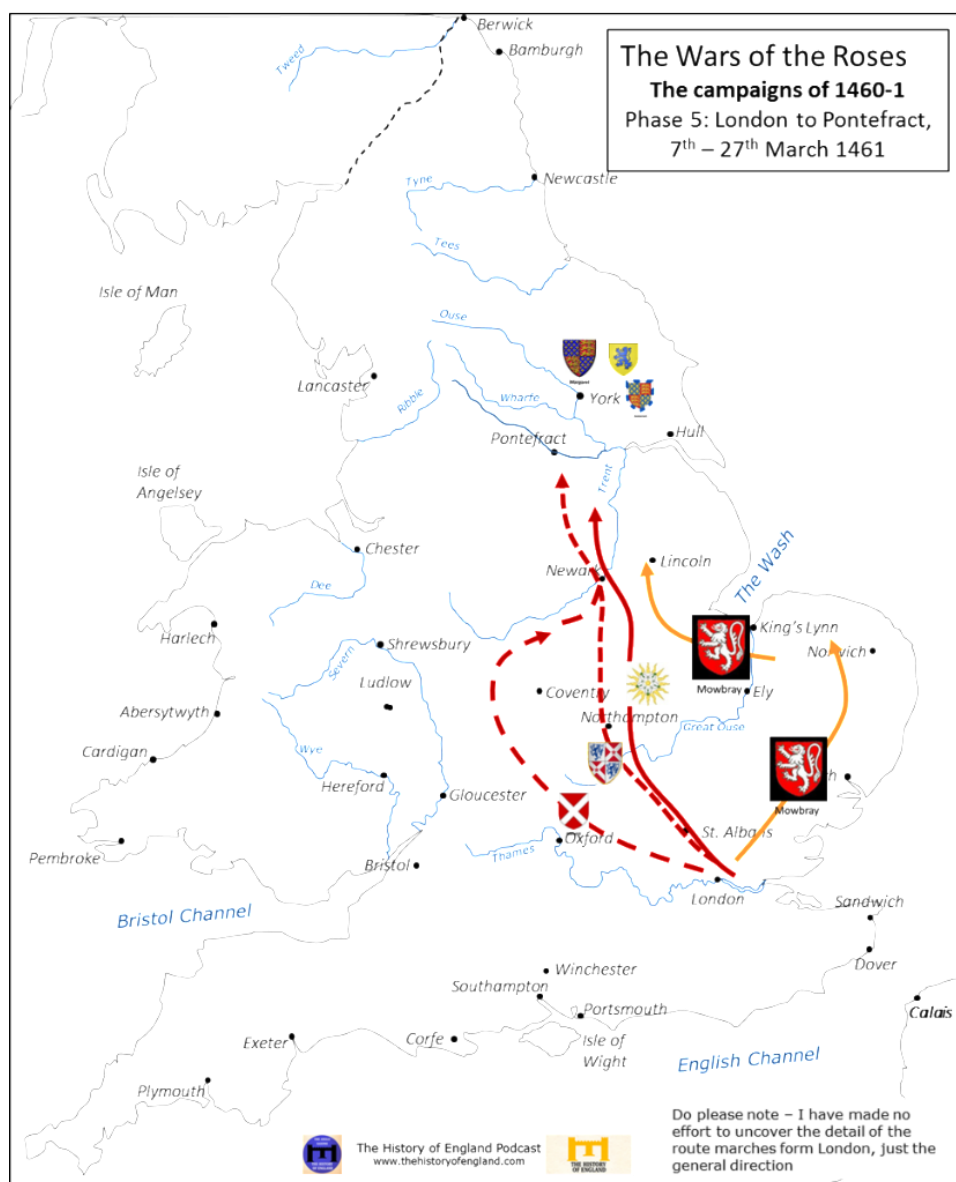


170 This Fair White Rose

In 1461 the Queen failed to seize London, and retreated to the north. Warwick and Edward walked through London's empty gates and then chased north for the largest and bloodiest battle of English soil.



After the victory at St Albans over Warwick, the queen lost her nerve, and failed to seize London. As Edward and Warwick met in the Costwolds, her opportunity vanished, and her army retreated north to York. Edward and Warwick marched their newly revived army and fortunes into London, to be greeted by enthusiastic crowds. Edward was acclaimed king in Westminster Hall.

The Yorkists left in groups; Norfolk left to raise an army in East Anglia; then Warwick on 7th March 1461, to sweep by the West Midlands to raise his tenants as he went. Next Fauconberg, with the foot soldiers and last Edward on 13th March. By the time they reached the castle at Pontefract they were re-united, except for Norfolk, who was a day behind.

The Yorkists had to cross the River Aire at Ferrybridge, but were attacked by Clifford and his troop of 500, the 'Flower of Craven', reivers from the borders. Fauconberg outflanked Clifford by crossing upstream at Castleford, catching and slaughtering Clifford and his men just a few miles from Somerset and his main Lancastrian army. Edmund of Rutland had been avenged.

Now that the river crossing had been forced, Edward was able to march up onto the way to York, where near Towton he came face t face with Somerset and the Lancastrians, while Margaret and the king waited anxiously in York

It was Palm Sunday - 29th March 1461.

171 Two Rulers

In the aftermath of Towton, Edward started his work to restore a broad based regime - crushing the recalcitrant, welcoming the turncoats, re-establishing royal justice. He also had a party. Margaret meanwhile travelled to build support for another return.



172 A Royal Marriage

The first three years of Edward's reign were spent dealing stamping on the fires of the Lancastrian resistance. But then, he found time for something much more controversial than dis-embowelling, and he found it under an oak tree.



Elizabeth Woodville

173 Rivers Rising

There was a new faction at court - the Woodvilles, and they were there en masse. Were they really so bad? Had Edward boomed? And what did Warwick think - what would he do?



Kingmaker



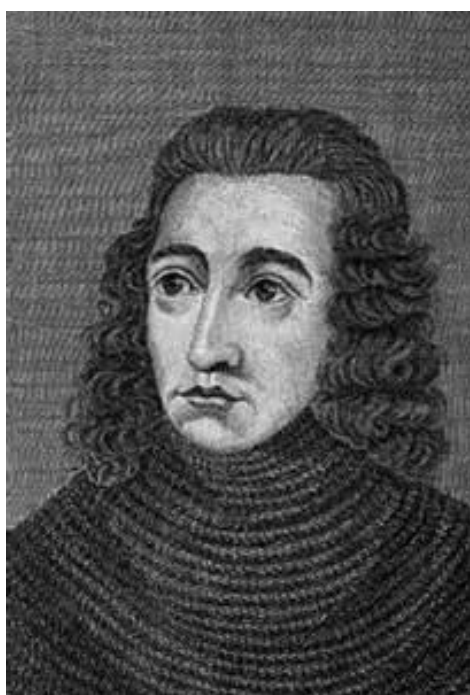
174 Warwick's Rubicon

In 1468, Warwick had a decision to make - as he himself said, 'It is a matter of being either Master or Varlet'.



George Neville, Archbishop of York, 1432-1476

George had chosen the church as his career, in time-honoured fashion. The suspicion is that being a Neville had a good deal more to do with his elevation to his appointments as Bishop of Exeter and then Archbishopric of York than either his saintliness or his learning and erudition. As far as saintliness is concerned, that's probably fair do's, but learning he clearly had some. But such learning as he had was accompanied by a remarkably large dose of grandeur and magnificence. So he had been through the University of Oxford, and he had done most of the presentations and arguments required of him. But as he'd studied, he'd been fast tracked, while he maintained magnificent rooms in Balliol College; his graduation was marked by a feast so splendid that they'd had to relax the rules of the university to allow it. It was a love of splendour and display that had all the hallmarks of his aristocratic background. But nonetheless he was a man of considerable talent and competence. He might have been largely an absentee Bishop of Exeter, but he governed effectively through subordinates; as Chancellor for three years he was efficient and competent until removed by Edward. He impressed even his Italian peers with the sophistication of his learning and rhetoric and diplomatic talents. George Neville was a talented, silver tongued example of the aristocratic churchman, and that meant he was a leader of the church – but still in every way a player in national politics and a Neville through and through.



George, Duke of Clarence, 1449-1478

Clarence is 19 where we are now in 1468. He'd been welcomed into the royal household by his brother, made Duke of Clarence, and been given lands in the West country, in Staffordshire near the Welsh borders. He was also a man with talent; smooth, elegantly attractive, sharp witted and clever in his speech. The Italian humanist and scholar Dominic Mancini visited England, and along with describing Edward's philanderings, described Clarence as:

possessed of such mastery of popular eloquence that nothing upon which he set his heart seemed difficult for him to achieve

And there's evidence of this talent when he could bring himself to apply it, evidence of a competent landowner and magnate, managing his tenants and subordinates.



George Duke of Clarence

But Clarence's talents led him into all the wrong areas. There's an element of the Humphrey Duke of Gloucester about Clarence; as the king's eldest brother, he was at the moment also his heir, and he expected this to give him special privileges in the running of the realm and influence over his brother. He was dazzled by his own importance and magnificence; he ran an absolutely stonkingly large household, a kind of alternative court at his castle of Tutbury in Staffordshire, which cost £4,500 a year to run, an extraordinary sum, a house of 400 souls, bigger than the royal household. He was in love with himself, willful and un self-disciplined, shallow and spoiled. His talents led him only to pursue his own self interest, and with apparently no moral compass politics meant for him scheming, plotting and power broking rather than any responsibility of leadership and loyalty. Worse for Clarence was that though on the face of it Edward was generous to his brother and welcomed him into the royal household, there was a reluctance and caution about Edward's attitude to Clarence that is entirely absent from Edward's attitude to his youngest brother, Richard of Gloucester; somehow Clarence was treated at arm's length, was never quite given the responsibility that his status would seem to demand. Edward was no fool; Edward had an idea of his brother's essential unreliability.

John Neville, Earl of Northumberland and Marquis of Montague, 1431-1471



George and Warwick's other brother, John Neville, looked as though he might make different choices. John Neville had been a rock for Edward's first years; firmly holding the north against all comers, suppressing the Lancastrian revolts and Scottish invasions, hero of the battle of Hedgley Moor and Hexham. Edward had rewarded him handsomely; now Earl of Northumberland, he'd been given many of the old Percy estates, as Henry Percy languished in the Tower of London for his family's support for the Lancastrians. John Neville was as concerned as any magnate to grow his power and lands and influence – but loyalty to the throne seemed to be paying dividends, and whether his brothers could persuade him otherwise was open to question – with him, Warwick's chances would be greatly improved, without them they'd be seriously weakened

175 An Unholy Alliance

In 1470 the spin of the wheel of fortune was dizzying. Warwick had won, lost, won...where it ended nobody knew. But the most extraordinary thing of all was an alliance to be made, with the help of Warwick's 14 year old daughter, Anne.



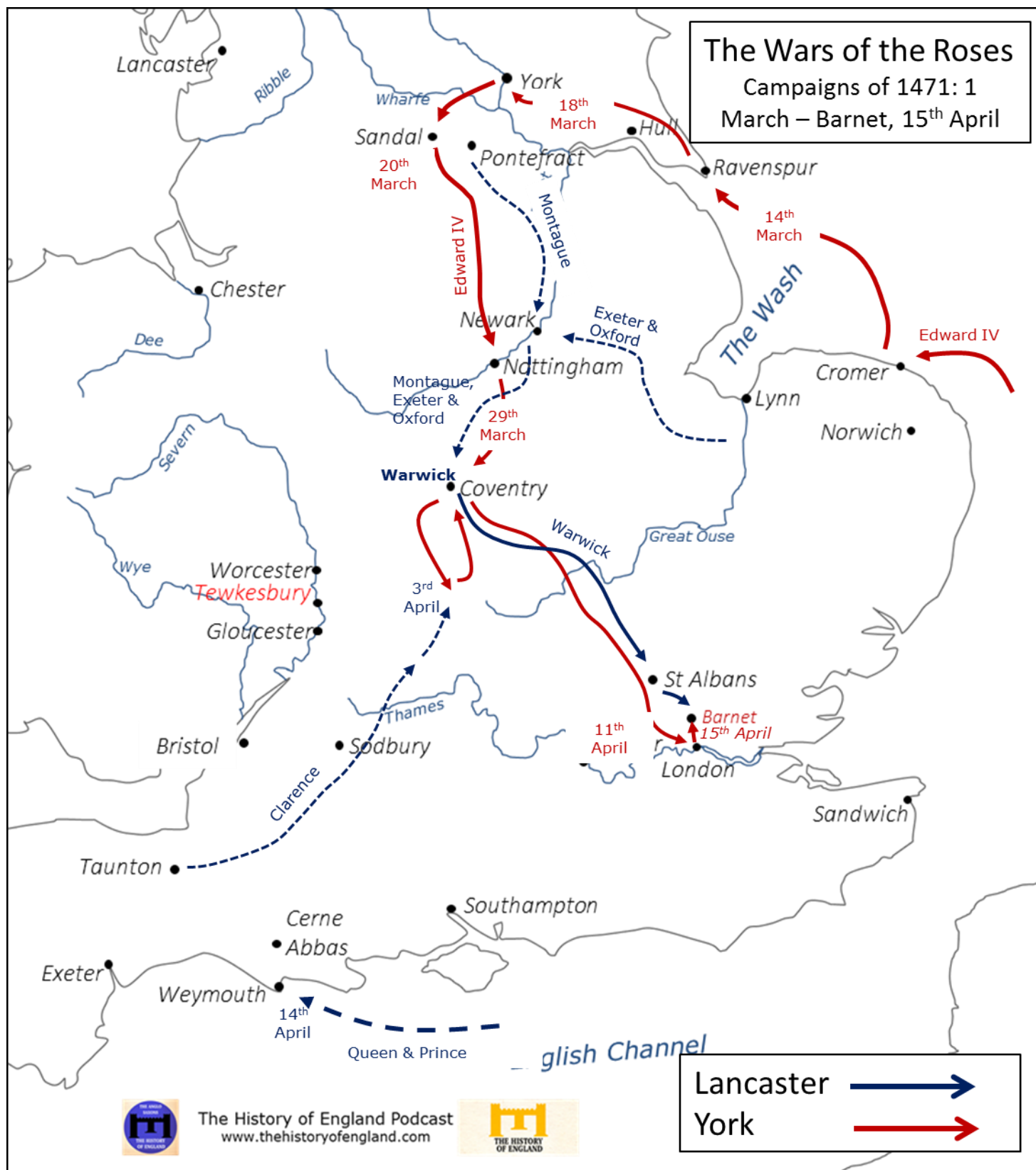
Anne Neville

176 The Readeption

In 1470, Henry VIth was released by Warwick from the Tower, and re-established as the rightful king of England. The Usurper Edward IV was banished forever. Sadly for the Lancastrians, Edward IV was determined to reclaim the throne when he landed at Ravenspur in 1471.

The Campaign of 1471

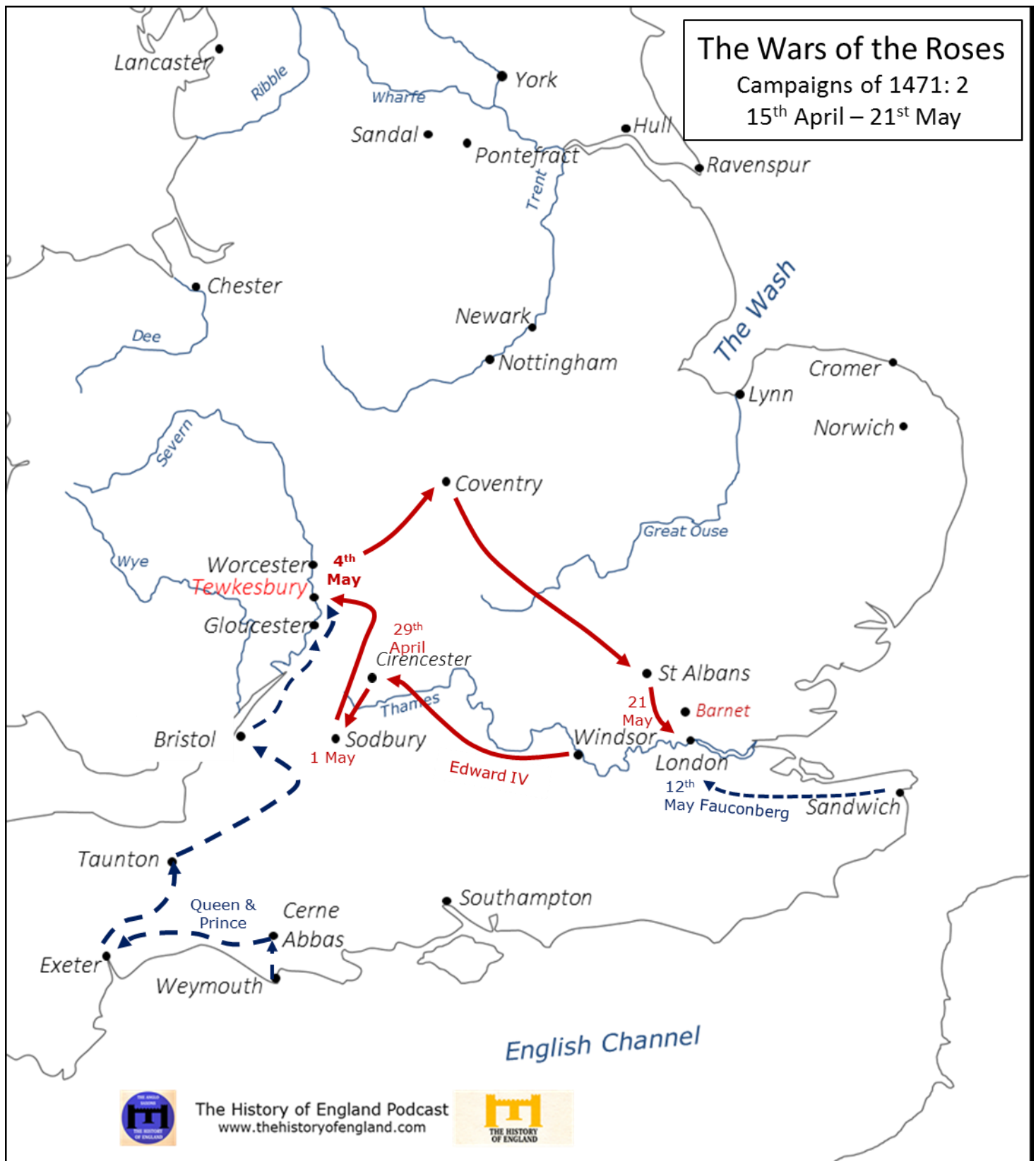
Here are some handy maps to help you navigate through the events of the year. They constitute plot spoilers, though!



The Wars of the Roses

Campaigns of 1471: 2

15th April – 21st May



The History of England Podcast
www.thehistoryofengland.com



Leading Families in 1471

The leading families and players had changed between 1450 and 1471; here's a brief summary of the major families that would influence events under Edward IV and his successors. Below you will find:

1. Stanleys
2. Woodvilles
3. Hastings
4. Margaret Beaufort
5. The Tudors
6. Stafford
7. Percy
8. de la Pole
9. de Vere, Earls of Oxford
10. Bourchiers

The Stanleys



Stanley Badge



Stanley Coat of Arms

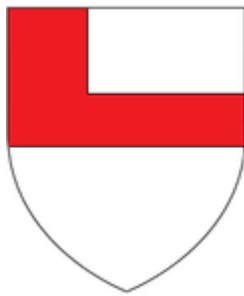
The Stanleys came from Cheshire in the North West of England. William Stanley was a violent and nasty Master Forester in the early 14th Century, with sons, William and John Stanley. John liked violence too, and fought in the French wars in Aquitaine. Then in 1376 the brothers pushed their luck too far when they forced entry to Thurstaston Hall and murdered one Thomas Cloxton. Outlawed, things looked black for John Stanley. But with the French wars going on he was too good a man to be thrown away – so a captain hired him for the war in France, and in so doing held off the law. By 1405, John Stanley had made his fortune from the wars and from the Lancastrians, and had risen the heights as king of Mann.

Thomas Stanley (1433-1504) and William Stanley (1435-1495) were the grandsons of John Stanley. Thomas Stanley was the eldest, and an outrageous and shameless trimmer and turncoat. At the battle of Blore Heath this Lancastrian stalwart waited to see what happened and watched Audley's be slaughtered. William appears to have been made of finer stuff and was in the battle itself, and fled with Edward after Ludlow. After Northampton in 1461, Thomas also switched allegiance to York.

The Stanleys defended and enhanced their strength in Cheshire and Lancaster ruthlessly and against all-comers; Thomas was called in front of the king for the murder of John Butler – but Edward could do nothing; they even made the duke of Gloucester's position in the North West untenable.

Thomas Stanley married Margaret Beaufort in 1472. None the less, the power of the Stanleys made them an essential ally for Yorkist rule. What's pretty clear is that they were untrustworthy, and neither Edward IV or Richard III trusted them.

The Woodvilles



Woodville CoA

After the bloodletting of the Readeption, Anthony Woodville (1440-1483), then Lord Scales, became the 2nd Earl Rivers. Anthony was the brother of the Queen, Elizabeth Woodville. Rivers was a renaissance man - famous jousting, but a man who wore a hair shirt, who went on pilgrimage and crusade. Despite the fury and dislike directed at the Woodvilles, Rivers himself never quite played the central role Edward IV might have wanted him to; he went of crusade at a crucial point, showed more interest in serving God and the Renaissance than fulfilling a political role. However, in 1473 he was appointed Tutor to Edward's son and heir, Edward; taking the heir to Ludlow and helping him manage his estates.



Grey CoA

Elizabeth Woodville's sons by her first marriage were Thomas Grey (1455-1501) and Richard Grey. Thomas was made Marquess of Dorset, and to give him the lands to back up his new dignity, was given in marriage Cecily Bonville, heir to the Bonville and Harington lands in the North and South West. You might remember the Bonville's and their war with the Courtenays, which had rubbed out the male line; it was a marriage that fuelled resentment of the Woodvilles as power hungry parvenus. Dorset was not the sharpest knife in the drawer, which was unfortunate since he was to find himself in some complicated political situations.

Thomas had a younger brother, Sir Richard Grey (d.1483). He was but 14 or so in 1471, and wasn't to enter public life until 1475 when he took part in a joust. And in 1482 Edward IV started to send honours his way - sharing the lands of the Duchy of Exeter, being given the lordship of Kidwelly in Wales, being made constable of Chester. In 1483 he was with his uncle Rivers in Ludlow.

Lionel Woodville (c.1454-1484) was another of Elizabeth's brothers; in 1471, of course he was but a nipper; but would become the Bishop of Salisbury, and though not at Edward IV's funeral, would have some involvement in the events afterwards.

As members of the king's council, the Woodvilles were constantly resented as parvenus who had too much influence with the king, whether that was true in fact or not. Similarly, his younger brother Edward Woodville would be a player in later events.

Hastings



Hastings CoA

William Hastings (1430-1483) had been solidly close to Edward from the start. Infamously in pretty much everything - including his lovelife. Jane Shore seems to have been the object of both his and Edward IVth's admiration. Hastings combined closeness to Edward with the good opinion of pretty much everyone. He was, in the words of Thomas More, an

'honourable man, a good knight and a gentle ... a loving man, and passing well beloved'.

Hastings resumed his office as Chamberlain of England, a post that gave him constant access to the seat of all power, the king. Hastings, nice guy though he apparently was, took himself off to the First Class carriages in the gravy train, and settled back to watch the spondulicks flood in. Everyone one knew that if you needed something doing, Hastings was your man. So you wanted Hastings to be well disposed towards you. Now you might say that you don't care much for money, because money can't buy you love, but in this particular instance you would be dead wrong. Religious houses made him their steward, barons sent him gifts. Richard Earl Rivers dug around the back of the sofa and raised his wife's purse and sent Hastings £26 13s and 4d; Clarence made Hastings his Chief Steward. The habit went international; King Louis of France gave him a pension of 2,000 crowns, Charles Duke of Burgundy gave him 1,000 ecus. Hastings was a man you wanted on your side; and the honours and offices that Edward heaped on him in 1471 were just one part of the way he was rewarded.

Margaret Beaufort



Margaret Beaufort (1443-1509) was a clever and tough political survivor. Over the next decade she effectively gained the trust of Edward, even while Edward was trying to hunt down and kill her son. Through the 1460's she'd been protected by her husband, Stafford. At the Readeption of Henry VI, she'd taken her son to see the king, as a Lancastrian restored to influence. But with the return of Edward and then the death of Stafford in 1471 she needed a protector, and although she and Stafford had been close, she had no time to hang around feeling sorry for herself. The man she chose as her protector was Thomas Stanley. Stanley had connections and already had children and so was looking mainly for status, which Margaret brought. So they got hitched, and Margaret began to use his connections to work towards the goal that dominated her life –protecting the rights and life of her only son, Henry Tudor, and to restore him to his father's patrimony as Earl of Richmond.

The Tudors



Richmond Livery Badge

With the defeat and death of the Beauforts, only Jasper Tudor (1431-1495) and Margaret Beaufort's son Henry Tudor (1457-1509), heir to the earldom of Richmond, were left. Jasper Tudor was a life long and relentless fighter for the Lancastrian cause, and of his nephew, Henry. In 1471, Henry was the only claimant to the throne left who could challenge the Yorkist right to the throne. Both had fled to Brittany, to the tender mercies of Duke Francis. The Duke knew a valuable political card when he saw one, as he fought to maintain Breton independence from France. So Jasper and Henry were held in comfortable captivity, moved around Brittany to avoid potential assassins, and Francis politicked with Edward and Louis, tempted to throw the Tudors to the wolves if the gain were big enough. Thus Henry Tudor spent his life under constant threat and fear.

Stafford, Duke of Buckingham



Henry Stafford (1455-1483) was the senior Stafford line, and grandson of the 1st Duke who had been the staunch defender of the Lancastrian cause. Buckingham made his peace with the Yorkist regime, marrying Catherine Woodville, sister of the Queen. With income of £3,000 a year, Buckingham was as rich as any other magnate, and after the Readeption was for a while a close member of Edward's household. But in 1475 he appeared to fall out of favour with Edward IV, sent home early from France, and from then was excluded from real political power under Edward, despite a brief re-appearance as High Steward to oversee the death of Clarence. He stayed in his caput in Brecon, clearly not content to be so far from the centre of power.

Henry Percy, 4th Earl of Northumberland (1449-1489)



Edward IVth had brought the Percies down for their support of Henry VI and Margaret. It ended in 1469 with Henry Percy languishing in Fleet prison attended by 4 servants while John Neville took over their long-held role as Earl of Northumberland, and kings in the north. But then the north was difficult to rule without the Percies, and Henry was restored; then John Neville rebelled, Henry Percy failed to attack Edward on his return - and so slowly the Percies were back.

None the less it was not all plain sailing. Even the Percies, with estates generating £3,200 plus offices of £800, were outgunned by Richard, Duke of Gloucester. Henry tried hard to get along, but in 1474 the two were called in front of

Edward, and the result was an indenture between them; Percy retained his sphere of influence but was forced to accept Gloucester's supremacy. None the less Percy and Gloucester seemed to work together amicably.

de la Pole; Dukes of Suffolk and Earl of Lincoln



John Suffolk (1442-1492), 2nd Duke of Suffolk, was the son of the rather misunderstood William de la Pole and Alice Chaucer. His father's death was a brutal affair at the hands of Parliament and the Yorkists. The letter William wrote to his young son...

My dear and only well-beloved son,

I beseech our Lord in Heaven, the Maker of all the World, to bless you, and to send you ever grace to love him, and to dread him, to the which, as far as a father may charge his child, I both charge you, and pray you to set all your spirits and wits to do, and to know his holy laws and commandments, by the which you shall, with his great mercy, pass all the great tempests and troubles of this wretched world.

And that also, knowingly, you do nothing for love nor dread of any earthly creature that should displease him. And there as any frailty maketh you to fall, beseech his mercy soon to call you to him again with repentance, satisfaction, and contrition of your heart, never more in will to offend him.

Secondly, next him above all earthly things, to be true liegeman in heart, in will, in thought, in deed, unto the king our aldermost high and dread sovereign lord, to whom both you and I be so much bound to; charging you as father can and may, rather to die than to be the contrary, or to know anything that were against the welfare or prosperity of his most royal person, but that as far as your body and life may stretch you live and die to defend it, and to let his highness have knowledge thereof in all the haste you can.

Thirdly, in the same way, I charge you, my dear son, always as you be bounden by the commandment of God to do, to love, to worship, your lady and mother; and also that you obey always her commandments, and to believe her counsels and advices in all your works, the which dread not but shall be best and truest to you. And if any other body would steer you to the contrary, to flee the counsel in any wise, for you shall find it naught and evil.

Furthermore, as far as father may and can, I charge you in any wise to flee the company and counsel of proud men, of covetous men, and of flattering men, the more especially and mightily to withstand them, and not to draw nor to meddle with them, with all your might and power; and to draw to you and to your company good and virtuous men, and such as be of good conversation, and of truth, and by them shall you never be deceived nor repent you of.

Moreover, never follow your own wit in nowise, but in all your works, of such folks as I write of above, ask your advice and counsel, and doing thus, with the mercy of God, you shall do right well, and live in right much worship, and great heart's rest and ease.

And I will be to you as good lord and father as my heart can think.

And last of all, as heartily and as lovingly as ever father blessed his child in earth, I give you the blessing of Our Lord and of me, which of his infinite mercy increase you in all virtue and good living; and that your blood may by his grace from kindred to kindred multiply in this earth to his service, in such wise as after the departing from this wretched world here, you and they may glorify him eternally amongst his angels in heaven.

Written of mine hand,

The day of my departing from this land.

Your true and loving father

Despite this, Alice seemed determined to reconcile her family with York, marrying John to Richard of York's daughter Elizabeth in 1458. John followed her lead, loyal throughout to Edward IV through Warwick's campaign in 1470, and distrusted by the Readeption regime.

The trouble was that Suffolk had very little money - income from his estates in east Anglia and the Chilterns was well below the £1,000 needed for an earl. And also for some reason despite his loyalty to Edward, and despite his marriage to Edward's sister, he never got much land or regard from Edward and was not part of the royal council.

One thing John and Elizabeth were good at though was having children - 11 as it happens, though not all of them lived to their majority. But through their mother, they all had a claim to the throne from the Yorkist side - though seemingly something of an irrelevance in 1471. A few to mention:

- John de la Pole (1462-1487) - eldest son of John, created Earl of Lincoln in 1467, and knighted with Edward IV's sons
- Edmund de la Pole (1471-1513), 3rd Duke of Suffolk
- Richard de la Pole (1480-1525)

de Vere, Earls of Oxford



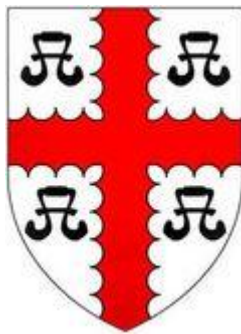
John de Vere Earl of Oxford.

The de Vere family was one of the oldest in the peerage, reaching back to Aubrey de Vere and the conquest. But never one of the richest. From 1141, the head of the family was the line of Earls of Oxford, a line that carried on until the 20th Earl in 1703.

In the Wars of the Roses, the de Vere's took a partisan approach, rather than hedging and trimming like the Stanleys. The de Vere's were Lancastrians, and then supporters of Henry Tudor. For example, John de Vere and his son Aubrey were executed in 1461 for treason by Edward IVth.

The 13th Earl of Oxford was John de Vere (1442-1513). He went into exile after the defeat at Barnet where he had led one wing of Warwick's army. In 1473, de Vere (having been stripped of title of Earl of Oxford) was active in trying to foster rebellion, eventually capturing St Michael's Mount. But England had no time for rebellion against York - and was captured. By 1478, he was held in the castle of Hammes, in the Pale of Calais, where he leaped into the moat in either a failed attempt at escape or suicide.

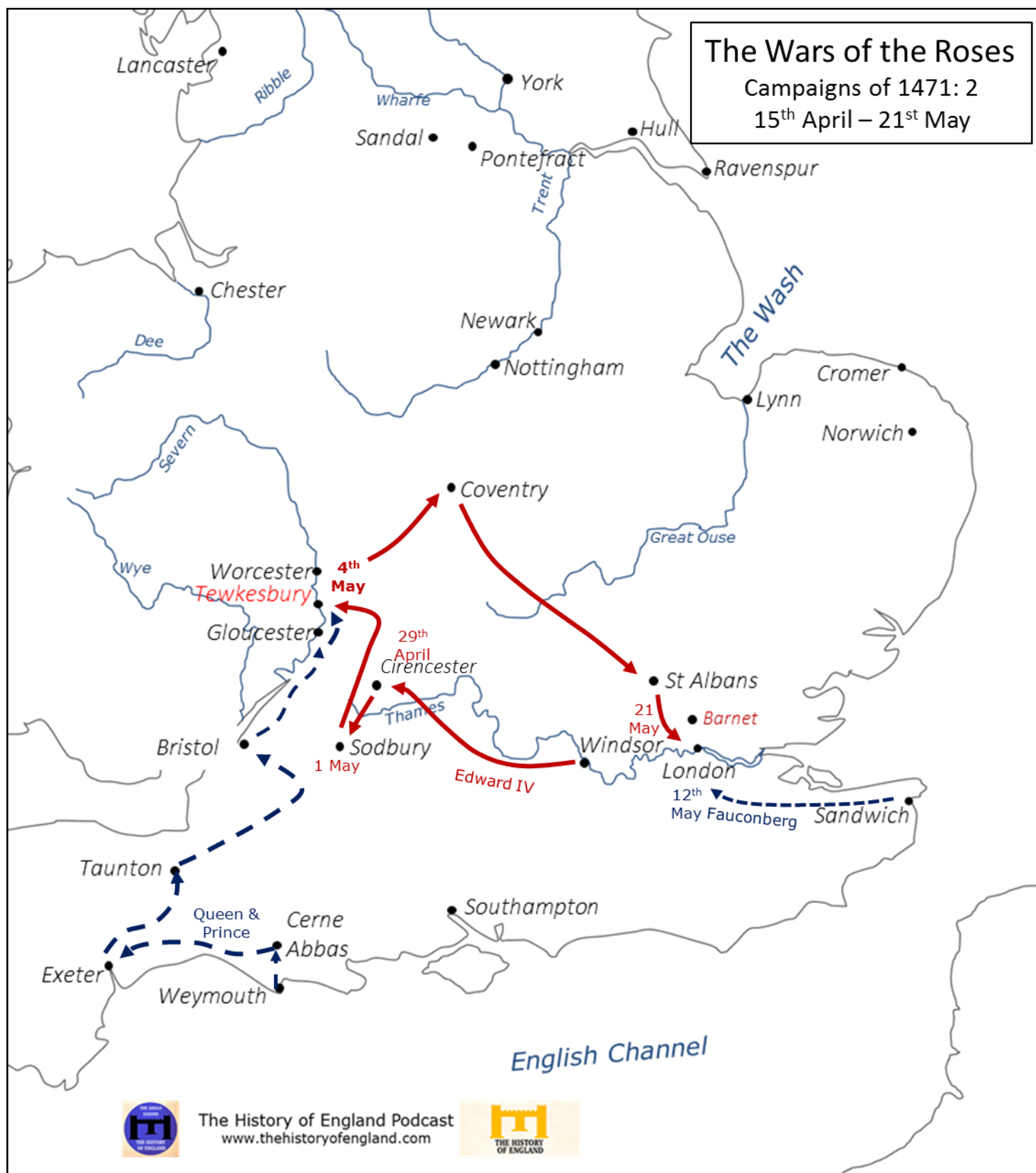
Bourchier, Earls of Essex and Archbishop of Canterbury



Henry Bourchier (1408-1483) was a supporter of York from the battle of St Albans in 1455, made Treasurer of England by Edward IV and Earl of Essex in 1461. Thomas Bourchier (1411-1486) was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1454, and became chancellor in 1455. The Bourchiers were both supporters of the Yorkists but seemed content to play their role under the rule of either faction.

177 High Noon at Tewkesbury

Edward's troubles were not over with the victory at Barnet. He still faced two more invasions - the Queen and Prince, and Fauconberg in the South East. It was the final showdown between Lancaster and York.



178 The 15th C Economy I

A rest from politics. The population of England remained stagnant or falling throughout 15th century. But that didn't mean there was no opportunity for towns or for commerce. You just had to look for it a bit harder.



Wool Merchant's House

179 The New Farmers

After a period of grace, the 15th Century posed serious challenges for Magnates and the rural economy - prices fell, wages rose, Magnates had to cancel parties. But every cloud has its silvery lining; and trouble for some was opportunity for others - the new Farmers.



Baaa

