

The Chancellor's File—Part 2

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PART 1 of this article³³ described the form and provenance of the documents in Public Record Office File C.81/1392, the surviving signet letters of Richard III to John Russell, Lord Chancellor of England. In this and subsequent parts, full transcriptions will be presented of those letters which the authors found to be of most interest together with a short commentary. A calendar or short summary of the contents of all the documents was appended to Part 1, but readers requiring the complete text of those not reproduced in full may refer to the typescript transcriptions deposited in the Barton Library of the Richard III Society or to the manuscript originals at the Public Record Office.

There have been several schools of thought on how best to render medieval documents in modern print. In this article, the editors have attempted to conform to modern practice³⁴ but some inconsistencies are inevitable. The original texts are generally much abbreviated, particularly word endings and the use of capitals was very erratic. In transcription the abbreviations have, where possible, been extended to the full spelling for ease of reading; current usage of capital letters has been adopted and modern punctuation inserted. In other respects, the form and spelling follows the original. Words in square brackets are editorial notes and not part of the manuscript.

C.81/1392/1

By the King

RR [autograph]

Right Reverend Fader in God, right trusti and welbiloved, We grete you wele. And where as We undrestande that certaine personnes of such as of late had taken upon thaym the fact of an entrepruise as We doubt nat ye have herd, bee attached, and in warde. We desire and wol you that ye doo make our lettres of commission to such personnes as by you and our counsaill shalbee advised forto sitte upon thaym and to procede to the due execucion of our lawes in that behalve. Faille ye nat herof as our perfect trust is in you. Yeven undre our signet at this Manoir of Mynster Lovel the xxixth day of Juyll.

Herbert W

[On the reverse]

[Addressed:] To the right reverend fader in God, our right trusti and welbiloved the Bisshop of Lincoln our Chaunceller of England.

[Faint note:] littera de commissione faciend'

[Paper: 21 cm x 32 cm]

The first document in this file is the most intriguing and its ambiguous text aroused the curiosity which led to the preparation of this article. Its exciting rediscovery was the result of research carried out for the Richard III Exhibition held at the National Portrait Gallery in 1973.³⁵ In spite of its potential significance there is, as yet, little to add to Dr Tudor-Craig's speculations about the meaning of Richard's guarded message to the Chancellor. There is insufficient detail to relate the letter to any particular commission entered on the Patent Rolls. Dr Tudor-Craig draws attention to the fact that the letter had not been noted before and suggests that this was because it was written by William Herbert and not by Richard's usual secretary John Kendale. However, as discussed in Part 1, it was not routine practice for the principal secretary actually to write the letters himself; this was usually done by one of the signet office clerks. It has been tentatively suggested that the signet letters were usually signed by others if the King himself did not sign them and this document is a notable exception as it bears both Richard's sign manual and that of the clerk. The fact that Herbert signed the letter may be the explanation for its non-appearance in Harley 433, and if this was the docket/memoranda book kept by or for John Kendale, there may well have been another book, or books, perhaps, kept by Herbert as an assistant or deputy. Indeed there are numerous matters which are unexpectedly not to be found in Harley 433 as well as no reference to several other letters in file C.81/1392. In fact if, as seems likely, Harley 433 was in bound form in 1483-5, it would be extremely inconvenient as the only docket book at times when the secretariat was busy and several clerks needed to record the business they were handling.³⁶

Since Harley 433 has hitherto been the main source of documentary evidence for the reign apart from the Patent and Close Rolls, the chancery warrants being largely neglected, it is hardly surprising that this letter had not been noticed by any Ricardian specialist.

Dr Tudor-Craig suggests that 'Herbert' may have been the William Herbert who was secretary to Prince Edward, Richard's son³⁷ and Professor Otway-Ruthven noted a William Herbert, esquire, King's Servitor, who was granted the castle and manor of Kilpeck in Herefordshire in 1462.³⁸ Later references to a William Herbert occur in the Patent Rolls for 1482 and in 1484 when he is described as one of the esquires of the body.³⁹

By the King

RR

Right Reverend Fader in God, right trusty and welbeloved, We grete you wele. And for certain causes us specially meovng suche as oure full trusty Clerc and Counsellour Maister John Coke hath by our commaundement to shewe unto you, We woll and charge you that undre oure grete seale being in youre warde ye doo make our lettres of generall pardonne to Sir Rauf Hastings, knight, late lieutenant of oure Castell of Guynes by whatsomever name or addicion of name he be called and oure othre lettres of confirmacon to the same Sir Rauf of almanere geftes and grauntes to him made of any landes, lyvelood and offices by the famous prince of blessed memory Edward the fourthe late King oure brothre whom God assoyle, which were of effect at the day of his decesse and the same doo to be clerely delivred out of oure hanaper unto our said Counsellour sending unto us the verrey cotypes of them to thentent We may thereupon provyde your more sufficient warrant besides these signed with oure hande requysite in that behalve. And over this our othre lettres of commission to the Lord Dynham, Lieutenant of our Towne and Marches of Calais, Maister John Coke, Archdeacon of Lincoln, Sir Richard Tunstall, Sir John Scotte and Sir Thomas Thwaytes, knightes, with thies clauses of 'quatuor tribus vel duobus &c'. Wherein ye shall please us. Yeven undre oure signet at our Monasterie of Gloucestre the ijde day of August.

[Addressed:] To the Right Reverend Fader in God, our right trusty and welbeloved the Bisshop of Lincoln our Chancellor of England.

[Note:] de litteris confirmaciounis pro Radulfo Haystynges.

[Paper: 20 cm x 31 cm]

To understand the significance of this letter it is necessary to recall the context of events in which it was written and the administrative process involved in implementing its instructions. Following the execution of William, Lord Hastings, the position of his brother Ralph as Lieutenant of the key castle of Guisnes in the marches of Calais became particularly delicate. In Harley 433⁴⁰ there is a memorandum of instructions dated 28 June given to Lord Mountjoy, John Cooke, archdeacon of Lincoln and Sir Thomas Thwaites as commissioners concerning how to treat with the incumbent officers of the Calais garrisons regarding their oath of allegiance to Edward V, the circumstances of Richard III's accession, their position under the new regime and arrangements for paying the wages of the soldiers. This memorandum includes a note that Sir Ralph Hastings was to be discharged from his office as Lieutenant of Guisnes but the commissioners were to assure him of the King's intention to confirm him in all his other offices, grants and possessions and pay his expenses. Following the memorandum is a copy or draft of a signet letter addressed to Sir Ralph Hastings

charging him to give 'full feith and credence' to the King's servants and disclose their unspecified verbal information to such of his subordinates as he shall think fit. He was then to inform the King's commissioners proper waiting at Dover of the disposition of the King's subjects at Guisnes and if this were favourable to receive the Commissioners and take further instructions from them.

This is all tantalisingly oblique and we can only speculate that Richard's Council was so solicitous of the demeanour of the garrison at Guisnes because they feared a defection to the Woodvilles or the French or both as a reaction to William Hastings' death. The matter was apparently so uncertain that a preliminary deputation had to be sent before risking the lives or custody of the distinguished commissioners.

The commissioners appear to have been successful for the present signet letter dated 2 August instructed the Chancellor to do several things. Firstly he was to prepare letters of general pardon for Sir Ralph (who may have felt understandably insecure), these were accordingly entered on the Patent Roll on 18 August.⁴¹ Secondly he was to prepare letters of confirmation of gifts and grants of lands etc. bestowed upon Sir Ralph by Edward IV. It seems that the King's *general* letter would not be a sufficient warrant for the specific grants, so the Chancellor had to give the unsealed letters and copies to John Cooke to bring back to the King. The secretary could then prepare the properly worded individual warrants for each grant to be returned to the Chancellor who would in turn be able to seal the letters patent of confirmation which John Cooke would deliver to Ralph Hastings! The letters patent of confirmation were enrolled on 10 August, 1483.⁴² Finally the signet letter also orders the letters of commission to Lord Dynham, John Cooke, Sir Richard Tunstall, Scott and Thwaytes which were apparently requested earlier and the text of which is recorded undated elsewhere in Harley 433.⁴³ In this connection, the phrase '*quatuor, tribus vel duobus*' is a common form in commissions; in this case indicating any four, three or two but not one alone of the commissioners could act.

The memorandum of 28 June names Sir John Blount, Lord Mountjoye, Lieutenant of Guisnes as successor to Sir Ralph Hastings.⁴⁴ However, in March 1484 Sir Ralph Hastings was re-appointed to the captaincy of Guisnes 'on the death, surrender or forfeiture of John Blount, Knight, Lord Mountjoye'.⁴⁵

C.81/1392/3

By the King

RR

Right Reverend Fader in God, right trusty and right welbeloved, We grete you wele. And for asmoch as We fully entend that the lege and amyte had and made betwixt us and the merchauntes strangiers of Stylyarde shal inviolably be observed and kept withoute any breche or attemptates by oure subgiettes to the contrarie. We therefore wol and commaunde you that if it fortune any of the said merchauntes at any tyme herafter to be misentreted in any of oure portes and other places within this oure Royme contrarie to the said amyte that than ye doo make unto them from tyme to tyme such as many writtes as unto them by thadvise of ther counsel shalbe thought necessarie and requisite for the

reformation and redresse therof withoute any further suyt to be made unto us in that behalve. And that ye se this to be doon as oure grete trust is in you. And thise our lettres shalbe unto you sufficiaunt warraunt and discharge. Yevene under oure signet at oure Castel of Warrewic the xiiij day of August.

[Addressed:] To the Right Reverend Fadre in God, our right trusty and right welbeloved the Bisshop of Lincoln oure Chaunceller of England.

[Note:] *littera pro brevibus faciend' mercatoribus hans' teutonic'*.

[Paper: 20 cm × 30 cm]

The 'merchant strangers of the Steelyard' were the Hanseatic merchants or 'Easterlings' who had a London trading base and residence occupying a block between streets with a wharf to the river a little upstream from London Bridge.⁴⁶ In the fourteenth century the word 'steelyard' referred to the beam balance used for weighing wool and measuring cloth at Staple ports and the place known as the Steelyard may derive from this. In the thirteenth century the major ports of what are now Holland and Germany had formed a mercantile federation or Hanse to secure more favourable trading terms with the major powers.⁴⁷

Although he was pursued by Hanseatic ships in his flight from England in 1470, Edward IV subsequently used Hanse ships and money in his return expedition in 1471. As a result of this, the Hanse merchants were later granted customs and other trading concessions and perpetual use of 'a place within the city of London called the Stilehof or Stileyard'.⁴⁸ The trading concessions were not reciprocated in the European ports⁴⁹ and this may have led to discontent on the part of English merchants and reprisals which under the terms of the treaty of 1474, the King was obliged to subdue and redress. The tenor of his instructions to the Chancellor make it clear that Richard had no intention of letting the treaty lapse.

C.81/1392/4

By the King

RR

Right Reverend Fader in God, our right trusti and welbeloved, We grete you hertely wele. And where as by oure commaundement ye of late made our Lettres of Commission unto our right trusty and welbeloved counsellour the Lord Dynham, Lieutenaunt of oure Towne and Marches of Calais for a commicacion to be had touching two shippes of the Lord Cordes and the restitucon of oure subgiettes, We for certaine causes us specially meoving wol that upon the sight of thise ye doo make of newe unto our said Counsellour oure othre like lettres except that it shal extend generally for the shippes of the said Lord Cordes. Geving overe this credence to oure trusti merchaunt Thomas Grafton that he shal shewe unto you therin on oure behalve. Yeven undre oure signet at oure Citee of York the xijth day of Septembre.

[Addressed:] To the Right Reverend Fader in God, our right trusti and welbeloved the Bisshop of Lincoln our Chauncellour of England.

[Note:] littera pro commissione pro navibus faciend' monsieur le Cordes.

[Paper: 19 cm x 30 cm]

This letter was dispatched from York on 12 September 1483, a few days after the investiture of Richard's son Edward as Prince of Wales. It is recorded verbatim in Harley 433, a good example of the latter's function as signet office docket-book.⁵⁰ The document refers to earlier letters of commission to Lord Dynham empowering him to negotiate with the formidable French Admiral, Philippe de Crevecoeur, Lord of Querdes, for the redress of injuries and restitution of specific ships captured by both sides earlier in the year.⁵¹ Lord Dynham's terms of reference were now to be extended to cover all the ships under the French Admiral's jurisdiction. The Chancellor was ordered accordingly to issue a new letter of commission under the great seal. The signet warrant is brief and the Chancellor was required to 'give credence' to the bearer Thomas Grafton who would no doubt fill in the details verbally.

Thomas Grafton, a merchant of the Staple, is named as one of the envoys (presumably as deputy to Dynham) in earlier negotiations with Lord Querdes in July. This is recorded in the copy of his instructions in Harley 433 together with a copy of an earlier letter from Lord Querdes dated 27 May at Hesdin.⁵²

In August, during the period between the two letters of commission, Louis XI had died and Richard III may perhaps have felt that this provided an opportune time to move the talks on to a wider front. There does not appear to be any further mention of these negotiations in records printed to date so it is not possible to say whether they were successful. Richard is recorded as authorising payment of £150 as compensation to two traders of Rouen but on the other hand there was at least one major naval engagement with a joint French and Scottish force off Scarborough in 1484.⁵³

C.81/1392/5

[Delivery note:]

Memorandum quod quarto die Februarii Anno subscripto istud breve liberatum fuit domino Cancellario Anglie apud Westmonasterium exequendum.

Per Regem

Reverende in Christo Pater quem sincere dilecte, salutem. Vobis mandamus quod sub Magno Sigillo nostro in custodia vestra existenti litteras nostras patentes fieri faciatis in forma sequenti. Ricardus Dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie, omnibus ad quos presentes littere nostre pervenerint salutem. Sciatis quod nos de gracia nostra speciali ac consideratione boni et fidelis servicii quod predilectus noster Johannes Savage miles pro corpore nostro, nobis ante hec tempora impendit et impendet in futuro, concessimus ei quandam annuitatem

quadraginta marcarum percipiendam annuatim durante vita sua de exitibus proficuis et revencionibus dominiorum nostrorum de Holt, Bromfeld et Yale in Marchia Wallie per manus receptoris eorundem pro tempore existentis ad festa pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones, aliquo statuto, actu sive ordinatione incontrarium facto, ordinato, seu proviso non obstante. In cujus etc. Et hec littere nostre vobis erunt super hoc sufficiens warantum. Date nostro sub signeto apud Castrum nostrum Pontiffract xxijdo die Septembris Anno Regni nostri primo.

Herbert W.

[Addressed:] Reverendo in Christo Patri nobis quem sincere dilecto Episcopo Lincoln Cancellario nostro Anglie.

[Parchment: 19 cm x 28 cm]

[Translation]

[Delivery note:]

Memorandum that on the fourth day of February in the year below written this letter was delivered to the Lord Chancellor of England at Westminster for execution.

By the King

Reverend Father in Christ, right trusty and welbeloved, We greet you well [and] command that under our Great Seal which is in your custody, you cause our letters patent to be made in the following form: Richard by the grace of God, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland: All to whom our present letters shall come, Greetings. Know ye that we of our special grace and in consideration of the good and faithful service that our welbeloved John Savage, Knight for our Body, has before this time extended to us and intendith in the future, we have granted to him an annuity of forty marks to receive yearly for the duration of his life from the issues, profits and revenues of our Lordships of Holt, Bromfield and Yale in the Marches of Wales by the hand of the Receiver of the same for the time being at Easter and Michaelmas in equal portions. Any other statute, act or ordinance made or ordained to the contrary notwithstanding. In [witness] of which etc. And this our letter shall be for this your sufficient warrant. Given under our signet at our Castle of 'Pontiffract' 22nd day September in the first year of our reign.

Herbert W.

[Addressed:] To the Reverend Father in Christ, our right trusty and welbeloved the Bishop of Lincoln our Chancellor of England.

This grant was a result of Richard's visit to York. At a ceremony in the Chapter House of the Minster it is recorded that the King acknowledged the City's past military service by abolishing substantial annual payments due to the Crown.⁵⁴

Part of these payments had been used to provide an annuity of 40 marks for Sir John Savage for whom alternative arrangements had then to be made. It appears from an entry in Harley 433⁵⁵ that the Michaelmas 1483 instalment was temporarily to be paid from the revenues of the County Palatinate of Chester. The present warrant constitutes instructions for a more permanent grant arranged some days later presumably after consultation with records of available revenues.⁵⁶ Despite Sir John Savage's position as a knight of the body and the prompt arrangements for securing the continuity of his income, his family ties with the Stanleys were to influence him decisively against the King in the summer of 1485.

This document has previously been cited as an example of late delivery into Chancery (4 February 1484).⁵⁷ The reason for this may lie in the fact that the annuity payment for Michaelmas 1483 was provided for elsewhere and as Savage would presumably have to pay fees in Chancery for the issue and enrolment of his letters patent for the permanent grant, there would be no urgency in doing this until a convenient time shortly before the first payment was due at Easter 1484.⁵⁸

C.81/1392/6

By the King

Right Reverend Fadre in God, right trusty and welbeloved, We grete you wele. And in oure hertiest wyse thanke you for the manifold presentes that youre servantes on your behalve have presented unto us at this oure being here, whiche We assure you We toke and accepted with good hert and soo We have cause. And where as We by Goddes grace entende briefly to avaunce Us towards our rebelle and traytoure the Duc of Bukingham to resiste and withstonde his maliciose purpose as lately by oure other lettres We certified you our mynde more at large. For whiche cause it behoveth us to have oure grete sele here, We being enformed that for suche infirmitees and diseases as ye susteyne ne may in youre persone to youre ease conveniently come unto us with the same. Wherefore we desire and nathesse charge you that forthwith upon the sight of thies ye sauffy doo the same oure grete sele to be sent unto us and suche of thofficers of our Chauncery as by youre wysedom shalbe thought necessary. Receyvyng thise oure lettres for youre sufficient discharge in that behalve. Yeven undre oure signet at oure Cite of Lincoln the xijth day of Octobre.

[In the King's hand:] We wolde most gladly ye camme yorsellf yf that ye may & yf ye may not We pray you not to fayle but to acomplyshe in all dyllygence oure sayde comaundement to sende oure seale incontenent apon the syght heroff as We trust you with suche as ye trust & the offycers pertainyng to attend with hyt prayng you to assertayne Us of your newes there. Here loved be God ys all well & trewly determyned & for to resyste the malysse of hym that hadde best cawse to

be trewe the duc of Bokyngham the most untrewe creature lyvving whom with Godes grace we shall not be long tyll that we wyll be in that partyes & subdewe hys malys. We assure you there was never falss traytor better purvayde for as this berrerr, Gloucestre, shall shewe you.

[Paper: 16 cm × 24 cm]

No apologies should be required for printing again this well-known and emotive letter.⁵⁹ This must surely be intrinsically the most valuable document of the reign now surviving but it would be repetitive to discuss here its personal and political implications. Comments are therefore confined to some details of interest.

Part I of this article contains a photograph reproduction which, at just under three-quarters full size, is legible with some experience of fifteenth century English script. Even allowing for the reduction it will be noted how small are the characters used by the signet clerk compared with modern hands. The clerk's style is typical of late-fifteenth century better-class secretarial work, albeit a degenerate form of the elegant court hand that flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Nevertheless it contrasts sharply in elegance with Richard's own vernacular hand, typical of the literate but unprofessional layman. Its counterparts can be seen in municipal records and merchants' letters of the time.

This letter is of course not the only evidence we have of the activity of the royal secretariat at this crucial time. The mayor and citizens of York received a signet letter summons for armed assistance also dated from Lincoln the previous day (11 October) and there must have been many more which do not survive.⁶⁰ The York letter was followed by a letter under the Privy Seal dated at Lincoln on 15 October containing the text of a proclamation against the Duke of Buckingham.⁶¹

Although this letter is sometimes represented as symptomatic of Richard's tension at this time of betrayal, he nevertheless finds space after the conventional greeting to warmly acknowledge gifts that he has received at the hands of Russell's servants. We may conjecture that the gifts were to mark the occasion of his arrival in the city of Lincoln, seat of Russell's bishopric.

It will be noted that there is reference to other earlier letters regarding Buckingham's conspiracy which do not seem to have survived.

C.81/1392/7

[Delivery note:]

Memorandum quod xxiiij die Decembris Anno Regni Regis Ricardi tercij post Conquestum primo istud breve liberatum fuit domino Cancellario Anglie apud Westmonasterium exequendum.

[Memorandum that 24th day of December in the first year of the reign of King Richard III after the Conquest this letter was delivered to the Lord Chancellor of England at Westminster for execution.]

Right Reverend Fader in God, right trusty and welbeloved, We grete you wele. And forasmoche as Garard Canysian and Dame Elizabeth Stokton his wife

the day of making hereof contented and payed unto us the some of vC [500] marces sterlinges by them to us due by their bill Obligatorie payable at the Feest of Saint Thomas Thapostell last passed for the which we promysed unto them for that the said bille can not by us as yet be founde, that we shuld delyver to them for their discharge anempst us oure suffisaunt lettres of acqytaunce specifying the said some undre oure grete seale. Wherefore We wol and charge you that forthwith upon the sight hereof ye doo to be made unto them under oure said sele oure said lettres of acqytaunce in due fourme. And thise oure lettres shalbe unto you suffisaunt warrant and discharge in that behalf. Yeven undre our signet at oure Palois of Westminster the xxiiijti day of Decembre. The Furst yere of our Reigne.

J. Kendale

[Addressed:] To the Right Reverend Fadre in God, our right trusty and welbeloved the Bisshop of Lincoln oure Chaunceller of England.

[Paper: 18 cm x 29 cm]

Gerard Caniziani was successively assistant manager, factor and resident partner in the London subsidiary of the Medici Bank of Florence. In these capacities he became a key figure in Edward IV's struggle to rebuild the royal revenues and regain solvency after the Lancastrian financial disaster.⁶² The Medici were merchants as well as bankers and they were prepared to grant the king large loans in return for the lucrative royal licences to bypass the Staple at Calais. This enabled them to ship English wool direct to Italy by the 'straits of Marrok' [Gibraltar]. The loans were usually repaid automatically by exemption from the customs and subsidy on the wool amounting to 4 marks [£2 13s 4d] per sack.

As a result of his long residence in England, Caniziani seems to have developed ties which caused a conflict of loyalty between his company and Edward IV. By 1468 the royal loans had got out of hand to the extent that so much of the capital of the London subsidiary was locked up that there was insufficient left with which to trade and thereby ensure repayment by customs exemption. Entries in the Patent Rolls show that in 1467 the king was indebted to the Medici to the sum of £8468 and a further £2000 is known from Italian sources.⁶³ The magnitude of these sums may be judged by comparison with the total annual budget of the royal household, estimated in 1471 to be about £13,000⁶⁴ and the revenue from royal lands in 1484, recently estimated at £20,000–25,000.⁶⁵

In 1468, the Medici sent their representative, Angelo Tani, to London and he was able temporarily to contain the problem, but after his departure the situation deteriorated and in 1472 the London subsidiary was closed down and the partnership with Caniziani was dissolved. The Medici continued to operate in England under the management of their Bruges branch in an attempt to recover their losses. However, with the liquidation of the Bruges partnership in 1478, Edward IV's remaining debts were written off.

Shortly after breaking with the Medici, in November 1473 Caniziani was granted letters of denization without fee⁶⁶ and thereafter he is described in documents as 'merchant of London' instead of Florence. The following year he married a wealthy English widow, Dame Elizabeth Stokton, and became a country squire because the king, in satisfaction of a sum of £360, granted them jointly the manor of Great Lynford; Buckinghamshire.⁶⁷

Naturally the Medici were far from pleased that their former associate should survive so comfortably after their financial losses and it is difficult to avoid a suspicion of collusion between Caniziani and the king. At least one plot was contrived and was partly successful in recovering some of the money from Caniziani and in 1475 he found it necessary to obtain royal letters of protection as 'the king understands that Christopher Spyne of Florence, merchant and other Florentine merchants of the society of the Medici, on account of his services to the king and his marriage solemnised in this realm, are greatly indignant with him and intend to annoy him without cause.'⁶⁸

Caniziani and his wife are not mentioned again in the Patent Rolls until 1483 when on 21 July they received a general pardon for unspecified offences previous to that date.⁶⁹ The present document suggests greatly changed circumstances whereby the Caniziani are, in 1483, debtors rather than creditors. It appears that they owed the king 500 marks which they had agreed to pay by the Feast of St Thomas the Apostle [21 December] as witnessed by a Bill of Obligation held by the king. As this Bill had been mislaid, and therefore not returnable as a receipt, it was necessary for the Caniziani to have an alternative discharge in the form of letters of acquittance under the Great Seal. The fact that John Kendale was constrained to issue the warrant for this immediately upon the day of payment and on Christmas Eve itself must have some significance, indicating perhaps the esteem in which Caniziani was held or the diligence of Richard's secretariat. A brief note of what is presumably the same warrant is to be found in MS Harl. 433, f.150b.⁷⁰

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

33. *Ricardian*, Vol. V, No. 64, March 1979, pp.2-13.

34. R. F. Hunnisett, *Editing Records for Publication*, British Records Association (1977).

35. P. Tudor-Craig, *Richard III*, National Portrait Gallery Exhibition Catalogue, London (1973) pp.54–55, 98.
Appendix No. 4 (p.98) includes a transcript of document C.81/1392/1. It is there erroneously termed a 'privy seal warrant'.
36. There are numerous theories for what function Harley 433 actually served and these are discussed at length by Dr Rosemary Horrox in her Introduction to the forthcoming edition to be published by the Richard III Society.
37. P. Tudor-Craig, *op. cit.*, p.54.
38. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1461–67*, HMSO (1897), pp.77, 425, 533. J. Otway-Ruthven, *The King's Secretary & the Signet Office in the XVth Century*, Cambridge (1939), p.188.
39. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1476–1485*, HMSO (1901), pp.310, 470.
40. British Library Harley MS. 433, f.238, printed in J. Gairdner, *Letters and Papers, Richard III and Henry VII*, Vol. I, HMSO (1861), pp.11–15.
41. *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1476–1485* (1901), p.365.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Harley MS. 433*, f.27.
44. See Ref. 40.
45. *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1476–1485* (1901), p.385.
46. P. M. Kendall, *The Yorkist Age*, London (1962), pp.138 and 140.
47. E. M. Carus-Wilson, *Towns and Trade in Medieval England*, Oxford (1958).
48. *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1467–1477* (1900), pp.509–510.
Rotuli Parliamentorum (The Rolls of Parliament), Vol. VI (1783), p.123.
T. Rymer, *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae etc.* (Rymer's Foedera), London (1704–13), Vol. XI, pp.793–803. (Text of Hanse Treaty of 1474).
49. Susan Reynolds, *An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns*, Oxford (1977), p.147.
50. *Harley MS.433*, f.113.
51. The letter of commission to Lord Dynham dated 28 June 1483 is printed in: T. Rymer, *Foedera etc.* (1704–13), Vol. XII, p.191. The negotiations with Lord Querdes are described in P. M. Kendall, *Richard III*, London (1955), pp.167, 168, 188, 227, 296.
For an interesting earlier description of an encounter with Lord Querdes refer to the account of Bluemantle Pursuivant printed by C. L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*, Oxford (1913).
52. *Harley MS.433*, f.240 printed in J. Gairdner, *Letters and Papers I*, No. IV, pp.18–20.
53. P. M. Kendall, *Richard III*, p.296, citing *Harley MS.433*, f.170. W. E. Hampton, John Nesfield, *The Ricardian*, Vol. IV No. 58, September 1977, pp.3–4, citing H. T. Riley (Ed.), *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland*, London (1893), p.497.
54. R. Davies (Ed.), *York Records of the Fifteenth Century*, London (1843), republished by Gloucester Reprints 1976, pp.173–175. The letters patent confirming the grant were dated 19 February 1484, *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, p.409.
55. *Harley 433*, f.115, text of a letter to Sir William Stanley, chamberlain of the County Palatinate of Chester.
56. *Harley 433*, f.28b is the file note of the present letter. The letters patent were enrolled under date 4 February 1484 according to *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1476–1485*, HMSO (1901), p.413.
57. Sir H. C. Maxwell-Lyte, *Historical Notes on the Use of the Great Seal of England*, HMSO (1926), p.128, cites it as an example of the late delivery into Chancery (4 February 1484) of a letter issued under the signet seal on 22 September 1483. The Latin text is provided in this reference.
58. For brief biographical details of Sir John Savage refer to L. T. Greensmith, Coats of Arms of some Ricardian Contemporaries, *The Ricardian*, June 1977, Vol. IV, No. 57, pp.20–21.
For a discussion of the history of the York fee farm, the dependent annuities and the sequence of events at York and Pontefract, refer to L. Atreed, York's fee farm and the central government 1480–1492, at present undergoing revision for publication in *Northern History* (1980).
We are indebted to Miss Atreed for sight of her article correlating this document with the grants to the City of York.

59. Also printed by: Sir Henry Ellis, *Original Letters*, Series 2, Vol. I, London (1827), pp.159–160.
National Manuscripts: *Facsimiles (England)*, Part I, Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton, HMSO (1865), No.LVIII.
Maxwell-Lyte (*op. cit.*), p.132 (postscript only).
G. W. O. Woodward, *King Richard III*, Pitkin Pictorials (1973) p.18/photograph.
60. Anthony Cheetham, *The Life and Times of Richard III*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson (1972), p.138.
Davies, *op. cit.*, p.177.
61. Davies, *op. cit.*, p.179.
62. Further details of Caniziani's career are to be found in: R. de Roover, *The Rise and Decline of The Medicl Bank*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1963), pp.329–335 *et passim*, and:
C. L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth*, Vol. 2, London (1923), pp.420–427.
63. *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1467–1477*, HMSO (1900), p.11, and de Roover, *op. cit.*, p.331.
64. A. R. Myers, Ed., *The Household of Edward IV*, Manchester University Press (1959), p.45.
65. B. P. Wolfe, *The Royal Demesne in English History*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. (1971), pp.190–191.
66. *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1467–1477*, HMSO (1900), p.401.
67. *Ibid.*, p.466.
68. *Ibid.*, pp.481–2.
69. *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1476–1485*, HMSO (1901), p.362.
70. Some twelve months later Gerard Caniziani appears to be in debt to Morgan Kidwelly and others (*Harley MS.433, f.198*).

ERRATA

We wish to apologise for unfortunate errors in numbering the notes and references to Part 1 of this article in the March, 1979 *Ricardian*.

On page 12, Note 15 should refer to note 31 *not* 36.

On page 13, Note 28 should be numbered 29,

Note 29 should be numbered 30,

Note 30 should be numbered 31,

Note 31 should be numbered 32,

Note 32 should be numbered 28.