concentrated on building up a family network of support through marriage. The marriages of his sisters attached the Wydeviles to many of the lords closest to the king. Once they obtained more direct access to influence they were not above abandoning even their own relatives and family. Mary Wydevile's daughter by William Herbert was abandoned once Herbert control of South Wales was surrendered to the council of Edward, Prince of Wales. Influence was much greater if gained through the prince than through a marriage to another powerful lord, who might prefer to go his own way. The marriage of Queen Elizabeth herself was the Wydeviles' most powerful connection. Elizabeth was able to grant posts in her household to family members and they were found seats on the council of the young princes, Edward and Richard. It was through the young princes that they could hope to gain most control. Following Richard's marriage to the Mowbray heiress, they had control of the Mowbray estates which, combined with Antony's lands in East Anglia, gave them control over most of the region from the mid 1470s.⁷¹ The creation of Edward as Prince of Wales gave them potential control over the principality and when Edward endowed his son with further lands and titles connected to the area, control in the borders and marches as well. This increase in the prince's title meant there was no other effective noble control in the region.⁷² Neighbouring lords were brought onto the prince's council, thereby annexing their support, for example Sir Richard Croft, who was also a member of the king's household and Sir William Stanley. Any affinity that was built up was done so in the name of the prince although control ultimately belonged for the moment to the Wydeviles. In the chamberlains' accounts for South Wales 1473-75 most of the named servants were local Welshmen,⁷³ thus avoiding the trap of putting in outsiders and alienating the people at a local level. An exception was Thomas Molyneux, whom Antony appointed as his deputy and lieutenant in the constablership of the town and castle of Beaumaris in North Wales on 25 June 1477. It was a costly privilege however, for Molyneux had to pay Antony £66 13s 4d annually, and if he failed to meet any of the requirements of the indenture he was to pay a £100 fine. Such a fine was imposed in June 1482.⁷⁴ James Molyneux, perhaps Thomas's brother, was also closely connected to Antony.

⁷¹ Hicks, *False Fleeting Perjur'd Clarence*, pp. 156-57.

⁷² Hicks, 'Changing role of the Wydevilles', pp. 75-79.

⁷³ TNA, SC6/1225/4, (Ministers Accts – South Wales Chamberlain of Edward Prince of Wales).

⁷⁴ *Lancashire Record Office*, Molyneux of Sefton DDM/3/5 and DDM/3/4.

He acted as chancellor to Prince Richard and was Antony's chaplain by 1483 and was involved with Andrew Dymock in the administration of his estates.⁷⁵

After the return of Edward IV in 1471 Antony acquired more offices and through these he was able to distribute more patronage. However the list is not long, less than thirty appointees. Of those listed William Alyngton was associated with Antony in East Anglia, he was controller of the customs for Lynn in 1471 and acted as the prince's attorney in 1476-77,⁷⁶ his attachment however was primarily to the Yorkists.⁷⁷ Another deputy, Roger Sambroke, had been keeper of the Scales household,⁷⁸ which again suggests that any affinity was built upon existing connections and not created from new attachments. There were also the bailiffs and receivers on his various estates who would have had little personal contact with Antony, but would provide armed men should Antony need to raise them. His will indicates those with whom he had closest contact: Dymock who, as his attorney, handled his private affairs and financial administration, and Thomas Butsyde, who was his household butler in London. Only two servants are named and rewarded in his will, his barber Tybold who was to receive five marks and his 'servant James' 40s.⁷⁹ One man, who claimed to be his 'feithfull oratur and trewe servant' was Richard Richoll who wrote to Antony requesting he be allowed to act as clerk to Butsyde in his butlership at London.⁸⁰ Another 'suppliaunt and true bedeman' was Gilbert Innasseyson of Hungerford who required assistance in paying for a surgeon.⁸¹ Were they writing to Antony because they knew he would be their 'good lord' or were they only hoping for his goodwill? It is a pity that the result of their requests is unknown for the answers might demonstrate that Antony was capable of remembering his less fortunate servants and of giving them support in return for nothing more than their prayers.

Along with his will the Dymock Papers give the best indication of his servants and his interests. Unfortunately they cover only the last few years of his life. From these Dymock appears to be his man of affairs, and the one he most often turned to, to manage his estates and deal with his private affairs. In Dymock he was more fortunate than in John Townsend whom he had

⁷⁵ D.E. Lowe, 'Patronage and politics: Edward IV, the Wydevills, and the council of the prince of Wales 1471-83', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, vol. 29 (1981), p. 566.

⁷⁶ Lowe, p. 558.

⁷⁷ J.S. Roskell, 'William Allington of Bottisham, speaker in the Parliaments of 1472-5 and 1478', *Cambridge Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, vol. 52 (1959), pp. 43-55. William's son died at Bosworth fighting for Richard III.

⁷⁸ C.E. Moreton, *The Townsends and their World*, Oxford 1991, p. 54.

⁷⁹ Black, pp. 246-48.

⁸⁰ TNA, E315/486/25, (Dymock Papers).

⁸¹ TNA, E315/486/10, (Dymock Papers).

inherited as part of the Scales affinity.⁸² Thomas, Lord Scales, had enfeoffed John Townsend and others to hold his lands in Norfolk and Essex. When Thomas died, Antony and his wife Elizabeth had to take Townsend to chancery to force him to return the estates to them.⁸³ This ended their association and in 1481 a dispute broke out between Antony and Townsend's son, Roger, over lands in Helhoughton which both claimed.⁸⁴ Lastly there is negative evidence of Antony attempting to create an affinity in the pardon he received on 29 June 1475 for offences against livery and maintenance, which suggests he had done something to merit a pardon. The pardon also covered false entry into lordships and possessions of the king.⁸⁵ On 24 April 1477 he received a further pardon along with the queen and others for alienation of lands belonging to John, Duke of Norfolk, without licence.⁸⁶ Undoubtedly both pardons related to encroachment made by Antony onto lands that he believed fell within the sphere of Prince Richard's estates.

Antony did not increase his personal lands beyond those he obtained through marriage, Edward made him very few grants before 1470.⁸⁷ Most grants came after Edward's return in 1471. Antony acquired the reversion of lands belonging to Philippa Wingfield in 1473 and those of William Vaux following his forfeiture in 1474. In 1478 he was granted lands out of Clarence's estate, but only for six years and any income above 1000 marks was to be paid to the king.⁸⁸ None of these grants were really satisfactory for they were dependent either upon the death of the current holder or were only short-term grants. Antony therefore had to make the most of those lands he had and try to prove additional claims. Sometime during 1482-83 Antony asked Dymock to look into the title of Lady Roos' lands to see if there was any way in which her rights might be forfeit. He also requested that Dymock look into the rights

⁸² Moreton, pp. 53-54.

⁸³ TNA, C1/28/77.

⁸⁴ Moreton, pp. 85-91.

⁸⁵ *CPR 1467-77*, p. 553.

⁸⁶ *CPR 1476-85*, p. 77.

⁸⁷ *CPR 1461-67*, p. 188. In May 1462 he and Elizabeth were granted the manor of 'le Syche' in South Lynne worth £20 per annum, out of the forfeited estate of Sir Thomas Tudenham, *CPR 1461-68*, p. 330. In November 1465 a grant was made of lands belonging to Lady Willoughby and her husband Gervase Clyfton, which were deemed to be forfeit by her first husband and were valued at 400 marks. Antony's servants later entered into Lady Willoughby's property in Wolverton and took away her goods illegally.

⁸⁸ *CPR 1467-77*, 5 June 1473 Wyngefelde lands p. 423; 11 Feb 1474 Vaux lands pp. 421-22 and *CPR 1476-85*, 13 Nov. 1478 p. 115; 14 Dec. 1478 p. 135; 22 Jan 1479 Clarence's lands p. 1132.

of Lord Dudley and Sir Henry Porpoynnt.⁸⁹ None of these attempts came to anything, either the title was good or someone else had a better claim.

His claim to the Scales lands was equally poor. In 1466 he had raised a fine in king's bench along with his wife Elizabeth to secure the Scales lands for his heirs at the expense of Elizabeth's rightful heirs.⁹⁰ In his will he continued to defraud the right heirs by granting these lands to the right heirs of Sir Richard Wydevile. He had secured the lands by a legal sleight of hand. Legally, following Elizabeth's death the lands should have reverted to her heirs, John de Vere and William Tyndale; certainly once Henry VII was on the throne they quickly put in a successful claim. As well as lands Antony was granted three wardships, Robert Gedding, Christopher Throgmarton and 'Gaynesfords son',⁹¹ but none of them were major heirs and certainly did not match the grant made to the marquess of Dorset, of Clarence's heir, Edward. Antony was therefore unlikely to reap any great advantage from them in terms of money or connections.

A complicated land deal took place over the captaincy of Carisbrooke Castle and the Isle of Wight. In 1444-45 Henry VI created Henry Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, king of the island, though it bestowed no regal power.⁹² When he died in 1445 the title died with him. Was it the thought of this dormant title that roused the Wydevile interest? In 1460 Sir Geoffrey Gate had been granted the captaincy of the castle and island for life,⁹³ but in 1466 he surrendered it to the king so that it could be granted to Antony. In compensation he was made captain of Calais.⁹⁴ On the face of it this appears a straightforward transaction but on 3 November 1466 Richard Wydevile and Jacquetta granted Gate and his heirs male the manor and advowson of Dangehall in Essex,⁹⁵ and on the 10 November the Isle of Wight, as held by Gate, was granted to Antony.⁹⁶ What is curious is that on 28 October an indenture had been drawn up between Gate and Antony relating to the island: Gate would hand over his rights in return for the manors of Ruynhale, Shaldeford and Dangehall, and this was to be carried out by the 21 November.⁹⁷ On the 31 October a bond was made between the two men stating that Antony owed

⁸⁹ TNA, E315/486/2 and E315/486/29, (Dymock Papers).

⁹⁰ TNA, E150/603/4, Inquisition into Antony's land – detailing fine dated 6 Edward IV.

⁹¹ CPR 1467-77, Robert Gedding was the son of John Gedding, Great Therlowe, Suffolk, p. 152; Christopher Throkmaron, p. 475, and see also Crawford, p. 187.

⁹² Sir Richard Worsley, *The History of the Isle of Wight*, London 1781, p. 65.

⁹³ CPR 1452-61, p. 38, grant dated 16 December.

⁹⁴ Worsley, pp. 70, 91.

⁹⁵ CPR 1461-67, p. 535, this included 940 acres of land and 100s rent in Dange, Dansey and Bradwell.

⁹⁶ CPR 1461-67, p. 535.

⁹⁷ TNA, E211/299.

Gate £2,000 for 'merchandise bought from him,' this was to be paid by Christmas and if he defaulted then Gate would have the manors of Ryunhale and Shaldeford in Essex.⁹⁸ It would appear that in fact Antony bought the rights from Gate, the cost being the lands granted by his parents and £2,000, instead of his manors of Ruynhale and Shaldeford. Unfortunately for Gate, Antony defaulted and during the re-adeption Gate issued a writ for Antony's arrest for the debt.⁹⁹ Matters were not resolved until 24 September 1475 when Antony issued a release of all actions against Gate, followed on the 8 November by a similar release from Gate of all actions against Antony.¹⁰⁰ Acquisition of the island was obviously very important to Antony especially as it brought him into conflict with one of Warwick's men at a time when feelings were starting to run high against Wydevile greed.

It is hardly surprising that Antony was unable to meet the cost of £2,000. His display at the Smithfield tournament alone demonstrated considerable expenditure in terms of clothing, the cost of five horses and attendants. The question arises how could he have afforded the display in 1467 and the purchase of the island? His lands were sufficient to cover his expenses as lord Scales but were unlikely to be sufficient to cover two such large items of expenditure, unless Edward IV helped with costs. Until the 1470s he held few offices that could help him meet the cost of such conspicuous display let alone the purchase of an island. His parents' position was no better, although they had obviously assisted as much as they could with the grant of Dangehall. Some evidence for his economic position comes from the Paston Letters and the Dymock papers. These tend to demonstrate a constant need to raise money. On 10 April 1482 John Paston was advised by one of his servants that Antony has been at Hickling to meet with his council and that they advised he could raise more money by increasing his homage fees from his tenants. Antony was also interested in how much money could be made from the sale of wheat, disposal of a cargo at Sandwich and the sale of sheep. One letter to Dymock sounded almost anxious.¹⁰¹ It was this need for money that caused him to look into the land titles of Lady Roos and others. This may reflect a general state of affairs or that he was more pressed than usual for money. The same correspondence details building work being carried out on various properties. A glazier was to be paid five marks for work done on his chapel. A mason, Thomas Danyell, was carrying out various works over the period May 1482 to January 1483. Danyell was no local mason but was the king's master

⁹⁸ TNA, E211/299, the bond appears on the same roll immediately after the indenture.

⁹⁹ CCR 1468-76, p. 157, no. 595, 2 Oct. 49 Henry VI, 1470.

¹⁰⁰ CCR 1468-76, p. 433, no 1551 and p. 436, no 1567.

¹⁰¹ TNA, E315/486/32 and Ives, *BIHR*, p. 219.

mason; Edward paid him a retainer of 1s a day,¹⁰² so he did not come cheap. In August alone Danyell was paid over £26 for work done.¹⁰³ From one letter to Danyell it would appear the work was being carried out at the Mote, in Kent. Antony requested the dais be made bigger if possible and that the turret be raised higher if the foundations are sufficient. He also wanted 'a skochon of the armez of Wodevile and Scalis and a Garter bought yt,' this is to be placed 'wher ye thynke it may be best seen'.¹⁰⁴ Antony seems keen that all his major properties should have his arms upon them. At Carisbrooke he had built a gate with two large towers, over the entrance was a carved stone with his arms and York roses on either side.¹⁰⁵ At Middleton his arms appear again over the gatehouse.¹⁰⁶ Such conspicuous display was expensive.

The only breakdown of his available income from lands comes from the Howard Household Book. Howard's receiver listed all income received from Antony's recently forfeited lands, which had been granted to Howard by Richard III. The income from these lands totalled £241 0s 6½d. Obviously the list does not include all Antony's lands as some were granted elsewhere, and Howard only received some of his Norfolk lands. However it does give some indication of his income. This can be compared to a list of similar date of wages paid to some of Antony's officers in Norfolk and the Isle of Wight.¹⁰⁷ Expenditure totalled £90 7s 8d, but this can be increased by looking at the Howard list which shows which bailiffs have not been included and their average wage. There are another seventeen bailiffs who could be included and assuming an average wage of 13s 4d another £11 6s 8d can be added, giving a total expenditure of £101 14s 4d. This leaves him with a surplus of £139 6s 2½d from his Norfolk lands. This is increased by £40 13s 8d if the wages for officers on the Isle of Wight are removed so that the comparison reflects the Norfolk estates only. If this pattern was the same across his lands he barely had enough to meet his basic needs.

The fact that he considered the Isle of Wight worth £2,000 may not reflect the value of the land but the value he placed on a potential kingship. It was possibly also of strategic importance to the Wydeviles. His Norfolk lands were probably the most profitable lands, although it is dangerous to make assumptions based on only two years of records. Correspondence over this period

¹⁰² John Harvey, *English Medieval Architects*, Gloucester 1987, p. 78.

¹⁰³ TNA, E315/486/24; 28; 30; 31; 33; 41; and 46.

¹⁰⁴ TNA, E315/486/38, printed in J. Gairdner, *The Life and Reign of Richard III*, Cambridge 1898, p. 340.

¹⁰⁵ Worsley, *Isle of Wight*, p. 42.

¹⁰⁶ H.L. Bradfer-Lawrence, 'Proceedings of the Society during the year 1926, Further explorations in the West', *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. 23 (1926), p. xiv.

¹⁰⁷ *British Library Harleian Manuscript 433*, ed R. Horrox and P.W. Hammond, 4 vols, Uppminster and London 1979-83, vol. 3, pp. 214-15.

relates only to what income can be raised on the Norfolk estates; the only other land he mentions is his manor of the Mote. His Norfolk lands formed a third of his total landholdings and this was also the only area where he had a number of estates clustered together. Norfolk was one of the richest counties for arable land as well as having one of the most progressive farming systems in England.¹⁰⁸ Unfortunately arable land tended to be in central and southern Norfolk, and Antony's lands were clustered in the north-west of the county. This area did, however, tend toward better meadowland where mixed farming was carried out. This can be demonstrated by his interest in both cattle and crop prices. If the farms were well managed then crops and livestock would produce a high yield. It can safely be assumed from the few entries in the Dymock papers that Antony, or at least his council, kept things in good order and did their best to maximise income. A number of his Norfolk manors also enjoyed well established markets that had been in place since the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Norfolk had the highest density of markets of any other county,¹⁰⁹ and this was undoubtedly another source of income that Antony could exploit. What is surprising is that he did not obtain a licence to create any new markets on some of his other manors, but this might have brought him into conflict with the duchy of Lancaster or Prince Richard's sphere of influence. The remaining two thirds of his lands were scattered across a dozen counties, including a small land-holding in Calais. These lands were widely dispersed. Neither grants from Edward, nor his second marriage, unified his holdings, if anything the latter added to the spread.

It is hardly surprising Antony failed to pay Gate and that his will lists debts to various merchants and friends. Like his father it would appear he was dependent upon offices to increase his income. This would have been even more important after the death of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, in January 1477, for in 1471 Charles the Bold had granted Antony a pension of £1,000 a year, which may well have ended upon his death. It is little wonder that Antony was quick to impose penalties when his deputies failed to make payment.

Conclusion

There was considerable popular feeling that focused on the Wydeviles' greed and low birth. Even following the death of Richard, Earl Rivers, and John Wydevile in 1469, this feeling did not totally disappear. The accusation of being 'made by maryage' remained true through two generations. Richard Wydevile, Earl Rivers, failed to create a sufficient landed estate to sustain his

¹⁰⁸ B.M.S. Campbell, 'Medieval land use and land values', p. 48 and 'Medieval arable and pastoral husbandry, 1250-1349', p. 50, both in *Historical Atlas of Norfolk*, ed P. Wade-Martins, Norwich 1994.

¹⁰⁹ D. Dymond, 'Medieval and later markets', in *Historical Atlas of Norfolk*, p. 76.

title and provide suitably for his heir. If his daughter had not married the king, the Wydeviles would have returned to the relative obscurity of the local gentry after the death of Richard and Jacquetta. Such uncertainty of position and open criticism may well have encouraged their highhanded behaviour, which only worsened their image in the eyes of the general public. Being a high profile family did not make them more gracious. They demonstrated a high degree of conspicuous consumption but no largesse in the manner of a Warwick who knew how to court the people. There were several examples of merchant families entering the nobility successfully. Close to home there was the FitzLewis family; there were also the de la Poles and Chaucers. The major difference was that in these cases both sides had something to offer, giving money in return for marriage into an impoverished title. The Wydeviles offered nothing in return except beauty, and this undoubtedly added to their reputation for greed.

Antony has received more mixed reactions. He has been viewed more sympathetically because of his literary achievements, and seen as valorous because of his appearance in tournaments. This however is a limited view. He may have aspired to the chivalric ideal in these endeavours but where it mattered he was often found lacking. Both Edward IV and Charles the Bold expressed the opinion he was a coward, and this cannot be ignored as a 'heat of the moment' criticism. Both men were experienced soldiers unafraid to lead from the front. A man who was a knight and a member of a chivalric order, one who aspired to the nobility, was not expected to show cowardice even if he was afraid, nor was he expected to cheat.

Antony's choice of literature conformed to that of his day. His reading tends to suggest a strong personal devotion. His devotion to the cult of the Virgin is demonstrated in his interest in the chapel of the Lady of the Pewe, Westminster and his wish to have his heart buried there and his body before an image of the Virgin at Pontefract. Despite his attacks on church lands his devotion seems to be genuine. Was his appearance as a hermit at the 1477 tournament really a demonstration of how he would have preferred to live his life? Had he a desire to dedicate his life to God, a desire which was in fact at odds with the life he led?

He did not decide to remarry for some years, and then he chose a young girl. Did he wish for a celibate marriage? This might explain the lack of children; perhaps his marriage to Mary was a way of avoiding a marriage arranged by Edward from which more might be expected. In his translation of the *Diets and Sayings*, Caxton chided him for omitting Socrates' disparaging comments on women. 'I fynde that my saide lord hath left out certayn and dyverce conclusions towchyng women. Wherof I mervaylle ... ne what hath mevyd hym so to do ... But I suppose that som fayr lady hath desired hym to leve it out ... Or ellys he was amerous on some somme noble lady ... or ellys for the very

affeceyon love and good wylle that he hath unto alle ladyes ...'.¹¹⁰ Caxton listed various excuses, even the wind turning the page by accident. Perhaps he was right in attributing it to a chivalric respect for ladies in general; the evidence does not suggest he loved a specific woman. It would fit Antony's image as a chivalrous knight, so long as his cheating at Smithfield is overlooked. But on closer inspection it may be that the comments by Socrates were a little too close to home. Caxton included a full translation at the end of the book and emphasised that Socrates came from a country very different to England, 'For I wote wel. of what somever condicion women ben in Grece. the women of this contre ben right good, wyse, playsant ... obedient to their husbondis ... etc'.¹¹¹ Socrates' writings had nothing but bad things to say about women, but the worst of his complaints was that an ignorant man 'is governed by the conceyll of women' for all women 'ben semblable in malice'.¹¹² Did this sound too much like a description of Edward's relationship with his queen? Antony would not want to be associated with any philosophy that emphasised the dangers of a woman dominating her husband. It was a criticism regularly made of Elizabeth, and it would also explain Caxton's distancing of the English from any resemblance to Greek women.

Family was obviously very important to him, as his comments on supporting the Pastons demonstrate. He supported Wydevile attempts to build up spheres of influence in the West Country for his nephew, Dorset, and in East Anglia and Wales, where the princes held lands. In 1483 these plans seemed to be coming to fruition. In May 1482 he had purchased armour,¹¹³ possibly because he was preparing to send support for the war against Scotland. But in the light of events in 1483, this could be viewed in a more sinister light. An equally sinister construction can be put on Antony's actions in Wales, for in March 1483 he was asking for confirmation of his powers to raise men in Wales and arranging for Dorset to replace him as deputy at the Tower.¹¹⁴ It can be suggested that following Edward's death on 9 April the Wydeviles were preparing to take power in the name of Edward V. If Gloucester had known of these activities they would have increased his fears of the Wydeviles when Hastings wrote warning him about events in London. It is difficult not to believe that this was an eventuality that the Wydeviles had been planning for. It would explain why Antony and his brothers were uninterested in providing heirs for themselves and why they were securing large areas of influence across the country. Dorset had the wardship of Clarence's heir, which Gloucester again

¹¹⁰ Crotch, pp. 21-22.

¹¹¹ Crotch, p. 22.

¹¹² Crotch, p. 26.

¹¹³ Ives, *Papers of Antony, Earl Rivers*, p. 225.

¹¹⁴ Ives, *Papers of Antony, Earl Rivers*, pp. 224-25.

might have perceived as a direct threat to his own claim to the Warwick estates. This wardship potentially gave the Wydeviles more influence in the Midlands, and may help explain Gloucester's pre-emptive strike at Stony Stratford. Gloucester's success was facilitated by the lack of any Wydevile affinity except that built in the name of the young prince.

Antony's life appears to be one of contradictions. He enjoyed tournaments but not the reality of battle. He enjoyed rich, conspicuous display both in his building and clothing and did all that he could to acquire land and money but did not concern himself about an heir. He appears to have been dedicated to both family and God – and generally family won – but he seems to have had little feeling for his own daughter. In his will he remembered his sins, but selectively. He wished to correct the wrongs done to Lady Willoughby by his servants, but he failed to mention his servants' attack on Meek whose son they killed.¹¹⁵ He remembered his debts and rewarded his servants, he named his brother as heir, arranged masses for the souls of his family, yet forgot his illegitimate daughter. The will was business like: it met the requirements of his soul and those of his family and little else. It showed awareness of some of the wrongs he had committed but it displayed no affection. Perhaps he simply did not have feelings for anyone else; the nearest he came to sentiment was his wish to be buried with his nephew Richard, who was executed with him, and the plans for obits for his brother John. His whole life appears to have been one of 'going through the motions'. He did what he had to for the sake of his family, but not very well. His sister, Elizabeth, appears to have been the intelligent and politically astute member of the family, after all she did manage to survive into Henry VII's reign and arrange for her daughter to become queen – was Antony simply carrying out her wishes?

In his works of translation he used only those books readily to hand. The *Dicts* had been lent to him, 'whiche boock I have never seen before'.¹¹⁶ Was this literary artifice or had he really never seen it? Perhaps the clue is in his request for 'somme gode hystorye' to read; perhaps until now he had restricted his reading to things light and entertaining and not philosophical. His literary education may have begun with his patronage of Caxton, and although the other books he translated suggest otherwise, they both came from his parents' library. The *Dicts* may have struck a chord, especially at an emotional time, but here was an opportunity to enhance his image also. As governor of the prince he demonstrated his fitness for the post by translating appropriate works for a

¹¹⁵ C.L. Kingsford, *Prejudice and Promise in Fifteenth Century England*, London 1962, p. 58. Meek was a mercer living in Lynn: sometime in the period 1465-67 servants broke into his house and carried off his goods, killing his son and putting Meek into prison.

¹¹⁶ *Dicts*, f. 58 recto.

prince. Given Edward's earlier criticism of him he may have felt the need to impress Edward.

Perhaps the poem he wrote before his death says most about him. Was he acknowledging the contradictions of his life, his desires against what was expected of him? In his personal life, did he try to devote himself to God while in public he had to support his family?

Somewhat musing
And more mourning,
In remembering
Th'unsteadfastness;
This world being
Of such wheeling,
Me contraying,
What may I guess?

Me doth advance
I fear doubtless,
Remediless
Is now to seize
My woeful chance;
For unkindness
Withoutenless,
And no redress

With displeasure
To my grievance
And no surance
Of remedy;
Lo, in this trance,
Now in substance,
Such is my dance
Willing to die.

Methinks truly,
Bounden am I,
And that greatly
To be content;
Seeing plainly
Fortune doth wy
All contrary
From mine intent

My life was lent
Me to one intent.
It is nigh spent.
Welcolme Fortune!
But I ne went
Thus to be shent
But she it meant:
Such is her wone.

Antony's Will, TNA, PROB 11/8, ff. 316-17¹¹⁷

In the name of our Lord amen. I Antony Widevile etc, in hole mynd and fressh memory in the castell of Shiryfhton the xxij day of Juny and the vigill of seint

¹¹⁷W. Black, *Historical Illustrations*, pp. 1-44 includes the will (taken from *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 240-49 incl. notes), a copy of which is available in the Richard III Society Library. A copy of the original will is also available on line from the TNA website, where, however, it is rather misleadingly referenced as 'Anthony Wardvile or van de Ryvere', TNA, PROB 11/8, ff. 316-17, and the present text is taken from this. Abbreviations have been extended; punctuation and the use of capitals have been modernised.

John Baptyst the yere of our lord M^cCCCClxxxiiij make my testament and last will in the forme folowyng. Furst I bequeith my soule unto the grete mercy of Jhesu Crist and to his dere moder Our Lady Seint Mary and to the glorious company of hevyn. And my hert to be had to our Lady of Pewe beside Seint Stephyns Colledge at Westmynster there to be buried by thadvyse of the deane and his brethren, and if I dy beyend Trent than to be buried before Our Lady of Pewe aforseid. Also I will that all such land as was my lord my faders remayne holy to his right heyres, with my cupp of gold of colombyne which was lefte me by bequest to that entent it shuld remayne to the right heires of my said lord my fadere. And such londes as were the Lady Scalys, my fyrst wife, be unto my brother Syr Edward and to his heyris male; for faut of such heyres male unto the right heyres of my said lord my fadre. This is my will and entent therin to take effecte as ferre as consciens and lawe will, and that to be sene and determyned by ij doctours of London and ij of Oxford and of Cambrigge, or doctors at the lest with ij of the chefe juges and ij of theldest seriauntes of the lawe. And if they fynde that this myn entent may not with conscience and lawe and any part therof that it be guydid after their demyng. And if they think that my seid brother may have it all, or for faut of hym, ony of my seid lord my fadre heires, he that shalhave the lond to pay or he have possession vC marcas that to be employed for the soules of my last wife, Lady Scalys and Thomas hyr brother and the soules of all the Scales blode, in helping and refreshshing hospitalles and other dedes charitable. And if all the land may not be so had than to pay but after the rate of such lond as I may bequeith. Also I will that all my goodes goo to the paying of my dettes. And all my feesimpill lond, that is to sey the maner of Tyrington Hall in Middylton with the hundreth of Frebrigge, the maner of Wolverton with thadvowson in the counte of Norfolke, the maner of Rokey in Barway in the counte of Hereford, to be sold to the same entent and for to make an hospitall at Rowchestyr for xiiij pouver folke, and other dedes of charite, as to pay prisoners fees and small dettes, to visett the prisones of London and help to bury the ded, with other werkes of mercy. And as for my dettes I knowlege I owe to the bisshop of Worcester lx li which I will he be truly paid. Also I knowlege that I owe a somme of mony to Lomner mercer of London as it wele apperith both by his billes and by my boke in my closett at London which I wyll be content after consciens. Also I knowlege that I owe abowght xl li to Coles Mayce goldsmith, as Butsyde of London and Griffith my servaunt can tell, which Coles I will be truly content. Also I knowlege that I owe to the Mayor of Lynne and to divers creditours in Norfolk, and to Abrey draper of Norwich serteyn sommes of money as apperith by warauntes signid by my hand to Fyncham, myn receyvour, which shuld pay theym of my lyvelode and fees in Norfolk and Suffolk growing from Mychelmas last passed, which warauntes I wilbe paid in any wyse. Also I remembre there was a preest claymid to be execeutour to a boucheer of

London callid Lamyē, as Andrew Dymmok knowith, and that I shuld owe the same bocheer money which I will in any wyse be paid. And that therbe a preest founde a yere at our Lady of Pewe to pray for the sowle of the seid brocherer and all cristen soules. And an other for the sowles of Syr Henry Lowes, and a preest to be founde to syng at the chapell of the Rodes in Grenewich to pray for my soule and all christen sowlys. And that my wyfe have all such plate as was the same Henry Lewes, [f. 316v] and other of my plate to the value of asmuche thing as I hadd of his. Also that she have all such plate as was geven hyr at our marriage, and the sparver of white sylke with iiij peyre of sheets, ij payre of fustians, a federbed, j chambring of Gresylde. And except that stuffe, all other stuffe of howsehold in the Mote and at my place in the Vyntre to be to my seid lord my fadres heyres, advising theym on Goddes behelve that thabbot of Seint Jamys beside Northampton, and the nonnes beside Caunturbury be allwey dewley answerd of their claymes. And Syr John Gilford to content it as it apperith by the evidences that Richard Haute hath. Also I will that Seint Mary of York have my grete gilt basons, and such a somme of money as myn executours shall think goode to pray for my soule. Also I owe to Syr Thomas Vaughan CC marces, wherof I have paid xx^{ti} marcs here in the north, and he hath to plegge my balys in colombyne with v perles. Also I will that all my husehold servauntes in the chekyr roll have trewely ther wages for Mydsomer quarter, and every one a blak gowne. And as I remembyr I owe William Butler xxs which I will he be paid. And as for myn evidences, Andrewe Dymmok knowyth them, and canne shewe how all my lond standith. And if William Aubrey, which was coferer to the kyng which nowe is whan he was prince, Thomas Wytman, the seid Andrew Dymmok, Butsyde, and John Gryffyth, know any moo dettes that I shuld owe, I require them for to show it. And I will myn executours in any wyse to pay to whom it be owyng. And I desire on Goddes behelve that no man interupt my seid executours in fulfilling this my will, as they will answeere at the dredefull day of dome, geving to my seid executours power by this my seid will to take a rekenyng and levy all such sommes of money as is owyng me of my lyvelod, fees, annuities, or otherwyse. And they to employe such goodes as shall come to their handes after this will and moost consciens for the wele of my soule. And I will that all myn aray for my body and my horse harnes be sold, and with the money therof be bought shyrtes and smokkes to pouer folkes. And my gowne of Tawney cloth of gold I geve to the priour of Royston. My trapper of blakk cloth of gold I geve to Our Lady of Walsingham. Also I desire and charge on Goddes behelve and upon payne of damnacion that my feeffes make none astate nor relese, ne my tenauntes make no retourne but according to theeffect of this my last will. Also I will that all such lond, as I purchasid by the meane of Syr Jamys Molaynes preest, remayn still with the man[er] of Grafton toward the fynding of the preest of tharmitage. Also the londes that I purchased beside the Mote to re-

mayne to my lord my faders heyres. Also I will that my Lady Willoughby, late the wyfe of Sir Gerveis Clyfton, be commond with all by myne executours towching such stufes as Syr Ewan, parson of Wolverton, and other my servautes had away from hyr place, and she to be delt with therin and answered according to goode right and conscience. And I will in no wyse that the nonnes of Blakborough be hurt in such londes of theires as lieth within the Roche Fenne of Myddylton, which I late closid. Also I will that Syr Jamys Molaynes and Emson, late attorney of the duchie of Lancastre, be commond with, and that it be sene if so be that I have occupied Bradon without good right, that myn executours se the contentacion and reformyng therof according to right and conscience. And I will that thadvowson of the parissh church of Bewdeley remayne the patronacion therof to the right heires of my lord my fadre, theym to present to the benefice whan it shall fawle voyde an able preest to pray for the sowles of my seid lord my fadre, my lady my modre, my brother Syr John, me, and all cristen sowles. Also I will that Wyttyngton College of London have a somme of money to pray for my soule. And myn executours see that such tythes as I owe to have made be answerid in the moos behofefull wyse for my soule. Also I will that Tybold, my barbour, have v mark, and I will my servaunt Jamys [blank] have xls. Also I make myn executours the bisshipp of Lincoln, chaunceler of England, the bisshopp of Worcestyr, Husy the chefe juge of the kinges benche, Bryan the chefe juge of the comyn place, William Tunstall, Robert Poynz, Richard Hawte, William Catesby, Andrew Dymmok, and ThomasThorysby, to which all, and at the lest to thre of them, I geve full auctorite and power, and prey them at the reverence of Ihesu to see that my will may be fulfillid. Over this I besech humbly my Lord of Gloucestyr, in the worshipp of Cristes Passhion and [f. 317] for the meryte and wele of his soule, to comfort, help, and assist, as supervisor, for very trust of this testament that myn executours may with his pleasure fulfill this my last will, which I have made the day aboveseid. In wittenes Syr Thomas Gower knight, William Tunstall, Doctour Lovell, Syr John Esingwold, vicar of Shyryfhoton, Syr William Teysedale, Thomas Wawer, preestes, and Richard Lexton gentylman. My will is now to be buried befor an image of Our Blissid Lady Mary with my Lord Richard in Pomfrete And Ihesu have mercy of my soule etc.