

# A Petition Written by Ricardus Franciscus

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Kew, The National Archives, C 49/30/19 (hereafter TNA C 49/30/19), a petition seeking the exoneration of the late Duke Humphrey of Gloucester (d. 1447), is distinctive among such supplicatory writing for the unusual extent of its ornamentation. Its “flamboyant, spiky script”<sup>1</sup> supports elaborate ascenders and descenders featuring many novelties: ballooning hearts; a scroll (illusionistically entwined around the ascender of the **h** in Humphrey) citing the duke’s personal motto; and bright blue and red ink that colors the extensive strapwork emerging from his name. Such calligraphic virtuosity is instantly recognizable as the effusive “trademark décor” of the well-known scribe Ricardus Franciscus.<sup>2</sup>

Although the petition is undated, unenrolled, and finds no cross-reference in the parliament rolls, it was almost certainly written for the opening session of parliament in November 1450.<sup>3</sup> According to Bale’s Chronicle, on the 8<sup>th</sup> November 1450, shortly after the opening of parliament, the commons “presented unto the king a bill desiring the seid duke of gloucestre might be proclaime a trewe knight.”<sup>4</sup> Of pertinence to the parliamentary concerns of 1450 is a reference to Gloucester’s keeping of “the Kinges livelode unto his owne [i.e., Henry’s] use and prouffit,” which coincides with the arguments for resumption put forward during this assembly.<sup>5</sup> The most tantalizing evidence concerning the context of this petition, however, is a letter from Hans Winter written in London on November 15, 1450, to the Grandmaster of the Teutonic Order, Ludwig von Erlingshausen. He writes that parliament began with a schedule entered “by the commons of England *and the servants of the noble prince of York* and also by the servants and faithful of the noble prince of Gloucester desiring justice for the traitors who killed him so shamefully

and were of counsel therto"; he adds, "this has now been delayed until the noble prince of York comes."<sup>6</sup> This is the only contemporary remark to link York's servants, and by extension, York himself, to the instigation of this petition. This paper aims to analyze the potential circumstances surrounding Franciscus's writing of such an unusually ornamented petition for what John Watts has termed "the Yorkist interlude" of November and December 1450.<sup>7</sup> We hope the outcome will shed more light upon one of those men whom Gwilym Dodd has termed "the clerks and scribes whose role in the writing of petitions is as obscure as it is important."<sup>8</sup>

The outbreak of Cade's rebellion brought the previous parliament to an abrupt close and the November 1450 assembly was hastily convened as a measure intended to restore control in the wake of popular uprising after the loss of Normandy in 1449.<sup>9</sup> In particular, the defeated lieutenant-general of France, Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, came under direct attack, and it is the commonly-held view that Richard, duke of York, himself recently returned from his lieutenancy in Ireland, provided a figurehead around whom Somerset's critics could rally.<sup>10</sup> York's famous bill calling for justice upon the traitors, and presented to the king at the end of September 1450, is tantalizingly ambiguous in its refusal to directly implicate Somerset and allows us only to guess at his true motives in ordering Somerset's arrest on December 1st.<sup>11</sup> A second bill, presented by York to the king sometime between the end of September and the start of parliament on November 6, is addressed in particular to the "trewe lords of the kings counsele" and used the same words as Cade's rebels in calling for the punishment of "traitors" "ibroughte up of nought."<sup>12</sup> The theme of evil counsel was also employed by the rebels as explanation for the death of Humphrey, and this was later incorporated within the successful follow-up petition to C 49/30/19, presented to the parliament in 1455 and, this time, overseen by York as protector.<sup>13</sup> During the escalating unrest of November 1450, with both the *vox populi* and the reformist York seeking the "trewe lordes," it comes as no surprise that the commons elected Sir William Oldhall, York's chamberlain, as their speaker, before immediately introducing this petition requesting that Gloucester be deemed a true knight.<sup>14</sup> The implications, in Watt's analysis, are that "Gloucester stood for good rule by the princes of the blood and for resistance to the 'traitors' in the interests of the common weal; these claims had now devolved upon York."<sup>15</sup> As Curry rightly cautions, the evidence for York's open condemnation of Somerset for the loss of Normandy is not blatant until 1452, and York's connection with restoring Gloucester's name is not strongly implied until the pushing-through of a very similar petition to the one discussed here in the Yorkist-dominated assembly of 1455.<sup>16</sup> The identification of the scribe, and the information that this affords regarding his patrons, will be drawn on

in this paper to reassess the feasibility of York's earlier, silent involvement in both the downfall of Somerset and the rehabilitation of Gloucester.

The identification of the writer of TNA C 49/30/19 as Ricardus Franciscus is supported by a range of paleographical features. The use of a scroll containing a phrase or motto, and wrapped around the ascender or descender of a letter placed on the top or bottom lines of a block of text, is the most characteristic feature of this scribe.<sup>17</sup> In TNA C 49/30/19, the ascender of the **h** at the first mention of Humphrey in the opening line of the petition contains one of the duke's mottos, "moun bien mondain," which also appears in manuscript books owned by the duke.<sup>18</sup> The sheer *extent* of the strapwork, particularly surrounding the initial **h**, is another obvious visual clue, one which has earned Franciscus the reputation as an "innovator on the English book scene, anticipating by as many as ten years the flamboyant styles of writing of Edward IV's reign" (see figure 1).<sup>19</sup> Coincident details in the strapwork may be compared, for example, in Nancy, Archives Départementales de Meurthe et Moselle, MS. H. 80, Statutes of the Order of the Garter, which has the same diagonal flourishing lines around its ascenders as the ones that appear around the **h** of the opening line of the petition (see figure 4). The Nancy manuscript shares exactly the same heart-shaped extended back on the letter **d** of "dieu" that appears on the **d** of "discret" in TNA C 49/30/19, plus the same shape of the "l" in "glorieuse" that appears on the **b** in "noble" in the TNA manuscript, with its extended ascender which loops back with a very thin returning stroke (see figures 2 and 4).

Aside from the scheme of decoration, the hand of the petition shares each of the most distinctive features of the scribal work of Ricardus Franciscus. To illustrate this, TNA C 49/30/19 will be compared with two known manuscripts by Franciscus, both of which contain his signature, and so contain circumstantial as well as paleographical evidence to attribute them to Franciscus. The first is Nancy, Archives Départementales de Meurthe et Moselle, MS. H. 80, Statutes of the Order of the Garter, and the second is San Marino, Huntington Library, MS. HM 932, Statutes of the Archdeaconry of London. The TNA petition displays each of the characteristic uppercase letters of the work of Ricardus Franciscus, such as the **R** in "Remembre" (figure 2, line 1): compare with "Roy" of the Nancy manuscript (figure 5, line 6); the **G** of "Gloucestre" (TNA, figure 3 line 7: compare with "Grey" of the Nancy manuscript, figure 5, line 3), and the **A** of "And" (TNA, figure 3 line 6: compare with the San Marino manuscript, "Assumpcionis" figure 6, line 13). When Franciscus had space, such as in the first line of a new section of the text, he gave his letters extended lead-in strokes, as can be seen in the word "vingt" in the Nancy manuscript (figure 5, line 8).<sup>20</sup> This tendency can also be seen in the TNA petition, giving the page the same distinctive

aspect: the word “vnto” on figure 3, line 1, of the TNA manuscript has the same long first stroke, and the same flat bottom. There are many distinctive lower-case letters in the work of Ricardus Franciscus, such as the *y* with a very thin, almost non-existent, descender, as can be seen in “Roy” in the Nancy manuscript (figure 5, line 6). This *y* is shared by the TNA manuscript, such as “Royaumes” (figure 3, line 2). Franciscus has a distinctive initial letter *d* with a looped ascender that curls to the left and an open bottom compartment (see the San Marino manuscript, “diebus,” figure 6, line 10), which also appears in the TNA manuscript, for example, in “disposicion” (figure 3, line 1). For a final example, the *g* of Ricardus Franciscus has a top stroke that falls low, leaving two horns at the top of the letter and, like the *y*, it has a very inconspicuous descender (see “magdalene” in the San Marino manuscript, figure 6, line 12). The same-shaped *g* also appears in the TNA manuscript, for example, in “executing” on figure 2, line 2.

It is possible that the linguistic features of the petition TNA C 49/30/19 will reinforce the paleographical evidence that it was written by Ricardus Franciscus. Previous scholarship has presented convincing evidence that Franciscus was French. Lisa Jefferson’s comparison of the Nancy text with other copies of the statutes reveal that Franciscus emended, altered or added to the text to “correct grammatical errors, or rephrase a sentence more logically, or add a synonymic doublet word or phrase,” concluding that these changes “must have been introduced by someone fully fluent in continental French, not just in Anglo-Norman.”<sup>21</sup> To support this, although TNA C 49/30/19 was written in English, the scribe used several French-derived spellings rather than their English alternatives. He spelled memory as “memoire,” which the *Middle English Dictionary* reveals was more usually spelled as “memorie” in Middle English.<sup>22</sup> For adversaries, he wrote “adversaires,” which was more commonly “adversaries” in Middle English.<sup>23</sup> “Honneur” and “heretiques” were evidently rare in written Middle English, as they are entered in the *MED* as “Old French.”<sup>24</sup> Other French-derived spellings had been absorbed into English, and appear frequently in medieval texts in the English language, including “assoille” and “bataille.”<sup>25</sup>

The appearance of French, or French-derived words in a petition cannot always be taken as evidence that the writer was of French nationality. There was a period of transition in the 1440s, when English-language common supplications to parliament were beginning to outnumber their French equivalents.<sup>26</sup> Despite this transition, French words continued to appear in petitions written in English.<sup>27</sup> Gwilym Dodd suggested that, in these transitional years, this was a result of clerks switching to French “unthinkingly,” or “because they felt that their expression would be better served by ‘borrowing’ French words.”<sup>28</sup> However, the words that Dodd gave as examples were all unusual words, of a specifically legal register. Therefore, there was a need to

select a French word that covered a meaning or tone for which there was no appropriate equivalent in English. In contrast, in the case of the more “ordinary” words in TNA C 49/30/19, there is no reason why an English scribe would use the French-derived spellings rather than the more usual English spellings. This would suggest that the writer of this petition was a French scribe writing in English, who unconsciously switched to the spelling system of his native language when he wrote a word that was derived from French.

The linguistic evidence above *supports* the paleographical evidence that the scribe of TNA C 49/30/19 was the Frenchman Ricardus Franciscus. However, for more *solid* support about the identity of the scribe one has to search the petition for linguistic features that were *specific* to Franciscus – perhaps idiosyncrasies, or dialectal features. Richard Hamer has conducted a thorough examination of the linguistic features of written work in the hand of Franciscus.<sup>29</sup> The texts that Hamer studied were all literary, and so were examples of Franciscus’s work as a copyist scribe. Hamer has shown that many of the linguistic features of these texts were inherited from their exemplars, as Franciscus copied his exemplars very faithfully.<sup>30</sup> The general accuracy in Franciscus’s copying of the spellings of his exemplars made the words that he *did* change particularly striking. Hamer pointed out that the consistency with which Franciscus made certain substitutions means that they must have represented his preferred forms, or dialectal features. He compiled a list of the preferred spellings of Ricardus Franciscus, which is extremely helpful to this study of a petition that was possibly composed by Franciscus.<sup>31</sup>

Finding these spellings in TNA C 49/30/19 reinforces the paleographical evidence that it was written by Ricardus Franciscus. The petition is likely to have been composed in a different way from the literary texts that Franciscus copied. It is unlikely that the scribe copied TNA C 49/30/19 from an exemplar in the way that Franciscus would have copied literary texts: instead it may have been dictated or composed from a rough draft or notes.<sup>32</sup> The general uniformity in the linguistics of petitions makes the latter suggestion more compelling, suggesting that the scribe of TNA C 49/30/19 may have been responsible for the style of the petition.<sup>33</sup> Consequently, this petition could present the preferred spelling systems of the scribe who wrote it. If the preferred spellings of Ricardus Franciscus could be found in TNA C 49/30/19, then this would be strong evidence that it was written by him.

In his literary work, Franciscus consistently used “gh” for the palatal fricative, instead of whatever else he saw in his exemplar: for example he changed “heihe” to “high.”<sup>34</sup> In TNA C 49/30/19, the scribe did indeed show preference for the “gh” form in “right,” “high,” and “flight.” The scribe of the petition, like Ricardus Franciscus in his literary manuscripts, did not use þ (using “th-” instead), and did not use many abbreviations.<sup>35</sup> Hamer noticed

that Franciscus used the “wh-” form wherever possible, for example writing “wherfor” instead of “werfor.”<sup>36</sup> The writer of the petition also used the “wh-” form, for example in the word “whereupon” (figure 1, line 11). Hamer noted that Franciscus consistently changed “hit” to “it.”<sup>37</sup> In the petition, too, the writer used “it” in every instance of the word. Unfortunately, since this petition is a small sample of text compared with a book of hundreds of folios such as Harley MS 4775, it does not contain many of the words that Hamer found Franciscus spelled in a distinctive way (such as “saugh” for saw, “womman” for woman, and “felyship” for fellowship).<sup>38</sup> However, the limited words from Hamer’s list that *do* appear in TNA C 49/30/19 support the suggestion that the petition was written by Ricardus Franciscus.

Based on the paleographical analysis above, which is supported by a linguistic comparison between the petition and manuscripts that have already been attributed to Ricardus Franciscus, this document can be added to a body of sixteen manuscripts currently attributed to Franciscus:<sup>39</sup>

Cambridge, St John’s College, MS H. 5 (*olim* 208), Christine de Pizan, *The Epistle of Othea*, trans. Stephen Scrope (Fastolf’s stepson and a member of his household), in English, c. 1450 to c. 1460, illustrated by William Abell and the Abingdon Missal Master.<sup>40</sup> Dedicated to and probably owned by Humphrey Stafford, who was created duke of Buckingham on September 14, 1444, and killed at the Battle of Northampton on July 10, 1460; potentially commissioned by William Worcester (Fastolf’s secretary).<sup>41</sup>

Cambridge, University Library, MS Additional 7870, a French translation of John of Wales’ *Breviloquium* corrected by William Worcester in July 1450 (1 to 22v), Jean Courtecuisse’s French translation of *Des quatre vertus cardinaulx* (24r to 67v), unidentified French text on the virtues (68r to 71r), c.1450. Fols. 24r to 67v copied by Franciscus; English rubricated initials by an unidentified artist.<sup>42</sup>

London, British Library, MS Harley 2915, Book of Hours, Sarum use, in Latin and French, c. 1440 to c. 1450, illumination in color and semi-grisaille attributed to the Fastolf Master. A prayer composed for John, duke of Bedford (d. 1435) occurs over several folios, leading Reynolds to suggest that it was made for an English aristocrat in his circle: either Richard, duke of York or Edmund or John Beaufort.<sup>43</sup>

London, British Library, MS Harley 4012, Middle English religious miscellany, c. 1460 to c. 1470, no illustration aside from a pen-and-ink drawing of the crucifixion on f. 109r and identified as written by Franciscus.<sup>44</sup> Written for Anne Harling, the niece and ward of Fastolf in the 1430s, and signed by Anne while she was married to her second husband, Sir Robert Wingfield.<sup>45</sup>

London, British Library, MS Harley 4775, Jacobus de Voraigne, *The Golden Legend*, in Middle English, second half of fifteenth-century, decorated



with one full border of green-lobed feathering and 2, 3, and 4 line initials throughout by the English border artist of Scott's catalogue number 118.<sup>46</sup>

London, Hospital of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, Cartulary in two volumes compiled by John Cok in the 1450s and 1460s, parts copied by Franciscus and two historiated initials supplied by William Abell.<sup>47</sup>

London, Worshipful Company of the Tallow Chandlers, Grant of Arms, in French, dated 24 September 1456, signed and sealed by John Smert, Garter King of Arms; portrait of Garter and Company's crest within the initial A by William Abell or the Abingdon Missal Master.<sup>48</sup>

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 5, 84 ML. 723 (Sotheby Hours), Book of Hours, Sarum use, in Latin with English rubrics, c. 1440 to c. 1450, illuminated by the Fastolf Master possibly for John de Vere, twelfth earl of Oxford (d. 1462), whose signature occurs on f. 35v.<sup>49</sup>

Nancy, Archives Départementales de Meurthe et Moselle, MS H. 80, Statutes of the Order of the Garter, in French, dated 1467 and signed "R. Franceys s.R" which may be "scriba/sub Rege," i.e. "written for the king [of arms]."<sup>50</sup> Illuminated initial and green-lobed feathering by the English border artist of Scott's catalogue number 118.<sup>51</sup>

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M. 126, John Gower, *Confessio amantis*, in English and Latin, c. 1470, supplied with 106 miniatures by two illustrators from the southern Low Countries and border-work completed by four border artists (the first of whom is the English border artist of Scott's catalogue number 118).<sup>52</sup> Probably made for Queen Elizabeth Woodville, wife of Edward IV.<sup>53</sup>

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 764, "The first foundation of the office of arms," extracts from "L'arbre de batailles," "Le songe du vergier" and other heraldic texts, in Latin, English, and French, c. 1475, owned by John Smert, Garter king of arms. Three illustrations by Illustrator A of Fitzwilliam Museum 56 and/or the "Three Kings' Master," according to Scott, and border work by Border artist A of Fitzwilliam 56 and the English border artist of catalogue number 118.<sup>54</sup>

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 789, Writing exercises in English and Latin (ff.1 to 5), c. 1450.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 570, Christine de Pizan, *L'Epistre d'Othea* and *Livre des quatre vertus*, in French, dated 1450, with ten illuminations by the Fastolf Master, owned by Sir John Fastolf.

Oxford, University College, MS 85, Alain Chartier, *Quadrilogue*, the *Secretum Secretorum*, *Good Governance of a Prince*, in English, c. 1470, with two illustrations by the "Quadrilogue Master" and borders by the English border artist of Scott's catalogue number 118.<sup>55</sup> Probably owned by Richard Whetehill, controller of Calais from December 1460 and lieutenant of Guînes from 1461 to 1478.<sup>56</sup>

Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library, MS 439/16 (*olim* Philipps 4254), John Lydgate, *The Fall of Princes*, in English, c. 1465 to c. 1475, with only the first of seven miniatures by the “Quadrilogue Master,” according to Scott, and the border work by the English border artist of Scott’s catalogue number 118.<sup>57</sup>

San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM 932, Statutes of the Archdeaconry of London, in Latin, dated 1447, with two historiated initials by William Abell and signed by “Ricardus Franciscus.”

Up to the point of writing this petition, Franciscus had very recently copied, or may have still been copying, Christine de Pizan’s *Epistle d’Othea* and the *Livre des quatre vertus*, dated 1450, for Sir John Fastolf (MS. Laud. Misc. 570). It was also probably not long before the petition that he copied Jean Courtecuisse’s French translation of *Des quatre vertus cardinaulx* (CUL Add. 7870, ff. 24r to 67v) for Fastolf’s amanuensis William Worcester.<sup>58</sup> Worcester’s extensive marginal annotations are evident throughout booklet 1 and his colophon on f.22v states that he made these corrections in July 1450; booklet 2, Franciscus’s stint, seems to have been conceived as the follow-up to the first booklet since quire signatures that also appear to be in the hand of Worcester show a continuation from booklets one to two.<sup>59</sup> It has also been argued, as noted above, that another copy of the *Epistle d’Othea* (Cambridge, St. John’s Coll., MS H 5) translated into English by Fastolf’s step-son, was made for Worcester at about the same time as Fastolf’s French copy. Further pre-petition work presents itself in the Getty MS. 5 *Hours* which, like Fastolf’s Laud. Misc. 570, Franciscus produced in collaboration with the Fastolf Master. Its owner portrait suggests that it was made for John de Vere, twelfth earl of Oxford (d. 1462) who, like Fastolf, was an active campaigner in France. It has been suggested that this manuscript was either made in France in 1441 when de Vere travelled with the duke of York to Normandy, or in 1450 while he was active in Norfolk politics (together with John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, and Sir John Fastolf) attempting to undermine the local power of the duke of Suffolk’s servants.<sup>60</sup> The latter option seems more likely given that the scribe and artist of the Getty *Hours* were already working together for Fastolf in 1450. A final early production presents itself in Harley 2915, a third collaboration between Franciscus and the Fastolf Master, and possibly the first extant example of York’s employment of Franciscus.<sup>61</sup>

In the very year leading up to the writing of this petition, therefore, are a potential of four manuscripts made for Fastolf’s circle: the *Othea/Livre des Quatre Vertus* for himself, the *Quatre Vertus* and *Othea* in separate volumes for Worcester, and the Getty *Hours* for de Vere. Since it is certain, at least, that Franciscus was copying Fastolf’s *Othea/Quatre Vertus* during 1450, the intriguing possibility presents itself that Fastolf may have asked the scribe already in his employment to spare a few hours to draft and then write up



a fair copy of a petition for presentation at parliament. Fastolf certainly fits Hans Winter's description as one of the "servants of the noble prince of York."<sup>62</sup> The French Captain was one of the most long-standing members of York's ducal council, receiving a pension of £20 per annum for life in June 1441 to serve as York's councillor.<sup>63</sup> Additional payments were made in May 1445 and in June 1448; and during York's protectorate, in June 1454, he secured the wardship of Thomas Fastolf for the benefit of his old councillor.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, Fastolf's secretary, William Worcester, is one of the very few identified writers of petitions and would have been very well placed to provide a formulary for Franciscus to follow.<sup>65</sup> Until recently, very little was known about the actual process of drafting a petition (how far its composition was dictated by the clerk or the supplicant) or the extent to which it was a specialized process. Recent research by Dodd, however, suggests that supplications took distinct forms depending on the recipient government department and that "these subtle differences indicate that a certain level of expertise and knowledge was required to make a supplication fit its context, or suit its audience."<sup>66</sup> Since Franciscus's hand is to be found most commonly in manuscripts containing vernacular literary texts and not (as yet) in any other petitions, one would expect that a degree of guidance may have been necessary.

In the context of this particular parliament, it is of considerable interest that two extant documents associated with Fastolf, both desirous of seeing Somerset answer charges relating to the loss of Normandy, demonstrate further overlap in the interests of Fastolf and York.<sup>67</sup> The first is an undated text in French of eight questions to be asked of the duke of Somerset by the council of the king concerning his actions during the surrender of Maine and Anjou.<sup>68</sup> Anne Curry argues that these questions, found among Worcester's material compiled for Fastolf, were written before the total loss of Normandy and before York's return from Ireland shortly before the start of this parliament.<sup>69</sup> The second, Fastolf's "advertiriment" in College of Arms, MS 48, ff. 324r to 325v, which postdates the loss of Normandy, opens with the phrase:

memorandum, saving your good correction that it is right necessarie amonges otheir of my lordes articles that there be desired to be made a steward of Englund a constable and suche other officers lordes of gret worship of good name and fame not sclaundered with the vice of covetise for the welfare and defence of this reame from the powere of our adversaries.<sup>70</sup>

Although this document does not mention Somerset by name, his recent appointment as Constable of England on 11 September 1450 seems to imply him in the very first sentence. The perceived void was to be filled by a self-appointed “lord of good name” when York seized the title of Constable for himself after the battle of St. Albans in 1455.<sup>71</sup> York is noted above in the phrase “my lordes articles,” which refers either to the articles that York presented to the king before the November 1450 parliament (where the blame is placed on traitors in general), or to those that York presented against Somerset in 1452. While Watts suggests that the “advertirment” may have been drawn up as part of an attempt to place Somerset on trial during the November 1450 assembly, Curry argues that the mention of the loss of Guienne (1451) renders it more likely that it refers to the later articles presented by York.<sup>72</sup> This would tie in with Johnson’s suggestion that York composed these at Ludlow over the Christmas period of 1451; he adds, however, that they were probably already in the making in November 1450.<sup>73</sup> Furthermore, Johnson’s analysis of York’s servants reveals that many of the leading men of John, duke of Bedford, attached themselves to York upon his arrival in France in 1436, men who were “heart and soul, committed to the Lancastrian supremacy in France.”<sup>74</sup> It has been argued that it was this group, rather than his servants inherited through the duchy and earldom, who exerted the greater influence on York’s actions.<sup>75</sup>

Turning to Franciscus’s post-petition career, it is not difficult to imagine how a scribe who had been writing for Fastolf and Worcester, both of whom were particularly interested in arms and military affairs, could have found his way to writing for another man with a military background in 1456, the Garter king of arms.<sup>76</sup> Upon Edward of York’s coronation as Edward IV in 1461, Franciscus’s long association with “the servants of the noble prince of York” could only have meant new advantages, as attested by his copying of Gower’s *Confessio Amantis* for the Queen. Fastolf’s earlier showcasing of Franciscus’s hand to a large government assembly—if, indeed, Fastolf was the agent—was quite possibly a turning point in his career, one that was to help render him “the vogue scribe” of the third-quarter of the fifteenth-century.<sup>77</sup> It may be mere coincidence that on the occasion of York’s self-appointment within the Office of the Heralds from 1455 to 1456, we witness Franciscus’s earliest extant work for the Garter king of arms, John Smert.<sup>78</sup> Further work for Smert may have followed in 1467 when he copied the Statutes of the Order of the Garter and c. 1475 when he contributed to the collection of heraldic texts in Ashmole 764. Meanwhile, York’s son Richard, duke of Gloucester, followed his father in actively seeking the post of Constable which should have, by right, been inherited by the dukes of Buckingham.<sup>79</sup> He filled this role from 1469 to 1483, when upon becoming king, he incorporated the Heralds as the College of Arms.<sup>80</sup>

Where it is frustratingly difficult to reconstruct Franciscus's later patrons, turning to the illuminators with whom he collaborates is instructive. Six of Franciscus's post-1460 manuscripts receive illumination, and every single one of these does so from the English border artist described in Scott's catalogue number 118. This English illuminator worked as part of a small coterie of artists regularly, but not exclusively, employed by the heralds and, later, by Richard III and a number of his close associates.<sup>81</sup> If Franciscus occasionally worked for the king through the office of the Heralds, as Linne Mooney suggests, a number of his other late manuscripts may be placed within the same court circles.<sup>82</sup> The luxurious Gower text in Morgan M. 126, with its scribal inscriptions "vive Le roy Edward IVE" and "vive la belle quod Rychard," was commissioned by Edward's Queen; Harley 4012 may have been ordered by Wingfield once he had been made controller of the King's household after 1471; finally, the armorial device in University College 85 points to Richard Whetehill as its original commissioner, lieutenant of Guînes by the time this manuscript was made.

In summary, the identification of Franciscus as the writer of this petition at a time when he appears to have been heavily engaged in copying literary texts for Fastolf, Worcester, and other close associates, offers an affirmative answer to Curry's important question regarding the extent of York's involvement, in 1450, in both Somerset's downfall and Gloucester's restoration. York's opinion on both these issues only becomes clear in 1452 and 1455 respectively, but the identity of the scribe can pinpoint exactly whom of York's servants and supporters were the likely organizers of the earlier 1450 petition; consequently the strong possibility presents itself that York did indeed delegate this task to the most long-standing among his servants, Sir John Fastolf. If York was rather more active against his adversaries in an earlier period, as suggested by the identity of the scribe and his background, his agency in creating a factionalized government is one that has been long *assumed*, but not proven, by historians.<sup>83</sup> Since the petition is unenrolled, there is no evidence to suggest that this alien scribe necessarily worked in or around Westminster (it would seem odd, after all, to find a Frenchman writing government documents at a time of continuing hostilities with France), it seems that Franciscus was simply in the right place at the right time to pick up a little extra copying from an employer with a particularly French taste in books.

Petitions have only recently been the subject of focussed scholarly work. Initially, attention was given to the content of supplications, to the end of elucidating the political and administrative context of petitioning.<sup>84</sup> Increasingly, political historians have been joined by a lively community of palaeographers, linguistic experts, and literary scholars in analyzing the documentary culture of late medieval England.<sup>85</sup> To date, however, minimal enquiry has been

made as to *who* actually wrote these petitions. A notable exception is Linne Mooney's recognition of Chaucer's scribe, Adam Pinkhurst, in one of the earliest Middle English petitions, the famous London Mercers' petition of 1387-1388.<sup>86</sup> Yet again, the nexus between the legal and the literary worlds of composition and copying is revealed in the identification made here of Ricardus Franciscus as the writer of TNA C 49/30/19.

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### NOTES

1. Kathleen Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390–1490*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 6 (London: Harvey Miller, 1996), volume II, page 318.
2. Martha Rust, *Imaginary Worlds in Medieval Books: Exploring the Manuscript Matrix* (New York; Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 167. Further studies of Franciscus include Richard Hamer, "Spellings of the Fifteenth-Century Scribe Ricardus Franciscus," in *Five Hundred Years of Words and Sounds: A Festschrift for Eric Dobson*, ed. E. G. Stanley and Douglas Gray (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1983), 63 - 73; Lisa Jefferson, "Two Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts of the Statutes of the Order of the Garter," in *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700* 5 (1995): 18–35; Martha Driver, "'Me fault faire': French Makers of Manuscripts for English Patrons," in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England, c.1100–c.1500*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al. (Woodbridge, Suffolk: York Medieval Press/The Boydell Press, 2009), 420–443; Catherine Nall, "Ricardus Franciscus Writes for William Worcester," *Journal of the Early Book Society* 11 (2008): 207–212.
3. It is important to emphasize that this petition was not entered on the parliament roll itself. Since TNA C 49/30/19 is the original petition which could have been written from anywhere, there is no reason to assume that Franciscus was necessarily working in or around Westminster itself.
4. Both John Watts and Anne Curry refer to Bale's Chronicle in R. Flenley, *Six Town Chronicles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911), 137, for evidence

that this bill was presented to the 1450 parliament. See, respectively, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 274 n. 53, and *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England, 1275–1504*, ed. Chris Given-Wilson *et al.* (Leicester: Scholarly Digital Editions and The National Archives, 2005), CD-ROM version (henceforth cited as *PROME*), parliament of 1450, “Introduction.”

5. Again, both Watts (*Henry VI*, 274 n. 53) and Curry (in *PROME*, parliament of 1450) suggest that the fiscal issue raised also implies a 1450 dating. The main themes emphasized in the petition are the Duke’s royal blood “beyng sone brother and uncle of kings”; it recites a history of his honorable military service, culminating in a description of him “puttyng to flight victoriously” the enemy at the siege of Calais (a pointed contrast, perhaps, with those involved in the very recent loss of Normandy); and, furthermore, it emphasizes the “high drede due obeisance & trewe liegaunce” he “alweyes” accorded Henry VI during the rule of his protectorate and “unto his last end.” See *PROME*, parliament of 1450, appendix item 9, for a transcription and translation of TNA C 49/30/19. Curry makes the point here that it is different in content from, and therefore not to be confused with, the later common petition to exonerate Duke Humphrey (TNA C 49/30/18) that was finally agreed in the Yorkist-dominated parliament of 1455.

6. *PROME*, parliament of 1450, Appendix item 11. Emphasis our own.

7. Watts, *Henry VI*, 286. He also refers to this period of brief ascendancy and power as “the Yorkist assault” on royal authority, 290.

8. Gwilym Dodd, “The Rise of English, the Decline of French: Supplications to the English Crown, c. 1420–1450,” *Speculum* 86 (2011): 146.

9. As Curry notes in *PROME*, parliament of 1450, “Introduction,” the November 1450 parliament had been summoned on the 5<sup>th</sup> September, a gap of only three months after the close of its predecessor and the second shortest between parliaments during the reign of Henry VI. For further detail on the frequency and length of parliaments during the reign of Henry VI, see also Anne Curry, “‘A Game of Two Halves’: The Parliaments of Henry VI,” *Parliamentary History* 23.1 (2004): 73–102.

10. M. K. Jones, “Somerset, York and the Wars of the Roses,” *EHR*, 104 (1989), 287–9. Watts, *Henry VI*, 269–70, 274–8. For a more cautious view see Curry’s discussion in *PROME*, parliament of 1450, “Introduction.”

11. Benet’s Chronicle states that the conciliatory York put Somerset in the tower for his own safety, although, as Curry notes, this chronicler was “a rabid pro-Yorkist” (*PROME*, parliament of 1450, “Introduction”). However, a servant of the war veteran Thomas Lord Scales, a member of York’s ducal council, was caught in the attack on Somerset’s lodgings (for York’s servants see P. A. Johnson, *Duke Richard of York 1411–1460* [Oxford, 1988], 16–19).



Watts, *Henry VI*, 274, sees the attack as “providing York with a pretext to arrest Somerset.”

12. British Library, Additional MS. 48031A, fol. 126r-v. For discussion of both bills see Watts, *Henry VI*, 271-274. It is interesting in respect of the borrowed wording that Sir John Fastolf, a member of York’s ducal council (see discussion below), sought the articles of Jack Cade and sent his servant, John Payn, to Blackheath in June 1450 to collect them. See Norman Davis ed., *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, volume II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), letter 692, lines 9 to 12. Payn’s mission to collect these articles is also discussed in Wendy Scase, *Literature and Complaint in England, 1272-1553*, (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 188.

13. Cade’s complaints, revealing that popular perception in 1450 believed Humphrey’s death to have been caused by treason, are discussed by Curry in *PROME*, parliament of 1447, “Introduction.” The petition which finally saw his exoneration, TNA C 49/30/18, echoed Cade’s rebels in claiming that Humphrey had been “openly named and defamed of treson” “by untrewie and evell disposed plans” (see *PROME*, parliament of 1455, appendix item 12; referenced also in parliament of 1450, appendix item 9).

14. As Curry notes (see *PROME*, parliament of 1450, “Introduction”), Oldhall “epitomised English commitment to France” and had been York’s chamberlain from at least 1444. She adds that his presence as a speaker served as “a sharp reminder of past glories and of the possibility that questions might be asked of those deemed responsible for recent failures.” See also J. S. Roskell, “Sir William Oldhall, speaker in the parliament of 1450-1,” *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 5 (1961): 87-112.

15. Watts, *Henry VI*, 274. A similar view is expressed by Johnson: “In electing Oldhall, the commons were demonstrating their conviction that change was required and that York was the man to achieve it” (*Richard of York*, 87).

16. *PROME*, parliament of 1450, “Introduction.” York was Protector of England for the 1455 assembly that saw the restoration of Gloucester’s reputation.

17. As Rust comments in *Imaginary Worlds*, 167, if this scribe had remained anonymous then he would surely have been known as the “Scroll-Work Scribe.”

18. See Berthold L. Ullman, “Manuscripts of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester,” *The English Historical Review* 52. 208 (1937), 670-1, which discusses, in particular, the appearance of the motto in MS. 694 of the Urbinas collection in the Vatican. Until this manuscript was found, there was no manuscript evidence for the following statement by the eighteenth-century antiquarian, John Leyland, that the duke used the motto: “Humfredus multatis scripsit in frontispieces librorum suorum, moun bien mondain” (*Johannis Lelandi*

*Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, volume iii, edited by Thomas Hearne [Oxford, 1715] 58). The rest of the duke's 27 known manuscripts are listed in K. H. Vickers, *Humphrey Duke of Gloucester* (London: A. Constable, 1907), 426ff.

19. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, II.319.

20. See Jefferson, "Two Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts," 21.

21. "Two Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts," 23. Hamer also suggests that Ricardus, "seems to have been French, or at least strongly influenced by French scribal models" ("Spellings" 69). See also Carole Meale, "Patrons, Buyers and Owners: Book Production and Social Status," *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475*, eds. J. Griffiths and D. Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 202.

22. memori(e) (n.). Frances McSparran ed., *The Middle English Dictionary*, University of Michigan, 2001, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/>, accessed August 30, 2011.

23. adversarie (n.). *ibid.*

24. honōur (n.) and Old French (h)onor, (h)onur, (h)onneur. Heretik(e) (n. & adj.) and Old French heretique & hæreticus. *ibid.*

25. asoilen and batail(e): though the *Middle English Dictionary* identifies their origin as Old French, it identifies many occurrences of the words in Middle English texts.

26. This date concerns common petitions: common petitions in English began to outnumber their French equivalent in 1445. The transition occurred almost a decade earlier in the case of private petitions, with English private petitions only outnumbering French language ones in 1437. Responses to petitions in English did not outnumber those in French until 1447. See Dodd, "The Rise of English," 122 and 137.

27. Dodd ("The Rise of English," 127) gave examples, including a petition of 1427 (SC 8/125/6244), in which "marchauntes, possessours, maystres and marryners of þis Rewme of Ingelonde» trading with Guyenne lobbied to have «a *conuement* [knowledgeable] and discrete man" appointed to the office of constable of Bordeaux. The French word *conuement* appears seamlessly within the English sentence.

28. See Dodd, "The Rise of English," 120, for a discussion of the borrowing of French terms by clerks who were writing petitions in English.

29. Hamer, "Spellings," 63–73.

30. For the different scribal attitudes towards copying exemplars, see the work of Angus McIntosh on scribes copying exemplars in dialects other than their own. In such situations, scribes might a) leave language unchanged, b) translate into his own dialect, c) something in between, the scribe copying a mixture of his own forms and the exemplar's. Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samu-

els, Michael Benskin, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, Volume 1 (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), 15. Franciscus was primarily a type a) scribe.

31. See Hamer, "Spellings," 70–72. Hamer pointed out that his list of the words that Franciscus changed from his exemplar was not exhaustive, since he only studied a sample of Franciscus's hand. However, his list gives us an overview of certain preferred spellings of this scribe.

32. For detailed information about the language of petitions in the late fourteenth century, specifically about the conventions of this mode of writing, see Gwilym Dodd, "Writing Wrongs: The Drafting of Supplications to the Crown in Later Fourteenth-Century England," forthcoming in *Medium Aevum*. For more on the drafting of common petitions in the fourteenth century, which were usually written in Anglo-Norman French, see Anthony Musson, *Medieval Law in Context: The Growth of Legal Consciousness from Magna Carta to the Peasants' Revolt* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 187–189. Musson also made the distinction between merely drafting petitions, and actually "coming up with and preparing suggestions" (i.e. being responsible for the *content* of the petition), and suggested that the county court had an important part in formulating petitions. Thus, in the case of these common petitions, Musson created the impression of a committee of composers, rather than a single writer. For research into the transition between French and English in the fifteenth-century, see Dodd, "The Rise of English," 117–150.

33. Dodd proposed that "having furnished a clerk with the basic 'facts,' a petitioner may then have left him free to write up the substance of the supplication as he saw fit, placing trust in the clerk's abilities to make the best possible case on the petitioner's behalf." However, though Dodd emphasized the control that the clerk had over the petition, he also cautioned that we should not discount the influence that the supplicant would have had over the "shape and tone" of the petition ("The Rise of English," 120). Dodd wrote this statement about private petitions, but it might be assumed that the same would have been true of common petitions, with the difference that the scribe was under the instruction of a *committee* of petitioners as opposed to an *individual*.

34. British Library, MS Harley 4775, folio 161vb. For several other examples of Franciscus's copying of words involving the palative fricative, see Hamer, "Spellings," 71.

35. See Hamer, "Spellings," 70.

36. British Library, MS Harley 4775, 164va. See Hamer, "Spellings" 71.

37. British Library, MS Harley 4775, 23vb. See Hamer, "Spellings" 71.

38. See Hamer, "Spellings" 71.

39. Listed in Driver, "Me fault faire," appendix, and in Catherine Nall, "Ricardus Franciscus," 209-10. Since Jefferson was doubtful about the attribution of some of the thirteen manuscripts that she listed in 1995 ("Two Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts," 22), this grouping deserves thorough re-investigation. This project is, unfortunately, too big for the scope of a note introducing C 49/30/19 as the work of Franciscus but one doubtful (and easily accessible) example that illustrates this need is B.L. Harley 4012 (see the British Library's Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=4496&CollID=8&NStart=4012> for folios 1 and 109.)
40. Johnathan Alexander attributes all of the illustrations to Abell ("William Abell 'lymnour' and 15<sup>th</sup> Century English Illumination," in *Kunsthistorische Forschungen: Otto Pacht zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, ed. A. Rosenauer and G. Weber [Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1972], 168, item 19) while Scott allocates the color-miniature to Abell and the remaining grisaille-illustrations to the "Abingdon Missal Master" (Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, II. 264-65).
41. Nall, "Ricardus Franciscus," 209. Linne R. Mooney, "Locating Scribal Activity in Late-Medieval London," in *Design and Distribution of Late Medieval Manuscripts in England*, ed. Margaret Connolly and Linne Mooney (Woodbridge, Suffolk: York Medieval Press/The Boydell Press, 2008), 199.
42. Nall, "Ricardus Franciscus," 207-212.
43. Catherine Reynolds in Richard Marks and Paul Williamson, *Gothic Art for England 1400-1547*, (London: V&A Publications, 2003), 345, and cited by Driver in "Me fault faire," 434. Given that York succeeds Bedford as lieutenant-general of France and inherits most of Bedford's servants (see Johnson, *Duke Richard*, 16-19), he would seem to be a more likely patron than Beaufort. Furthermore, the factional politics that divide York and Somerset, as well as Franciscus's consistent employment by the "Yorkist" circle (as argued below), would also favor York.
44. Identified by Malcolm Parkes in 1977 as reported in E. Wilson, "A Middle English Manuscript at Coughton Court, Warwickshire, and British Library MS. Harley 4012," *Notes & Queries* 24 (July 1977): 299 [295-303].
45. Anne Dutton suggests that this manuscript may have been copied while Wingfield was in exile with Edward IV in 1470 or after their return to England when Edward rewarded Wingfield's loyalty by making him controller of the king's household from 1471 to 1481. A. M. Dutton, "Piety, Politics and Persona: British Library MS Harley 4012 and Anne Harling," in *Prestige, Authority and Power in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, ed. F. Riddy (Woodbridge, Suffolk: York Medieval Press/The Boydell Press, 2000), 135 (133-46).
46. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, II. 319.

47. Scott, "A Mid-Fifteenth-Century Illuminating Shop and Its Customers," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 31 (1968): 170, n. 3; Alexander, "William Abell," 170.
48. Attributed to William Abell by Alexander ("William Abell," 167, item 13) and by Driver ("Me fault faire," 429). Scott, however, argues that "the more complex handling of drapery and deeper facial modelling of the Abingdon Master differentiate the two hands" (*Later Gothic Manuscripts*, II. 280. For further detail of the differences between the two limners, see II. 264). Abell's inheritance of Thomas Fyssh's two apprentices in 1450 as well as his eventual tenancy of three shops on Paternoster Row (see C. Paul Christianson, *A Directory of London Stationers and Book Artisans 1300–1500*, [New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1990], 59–60) suggest that Scott's reservations about the subtle and yet very definite difference in style may be accommodated by the archival indications that Abell's success was aided by a number of talented assistants.
49. Illumination attributed by Alexander, "A Lost Leaf from a Bodleian Book of Hours," *Bodleian Library Record* 8 (1971), 251. Michael K. Jones identifies de Vere as the owner in a private communication to Reynolds, cited in "English Patrons and French Artists in Fifteenth-Century Normandy," in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. David Bates and Anne Curry (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), 308, n. 55.
50. Jefferson, "Two Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts," 19.
51. Identified by Holly James-Maddocks in her forthcoming PhD thesis, entitled "Collaborative Book Production and its Organisation in Fifteenth-Century London: Scribes and Limners from the 1440s to the 1490s," University of York.
52. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, II. 322–325.
53. Martha Driver, "Women Readers and Pierpont Morgan Library MS M. 126," in *John Gower: Manuscripts, Readers, Contexts*, ed. Malte Urban (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 71–108. See also Martha Driver, "Printing the *Confessio Amantis*: Caxton's Edition in Context," in *Revisioning Gower: New Essays*, ed. R. F. Yeager (Asheville, NC: Pegasus Press, 1998), 269–303 (esp. 282–5, n. 27, 28, 29, 30, 31).
54. Attributed to Illustrator A of Fitzwilliam Museum 56 in Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, II. 328 and "perhaps" to the "Three Kings' Master" in II. 332, who are both "in some way professionally associated." Scott's divisions of the anonymous illuminators, particularly the miniaturists, surrounding Franciscus in his later career are reassessed at length by James-Maddocks in her PhD thesis. She hopes to shortly publish these findings in a separate article.
55. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, II. 318–320.
56. Nall, "Ricardus Franciscus," 210 and 212, n. 18. See also Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, II. 320.



57. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, II. 319 and 321.

58. See Nicholas Orme, "Worcester, William (1415–1480x85)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2006), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29967/>, accessed 30 Aug 2011.

59. Nall, "Ricardus Franciscus," 211, n. 1.

60. See Driver, "Me fault faire," 437 (and n. 39 on this page for further reference).

61. We can by no means be certain that it was York rather than Beaufort who patronized this manuscript but see note 43 above for an argument in favor of York.

62. See note 6 above.

63. See Johnson, *Richard of York*, Appendix III "Servants and Annuitants of Duke Richard of York," 231. In 1445, for example, York's ducal council consisted of Ralph Lord Cromwell, Thomas Lord Scales, Sir John Fastolf, Sir Andrew Ogard, Sir William ap Thomas, and Sir William Oldhall, as well as a new receiver-general, John Milewater. See pp. 16–18 for the additions and losses to the circle of ducal servants over the 1430s, 1440s, and 1450s. This ducal council was bound to York by oath; responsibilities included estate administration, contracting debts in the duke's name, acquiring and disposing of property, and control of a ducal seal of arms (see p.18 for references to specific examples).

64. Johnson, *Richard of York*, 148 (n.126) and 231.

65. See James Gairdner, ed., *The Paston Letters* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1987, repr. of 1904 Library ed.), II, no 59, and see also II, nos. 102, 238. For further references to a handful of other known writers of petitions see Dodd, "Writing Wrongs," 24, n. 96.

66. Dodd, "Writing Wrongs," 17. Dodd argues that "the complaints, bills and petitions to be found at a popular level all adopted basic *ars dictaminis* techniques," i.e. he who could write a formal letter could write a petition, but "petitions for presentation to the crown required skill and training" and a "high[er] level of precision."

67. This is certainly the case by 1452 when York presents his own articles to the council condemning Somerset for misconduct during the loss of Normandy.

68. Joseph Stevenson, *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France*, vol. 2, part 2 (London: Longman, 1864), 718–22.

69. *PROME*, parliament of 1450, "Introduction."

70. Transcription by Curry, *PROME*, parliament of 1450, "Introduction." See also Watts, *Henry VI*, 274 n. 57.

71. Johnson, "Richard of York," 159. It is interesting that York takes no other rewards..

72. Watts, *Henry VI*, 274 and n.57. *PROME*, parliament of 1450, "Introduction."

73. Johnson, "Richard of York," 112. The most important of York's articles, according to Johnson, is the Duke's claim that Somerset had kept 72,000 francs given to him to pass on as compensation to those who had lost property in Anjou and Maine, that is, money that should have been given to Oldhall and Fastolf.

74. Including Fastolf and Oldhall. Johnson, "Richard of York" 16.

75. Johnson, "Richard of York" 19.

76. A similar point is made by Nall, "Ricardus Franciscus," 210. William Worcester was the author of the *Boke of Noblesse*, a military treatise he composed for Sir John Fastolf urging the importance of a new campaign in France. For the *Boke's* rededication to Edward IV and Richard III, see Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1997), 85–88.

77. As he is termed by Kate Harris in "Patrons, Buyers and Owners: The Evidence for Ownership and the role of Book Owners in Book Production and the Book Trade," in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 178.

78. See note 71 above.

79. Jackson W. Armstrong "The Development of the Office of Arms in England, c.1413–1485," in *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Katie Stevenson (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2009), 9–28 (esp. 24).

80. *Ibid.* See also Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books*, chapter 4 (esp. 102).

81. The large network of association surrounding this coterie of alien and foreign limners is beyond the scope of this note and is considered in detail in James-Maddocks' forthcoming PhD thesis, University of York. Other scribes who collaborated with this particular combination of illuminators on multiple occasions include the scribe who organized the production of a series of *Genealogical Chronicles* as propaganda for Edward IV, another scribe mass-producing *Nova Statuta*, and the court-poet Pietro Carmeliano.

82. Mooney, "Locating Scribal Activity in Late-Medieval London," 199–200.

83. See, for example, Bertram Wolffe, *Henry VI* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1981), 244, who states "the Commons had the backing of York, and the mantle of Suffolk had descended on Somerset"; Maurice Keen, *England in the Later Middle Ages: A Political History* (London; NY: Routledge, 2003), 349 and 362 where he states that York "could read clearly between the lines of Suffolk's impeachment and Cade's proclamations." See also Watts, *Henry VI*, 274 and 286.

84. From 2003 to 2007, W. Mark Ormrod directed a project to make available the contents of the entire corpus of the National Archives series of Ancient Petitions (SC 8) via the National Archives' online Catalogue (<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/catalogue/>). At the same time the series was digitized and published (free of charge) through the National Archives' special facility, Documents Online (<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/>). See W. Mark Ormrod, Gwilym Dodd and Anthony Musson, eds., *Medieval Petitions, Grace and Grievance* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: York Medieval Press/ The Boydell Press, 2009).

85. Timothy Haskett analyzed the varieties of Middle English dialect used in fifteenth-century petitions to the chancellor's court (using TNA series C1: Early Chancery Proceedings) in "Country Lawyers? The Composers of English Chancery Bills," in *The Life of the Law*, ed. P. Birks (London: Hambledon Press, 1993), 9–23. Gwilym Dodd's analysis of the diplomatic form and use of "standard" Anglo-Norman French suggests that private petitioning was closely regulated by the crown, in *Justice and Grace: Private Petitioning and the English Parliament in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). Previous palaeographical methodologies applied to petitions revealed that Adam Pinkhurst wrote a petition for the London Mercers (Linne R. Mooney, "Chaucer's Scribe," *Speculum* 81 [2006]: 97–138) and Thomas Hoccleve, poet and clerk in the privy seal, has also been found to have written petitions (Helen Killick, "Thomas Hoccleve as Poet and Clerk," [PhD diss., University of York, 2011]).

86. Mooney, "Chaucer's Scribe," 97–138. In a chapter in Mooney and Stubbs' forthcoming book, *Scribes and the City: London Guildhall Clerks and the Dissemination of Middle English Literature 1375–1425* (York: York Medieval Press, 2012), evidence is presented that after 1400 Pinkhurst was working for the civic secretariat at the Guildhall. A new project, funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, "The Writing of Petitions in Later Medieval England," led by W. Mark Ormrod in collaboration with Linne Mooney and Gwilym Dodd is currently underway (until March 2013) to address the key issue of *who* actually wrote these petitions. A scribe's background and training will be analyzed for its effect on the layout, form, and discourse of the petition.

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Figure 1: Kew, The National Archives (TNA), C 49/30/19; reproduced by permission of The National Archives, Kew, Surrey

... of your true wisdom to remember the true and notable  
and defende of it, he said you were in execution of justice pmissimut  
of the same remission in the title of Calway and other puttynut  
a new law by the diet and wisdom in all the pmissimut  
... and remission of the same in favour of the  
... of the said ... shipfully kept in the in house  
... the ... remission ... puttynut into our hand ... lord  
... the ... end

Figure 2: Detail of Kew, The National Archives (TNA), C 49/30/19 (lines 12-18). Reproduced by permission.

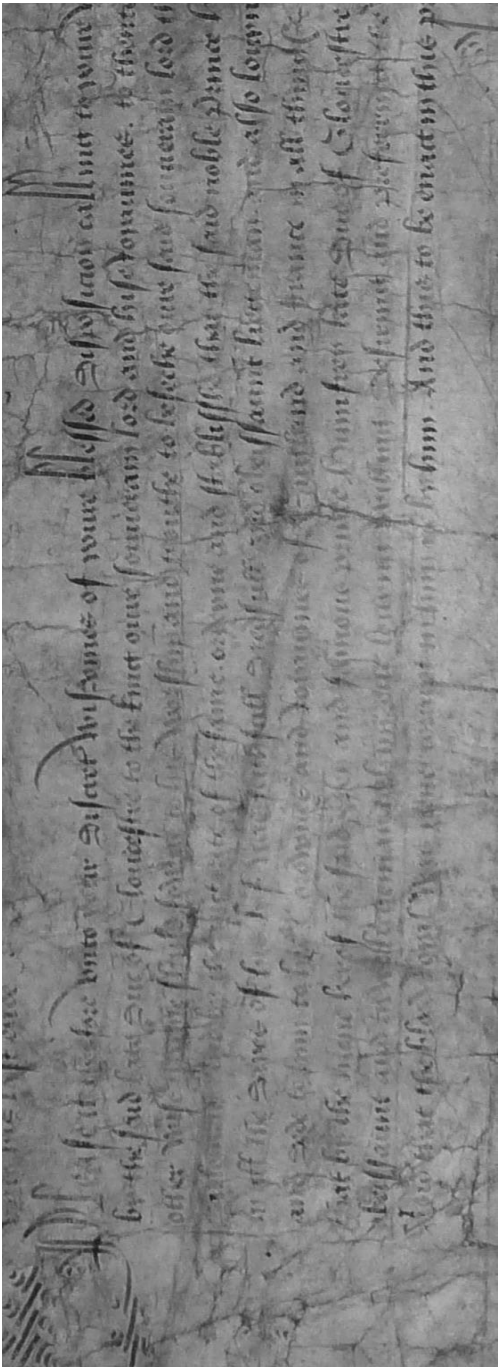


Figure 3: Detail of Kew, The National Archives (TNA), C 49/30/19 (lines 19-27). Reproduced by permission.



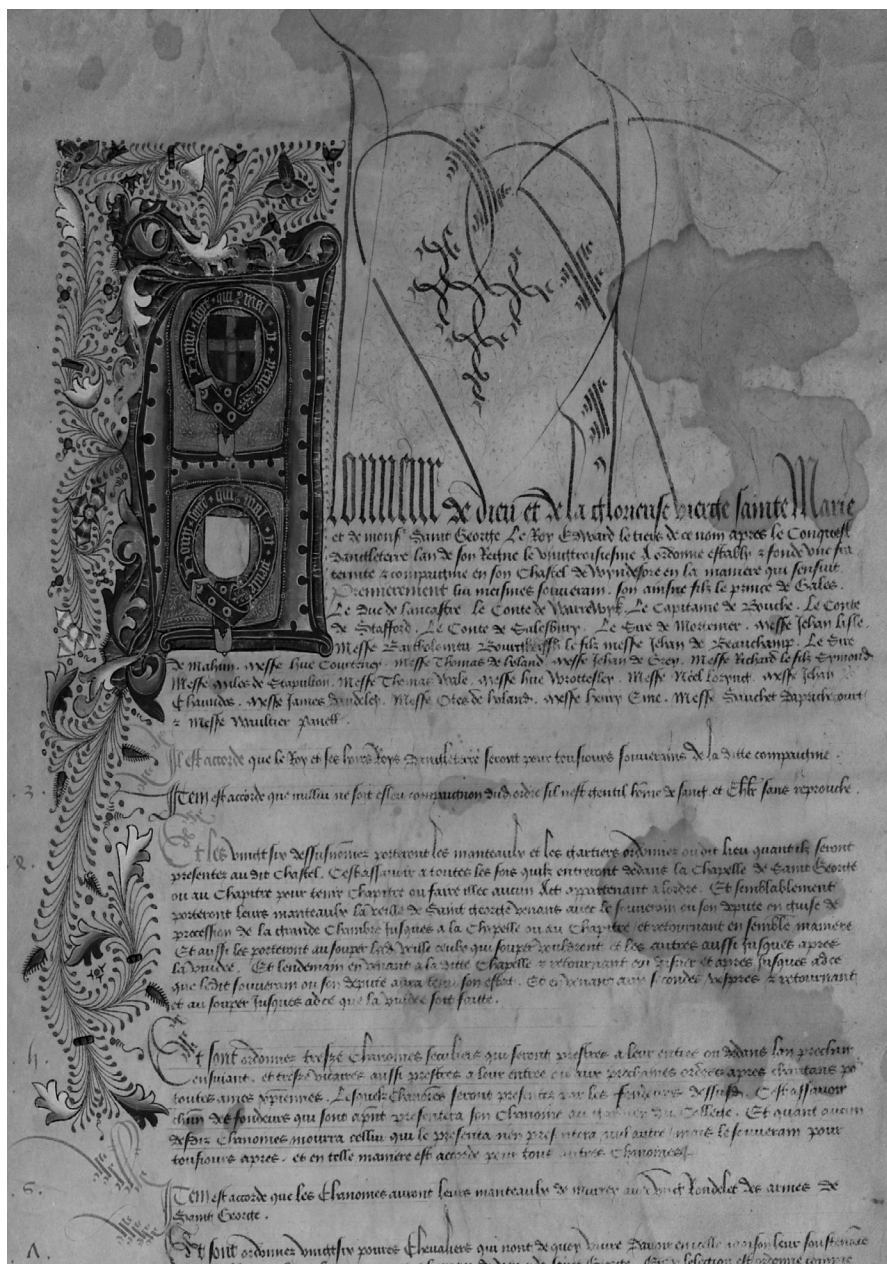


Figure 4: Nancy, Archives Départementales de Meurthe et Moselle, MS. H. 80, Statutes of the Order of the Garter. Membrane 1 (upper half). Reproduced by permission of the Archives Départementales de Meurthe et Moselle, Nancy.





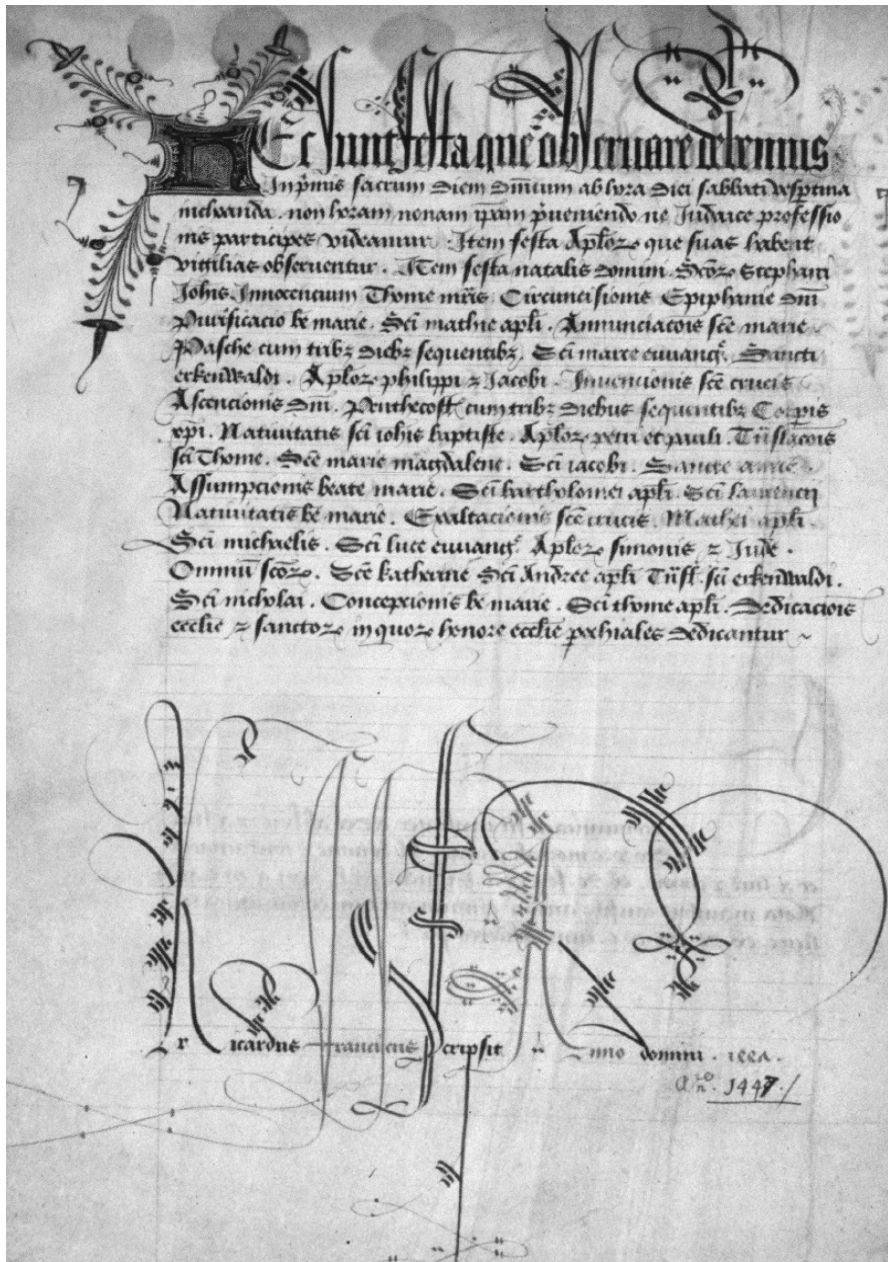


Figure 6: San Marino, Huntington Library, MS. HM 932, Statutes of the Archdeaconry of London, folio 13 verso. This item is reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.